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AMERICANA

(AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE)



VOLUME XXVIII

January, 1934—December, 1934

The American Historical Society, Inc.
80-90 Eighth Avenue
New York

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THE MAUCH CHUNK SWITCHBACK RAILWAY
VIEW OF MT. PISGAH

VOL. XXVIII

JANUARY, 1934

NUMBER 1

AMERICANA

ILLUSTRATED



THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.

SOMERVILLE, NEW JERSEY, AND NEW YORK CITY

Entered at the Post Office in Somerville, N. J., as Second Class Matter, under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

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The American Historical Society, Inc.

AMERICANA

Published by THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC., formerly published by the National Americana Society. Issued in quarterly numbers at \$4 per annum; single copies \$1. Publication Office, the C. P. Hoagland Company Building, 16 Union Street, Somerville, N. J.

AMERICANA is a Quarterly Magazine of History, Genealogy, Heraldry, and Literature. Manuscripts upon these subjects are invited, and will be given early and careful consideration. It is desirable that contributions should contain not less than two thousand nor more than ten thousand words. Contributors should attach to their manuscript their full names, with academic or other titles, and memorandum of number of words written.

All correspondence relating to contributions should be addressed to the Editor
All communications should be addressed:

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.,
Somerville, N. J., or 80-90 Eighth Avenue, New York City

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AMERICANA

January, 1934

The Capture of Washington in 1814

As Described by Mordecai Booth,¹ with Introduction and Notes

BY RAY W. IRWIN, PH. D., INSTRUCTOR IN HISTORY,
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY



VOLUMES have been written about the capture and despoiling of the city of Washington; but few descriptions of the British occupation of the national capital portray with such vividness as does the following "Communication" the chaotic conditions which existed there during the terrible days of August 22 to September 10, 1814. Throughout that period Mordecai Booth, an obscure clerk in the Navy Department, was amazingly active in the public service. Mounting a borrowed horse (which he later "impressed" when its owner's husband objected to the loan), he roamed the city and its environs for fifteen days, impressing vehicles to facilitate

1. Booth was a clerk in the Navy Department as early as 1805, and was still employed there in December, 1830. Precisely when his service in that capacity began and ended is not definitely known. One of the few published references to him appears in Commodore Thomas Tingey's report, dated October 18, 1814, to Secretary of the Navy, William Jones. Tingey, who was at that time commandant at the Washington Navy Yard, heartily commended Booth for obtaining valuable information relative to the invading British Army. "American State Papers, Military Affairs," I, 577. Another statement regarding Booth's public services is to be found in C. O. Paullin's "Washington City and the Old Navy," in "Records of the Columbia Historical Society" (Washington, 1832), XXXIII-XXXIV, 174.

The full title of the two MSS. reproduced below is "Letter and Communication to Commodore Thomas Tingey from Mordecai Booth, His Clerk." They are dated "Navy Yard, Washington, 22nd August to 10th September, 1814," and are in the files of the Bureau of Naval Records and Library at Washington, District of Columbia. Their present publication has been made possible through the coöperation which Captain D. W. Knox, U. S. N. (Ret.), and members of his staff in the Bureau of Naval Records and Library have graciously extended to the editor. The latter alone, however, is to be held responsible for any errors which he may unwittingly have permitted to creep into the accompanying introduction and footnotes; also for the minor textual corrections (relative to spelling and punctuation) which he has made in an effort to modernize and clarify Booth's narrative at certain points.

THE CAPTURE OF WASHINGTON IN 1814

the removal of government property, conveying military supplies beyond the reach of British invaders, attempting to rally retreating American troops, and, at great personal risk, voluntarily obtaining accurate information regarding the position of the British forces after their victory at Bladensburg. Eventually exhausted by his exertions, and plagued by torturing boils, the hard-riding clerk returned his mount to its owner, and painfully concluded his "Letter and Communication to Commodore Thomas Tingey." The latter document, a day by day account of Booth's activities and observations during this time of national distress, is one of perhaps only two extant eye-witness narratives in diary form relative to the disaster which it describes.² Its somewhat unique character in this respect, its high degree of historical accuracy, and its wealth of intimate detail make it an extremely interesting and valuable source of information.

RAY W. IRWIN.

I

[LETTER OF BOOTH TO TINGEY]

NAVY YARD, WASHINGTON,
10th September, 1814.

SIR,

Enclosed you will receive an accurate detailed narrative of my proceedings and engagements, etc., from the morning of Monday the 22nd ultimo to the 10th instant, when the last of the powder removed from the Naval Magazine to the farm of Daniel Dulany, Esquire, near the Falls Church,³ was returned into the Magazine—which I hope and trust may prove satisfactory and useful. . . . Be so good as to acknowledge the receipt; and with respect to my duty under your orders, and that stated to have proceeded from the special order⁴ (though verbal) of the Honorable Wm. Jones, Secretary of the Navy, be pleased to say whether it meets your approbation.

With esteem and respect I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

MORDECAI BOOTH

Commodore Thomas Tingey,
Commandant Navy Yard, Washington

2. See "Diary of Mrs. William Thornton. Capture of Washington by the British," in "Records of the Columbia Historical Society" (Washington, District of Columbia, 1916), XIX, 172.

3. On the Virginia side of the Potomac, near the Little Falls. W. B. Bryan: "History of the National Capital" (New York, 1914-16), I, 82.

4. An order to impress vehicles to transport supplies to troops engaged in defending Washington.

THE CAPTURE OF WASHINGTON IN 1814

II

COMMUNICATION

NAVY YARD, WASHINGTON,
Monday, 22nd August, 1814⁵

In pursuance to your instructions to me of this day to procure wagons to remove the powder from the Naval Magazine, I proceeded forthwith to the execution of your order after borrowing the horse of Thomas Murray, master cooper of the Navy Yard, in consequence of your regret at my being obliged to ride one of the public horses of the Yard, then so much wanted. (Murray's horse was borrowed of his wife.)

I was aware of the demand for wagons—from the alarm then created by the removal of public as well as private property—and my direction was to the turnpike road leading into the City from Baltimore. I met with no wagons, but left directions at Long's Hotel⁶ on Capitol Hill that from four to five wagons should be directed to the Navy Yard to you, should that number pass that would be disposed to engage in public employment. I then proceeded with an intention of going to Alexandria, but seeing a wagon on Pennsylvania Avenue, I soon overtook it. It was driven by a black man who called himself William Barnett. Said he was a free man, and the team of five horses (which was a very good one) was his own; that he was from Baltimore, and [had] loaded in the port with tea for R. Monroe of Georgetown, some boxes for the City, molasses for Alexandria, and 25 boxes candles. The tea for Monroe I made him lodge at McKeowin's Tavern, [and] deliver his boxes for the City. [I] gave him a certificate of having employed him for the service of the Navy Department, and permitted him to proceed to Alexandria to deliver his molasses, etc. Ordered his return to the Navy Yard—where he arrived in the evening. [He] deposited the candles for safe keeping, not having found the owner; reported himself; and [was] regularly received into service.

Understanding several wagons had passed on to Georgetown, and wishing to inform Mr. Monroe of the deposit of his tea, I shaped my course thither. On my way I overtook the Honorable Wm. Jones, Secretary of the Navy. He enquired where I was going. I informed him of your order, and [said that I] was on my way to Georgetown in pursuit of wagons. He asked me if you had wagons to dispatch provisions to Commodore Barney.⁷ I replied I did not believe you had. He

5. Before nightfall on this date the invading British forces had approached from the southeast to within about sixteen miles of Washington.

6. The proprietor was Robert Long. The hotel seems to have been the oldest then in use in Washington. Bryan, *op. cit.*, I, 519.

7. Commodore Joshua Barney was in command of a flotilla of assorted armed vessels on the Patuxent. Sixteen of these seem to have been destroyed by the Americans at the approach of the British, a seventeenth failing to ignite, and falling into the hands of the enemy. Barney and his men, about five hundred in all, subsequently displayed great

THE CAPTURE OF WASHINGTON IN 1814

then ordered me to impress all I could get. I very soon met with the wagon of George Vallandingham. He plead he was engaged to Mr. Nourse⁸ to remove public papers, [but] he had nothing to show to that effect. I impressed him and gave him a certificate. At the moment I did it, Mrs. Nourse came to me and claimed the wagon as being engaged by Mr. Nourse. The Secretary at the time drove up, when an appeal was made to him; and on Mrs. Nourse pledging her word it was for the public service, [I] was instructed by the Secretary to release it (though Vallandingham promised he would return to me as soon as he delivered the load). The Secretary then directed me to respect only wagons that were engaged for the public, and to impress all others I could. I very soon met with two wagons in Georgetown from Baltimore, belonging to Virginia. Them I impressed and put under charge of Nicholas Queen.⁹ I then impressed John Anderson from Winchester, Virginia, who was engaged to Daniel Renner, of the firm of Renner and Heath,¹⁰ for the purpose of removing their cordage. The younger Mr. Renner appeared in a violent passion on the occasion, but Renner the partner of Heath behaved most politely. He regretted the occurrence—but observed, private considerations must give way to the public good. I gave Anderson a certificate of impressment. He soon unloaded and went on to you. I have since been informed by you and himself that he took a load of provisions in—and reached the camp that night. I could find no other wagon in the town except one of three horses that was engaged by the Bank of Columbia—and the driver missing. Mr. Wm. Whan, cashier, assured me that the wagon would expressly take papers that the Government were particularly interested in, as that bank did a large proportion of the public business. Of course I left it, and proceeding into the City, met with the wagon of Richard Love. It was taking in a load of furniture. A black man who was with it told me that he was loading for Doctor Sims.¹¹ The wagon was a little distance from the Doctor's house. I went to see the Doctor to have the load put out, [but] he was from home. His lady was at the door. Her distress

valor at the battle of Bladensburg. Of them a British officer who was present wrote: "The sailors not only served their guns with quickness and precision which astonished their assailants, but they stood till some of them were actually bayoneted, with fuses in their hands; nor was it till their leader was wounded and taken, and they saw themselves deserted on all sides by the soldiers, that they quitted the field." George R. Gleig: "Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army at Washington and New Orleans in the Years 1814 and 1815" (London, 1826), pp. 125-26. See, also, John S. Williams: "History of the Invasion and Capture of Washington" (New York, 1857), pp. 139, 163. William M. Marine: "British Invasion of Maryland, 1812-15" (Baltimore, 1913), pp. 58-71, 98-102.

8. Joseph Nourse, register of the U. S. Treasury, 1789-1829. Bryan: *Op. cit.* II, 76n.

9. *Ibid.*, I, 519. Queen was a hotel proprietor.

10. *Ibid.*, I, 527. Renner and Nathaniel K. Heath were rope manufacturers. They became business associates in 1814.

11. *Ibid.*, II, 12. Apparently Dr. Thomas Sim, a Washington physician, and an organizer of the Medical Society of the District in 1817.

THE CAPTURE OF WASHINGTON IN 1814

was great indeed. I returned to the wagon to do my duty, when, on examining the wagon, I found one of the tires broken, and the wheel ready to break down. Mr. Renner was passing. He examined the wagon, and with myself concluded it was not fit for use; consequently [I] left it. I soon met with another, and taking it in charge, was proceeding by the Navy Department—where I found the two wagons impressed in Georgetown, and put under charge of Mr. Queen. They had been stopped by Thos. Turner, Esquire, accountant of the Navy Department, who advised me they would be wanted to move papers of the Department, and spoke to the Secretary for his concurrence. Before he gave his assent, he enquired of me how many wagons I had got, on observing three others. "Then, Sir," he said, "let the two remain, and the others can load in the provisions; and get as many more as you can." On returning to the opposite side of the house, [I found that] the wagon I had left had run. I mounted my horse to pursue it. In passing around the President's wall, I met with seven wagons loaded for Georgetown from Baltimore. Two only were [already] impressed—they by Mr. Washington Booie.¹² The other five I impressed, and finding I might run the risk of losing them to pursue the one that had run, thought it the better way to go to Georgetown and hurry their unloading. While they were discharging their loads, I rode through the streets, and found three wagons loading in private property—one of them for Rigs and Badon. A white man was with the wagon. [He] refused, at the instance of Rigs, to tell his name; [n]or could I learn it. The wagon was driven by a black man. I told the white man I impressed the wagon for and on account of the Navy Department—on which Rigs swore I should not take it as the risk of his life. Wm. Ridgley, [who] was on the pavement, also made use of language justifying and encouraging Rigs to opposition. They went into the store. I dismounted and followed them in—when they made use of such language as was degrading to gentlemen. I had no one with me to enforce the detention of the wagon, and it was hurried off in opposition to my positive command to the contrary. Except I had used violence, [I] could not have prevented it—in which [use] I did not think myself justified. The second wagon was without a driver, he being absent; and while I was hunting him, the wagon was hurried off. The third I gave a regular certificate of impressment to, but the wagon being without a cover, and the wagoner assuring me he was only to carry the load a few miles into the country, and as he would get his tent and feed by going home, and would be at the Navy Yard the next day by ten o'clock, I consented to his going. He you have since informed me, never reported himself. His name is Michael Conley, and he lives in Montgomery County,¹³ not far from Georgetown. The five wagons, to wit: [those of]

¹² *Ibid.*, I, 593. Washington Bowie, a Georgetown merchant. See, also, Williams: *Op. cit.*, p. 369.

¹³ Maryland.

THE CAPTURE OF WASHINGTON IN 1814

Thomas Wade, three negroes under his charge, and Thomas Cowthon, I arrived with a little before sunset at the Yard.

Tuesday 23rd. Today I was in the Yard before sunrise, and proceeded to have the teams appraised. As soon as practicable, got off Thos. Cowthon and Wm. Barnett with provisions for Commodore Barney. The other four [men]—Wade and the three negroes—I caused to go to the Magazine, where they loaded with one hundred and twenty-four barrels, and two quarter casks, of powder. Being without a horse—and having to attend to securing the powder, and understanding that Murray had objected to his wife's lending his horse, and finding him in his stable, I impressed him, [together] with a saddle and bridle. Before I left the City, I impressed the wagon and team of four horses of John Bair, an old Dutchman, to whom I gave a certificate of impressment, and got him into the Yard. I then followed the wagons with the powder, and overtook them before they crossed the Potomac Bridge. On the South side, and as I was about to ascend the ridge from the causeway, I met Colonel Minor's regiment of Fairfax militia.¹⁴ The Colonel recommended six persons as a competent guard to take charge of the powder; and that night I reached Wren's Tavern¹⁵ at the Falls Church, late at night, within one mile of the farm of Daniel Dulany, Esquire, where the powder was to be deposited. That night, a little before day, Captain Smallwood¹⁶ and family, with my daughters and son, reached Wren's. The account given me of the retreat of our troops,¹⁷ the advance of the British, and the consternation of the citizens, was to me truly distressing; but the seeing my children out of the reach of a ferocious and vandal enemy was delight indeed. And now, Sir! Permit me to pause until I return you the warmest thanks of a grateful heart for the attention you paid to my unprotected children in my absence on public duty. To your goodness they owe their escape from a scene the most to be regretted of my life. You can never be rewarded beyond the sensations of a pure heart and a sound mind—the attribute of an all wise being, so bounteously bestowed on you.

Wednesday 24th. Desirous of having the powder delivered and under guard, I was on my horse at the dawn of day, and ordered the wagons to gear up and follow me. On getting to the farm, I found twenty-five barrels of powder had been deposited—the barn in which it was, open, and much out of order. I went to the house of Mr. Dozier[?] Bennett, a respectable citizen recommended by Colonel

14. Williams: *Op. cit.*, p. 137. Col. George Minor, who commanded a regiment of about six hundred infantry and one hundred cavalry. This force received its arms too late to participate in the battle of Bladensburg.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 356. Situated at approximately the nearest point in Fairfax County to Washington.

16. Captain Samuel N. Smallwood, of Washington.

17. On the night of August 23 the British Army encamped about nine miles from Washington, after causing the American forces to withdraw into the city. Henry Adams: "History of U. S. During the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison," VII, 131.

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Minor, in whom I might confide for its care. He agreed to have my orders attended to, and to have collected a competent guard, on my stipulating to allow him two dollars per day for his services, and one and a half dollars for each person employed to aid him until I could relieve them by sending a guard over; which Colonel Wharton¹⁸ had promised me should be done. As soon as I had completed my orders and directed the wagons to hasten their return to the City, I set out to attend you. On reaching the Navy Yard, I was told you had gone in the direction of the lower Eastern Branch Bridge.¹⁹ I found on reaching the Commons²⁰ the rear of the army in motion, but was ignorant of its movements. On getting in view of the door of the house totally occupied by the Reverend A. Hunter,²¹ I saw the gig of the Secretary of the Navy, a number of horses, and several horsemen. Thinking I might find you there, as from appearances the assemblage was the heads of departments and general officers, I rode up. I saw the President of the U. S. through the window. I enquired for you. An officer requested my name, and went in to see if you were there. He returned and informed me you were not, and I went on to the bridge. On reaching it, I found you on it. I dismounted, and, in approaching you, met Commodore Barney and Captain Creighton.²² Receiving your orders to have the wagons loaded with powder, I returned to the Yard, prepared some certificates for the wagons, left the office, and went to your house to know your commands if you wished me to attend to anything particularly. The Secretary of the Navy was then in his gig at your door. You had no order for me, and I passed on to get my dinner. While dining, was told an action was pending—the first intimation that one was expected. I was scarcely up from the table before the four wagons arrived. I was giving them orders to proceed directly to the Magazine, when the retreat of our army was pronounced. In the direction of the Potomac Bridge wagons and men were seen flying in the utmost confusion. Those receiving my orders waited not a moment; but fled with

18. Franklin Wharton, U. S. M. C. Captain, August 3, 1798. Lieutenant-colonel commandant, March 7, 1804. Died September 1, 1818. Callahan: "List of Officers of the U. S. Navy and of the Marine Corps" (New York, 1901), p. 679. Paullin: *Op. cit.*, p. 172.

19. There were two bridges leading into Washington over the Eastern Branch, as the Anacostia River was known. The lower bridge spanned the stream at the foot of Kentucky Avenue; the upper, near the foot of East Capitol Street. Bryan: *Op. cit.*, I, 492.

20. The position of the Navy Yard on the Eastern Branch and Booth's narration of his ride seem to indicate that the "Commons" approached the stream near the lower bridge.

21. Chaplain, U. S. N. Secretary of the Navy W. Jones subsequently reported that on the morning of August 24 he had been "at Doctor Hunter's house, near the Eastern Branch Bridge, where the President, and Secretaries of War, State, and Treasury soon after arrived." "American State Papers, Military Affairs," I, 576. W. Jones to R. M. Johnson, October 3, 1814.

22. *Ibid.*, I, 578. Tingey to W. Jones, August 27, 1814. Callahan: *Op. cit.*, p. 138. Commander John O. Creighton (Captain, April 27, 1816) was Tingey's principal officer at the Navy Yard.

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all precipitation. I went to my house; locked my doors; and ran to the Yard, where I found you, and tendered my services. What was my astonishment on being informed by you that in the event of a retreat or defeat, and the Yard could not be defended, you had orders to fire it. And as you were left without defence, I could remain and assist in the execution of the order. I had put my horse in the stable, and determining he should not be lost, I went to the stable and saddled him. On bringing him out, I saw Mr. A. Thornton (overseer of laborers), who appeared to be leaving the Yard. To him I intended giving the charge of the horse; but, reflecting that my horse was a good one, and thinking I might be useful in reconnoitering, and not knowing you had received any communication from the Secretary of War, I proposed going in search of intelligence—at which you appeared well pleased. Then Colonel Wharton and Captain Crabb²³ were in the Yard. The British army were momentarily expected—and as I mounted my horse, was told that the whistling of the balls had been distinctly heard at the Marine Barracks;²⁴ which [report] you heard as well as myself. I passed the Commons, and to the turnpike gate commanding a view of the hills beyond. I saw not the appearance of an Englishman. But oh! *my Country*—and I blush, Sir, to tell you—I saw the Commons covered with the fugitive soldiery of our army—running, hobbling, creeping, and apparently panic-struck. One solitary company only was formed. I was told the army had rallied at the Capitol. Thither I entreated all I passed that could point a bayonet to hasten. Finding there was no pursuing army, I confess I did believe, and that belief expressed to you, that there had not been a general defeat, but that some gallant spirits had sustained the action, and had checked our foe. With this impression I received your order to go to the Capitol for intelligence. I went, but found only men who had been dispersed, resting—principally, I conceived, Barney's flotilla men. The citizen militia had chiefly taken refuge at their houses—as I saw officers, as well as men, at their doors. It did not appear to me that any officer ranking a captain was at the Capitol; or more than from 250 to 300 men. Captain Bacon of Marines and Captain Gohagan of Barney's flotilla were the only officers I knew. They seemed to be settling which should command. I was told that the army had gone to the Heights of Georgetown. This I could not credit. It had in appearance something too dastardly to be believed by me—and I again went in view of the turnpike gate, commanding a view of the Heights in every direction. No enemy had yet approached—and my belief being strengthened by that circumstance that we were not entirely driven out, and our army, or that part of it that deserved the name of soldiers, was still between the City

23. Callahan: *Op. cit.*, p. 684. John Crabb, U. S. M. C. Second lieutenant, 31 January, 1809. First Lieutenant, 28 June, 1809. Captain, 18 June, 1814.

24. Situated about midway between the Navy Yard and Pennsylvania Avenue.

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and Bladensburg,²⁵ I again returned to you to make my report. When on my way, I saw a portion of the Eastern Branch Bridge, blown into splintery fragments, in the air.²⁶ At the moment of my return to you I heard a communication made by a young officer that the British army was in full force in the City—and that they had reached the Capitol or were approaching it. This I knew to be incorrect. Indignant at the communication—and [with] my ardour and zeal alive to the public good—and fearing you would fire the Yard *prematurely*—I was induced to express myself in language [which] few considerations but my country's honour and welfare would have prompted me to. And now, Sir, be assured it was not from disrespect to you—but from my knowledge of you—which I now unhesitatingly declare in my opinion to be devotedly and truly attached to this, your Country. Possessing undaunted bravery and a mind coolly deliberate, . . . had you been left entirely to the "suggestion of your own mind,"²⁷ and could have had the ordering the troops—or at least a part of them—the result of this unfortunate 24th August would have been far different. Unfortunately, "the Navy Yard could not be covered." It had not been recollected that in the event of a retreat, Barney's flotilla men could be useful in the Yard. It was forgotten that the "Argus,"²⁸ etc., etc., had their guns expressly mounted for the protection of this desirable depot of public property and wealth. Thither they had not been ordered to repair and rally. No, Sir! Fate had decreed that with the Capitol it should be an additional monument of our country's disgrace and dishonor—and alike to exhibit one general *Chaos* of tumbling ruins. Whether it was for want of military means or military science and knowledge in the commanding general, or *miscreant treachery* in designing its fall, time may never develop. This all will agree in: that the stain can never be blotted from the recollections of Americans.

But to return. On offering to reconnoiter the British army (after giving way to my feelings), that confidence which you appeared to repose in me by the declaration that you would depend on the intelligence I gave you, that you would postpone the execution of your order to the last moment, and that your life and reputation would rest on

25. The village of Bladensburg was five or six miles northeast of Washington, with which it was connected by a good turnpike. The battle of Bladensburg, culminating in the confusion described by Booth, was followed that evening by the British occupation of Washington.

26. Secretary of the Navy, W. Jones, stated that in anticipation of the enemy's approach from that quarter preparations had been made to blow up the bridge, and that "Captain Creighton was left in charge of the bridge to destroy it on the near approach of the enemy." "American State Papers, Military Affairs," I, p. 576. W. Jones to R. M. Johnson, October 3, 1814. Commodore Tingey reported that the part near the "draw" was blown up "as had been arranged in the morning." *Ibid.*, I, 578. T. Tingey to W. Jones, August 27, 1814.

27. This quotation and the one immediately following are taken from a letter from Secretary of War, John Armstrong, to the editors of the "Baltimore Patriot," September 3, 1814. Quoted by Williams: *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

28. A new U. S. sloop of war.

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the correctness of that intelligence, induced me to determine at the hazard of my life to ascertain where the British army was; to ascertain to a certainty if they had not been checked, or where the American army was, and if likely to make a stand by which the City might be saved. I had left the Yard but a few minutes before I was in view of the turnpike road leading from Bladensburg (I had passed Colonel Tatum)²⁹ and scarcely in view before I saw a man horseback coming over the hill beyond the gate in full speed. A wagon had been left about half way down the hill. The man came as far as the wagon; then turned to the left in[to] the woods. I saw no other person, and pushed on past the gate, and at some distance saw John Davis³⁰ (brother of Shadrach) and Mr. Ivie[?] in the field to the right, but at the fence. They had seen no British pass the hill, and enquired where I was going. As I replied, we saw a man pass the hill in full speed. He was whipping his horse at every jump. I galloped on and met him. He stopped and told me he had seen the British army, and where they were; that he was from Georgetown, was a butcher, and had gone voluntarily to gain information for the people of his town. He offered to turn about and show me where they were—and did. On getting on top of the hill, he took me along a blind road to the left, the way he had before gone into the field (for he was the man I had seen come over the hill to the wagon). The ground was open for a great distance, and on a hill to the left of the road beyond the farm house of Sergeant-Major Forrest³¹ he showed me a column of men. They appeared to me to be dressed in blue or dark clothes. I saw distinctly many red coats—but took them for drummers and fifers. Though Miller (for that was the name of the man with me) insisted they were the officers, I proposed to him to keep the ridge until the sun, then near setting, might more distinctly favor our view. On proceeding some distance, I believed them to be American troops, having seen a company file off that I took to be the Georgetown riflemen. The circumstance alone of not having seen persons conveying intelligence of the check (if checked) of the British made me doubt at all. However, I determined to gain a height that I think was within 300 yards of them, where I expected also to have a distinct view of the advanc-

29. Possibly Colonel William Tatham (1752-1819), engineer and political economist. Born in England, he became a Virginia cavalry officer during the American Revolution. He later resided in England for a time, but in 1805 returned to the United States. He became a military storekeeper in the United States service in 1817, only to resign a few months later. February 22, 1819, he either committed suicide or was accidentally killed when he stepped in front of a cannon at the moment it was discharged during a Washington's birthday celebration in Richmond, Virginia. F. S. Drake: "Dictionary of American Biography" (Boston, 1872), pp. 892-93. F. B. Heitman: "Historical Register and Dictionary of the U. S. Army, 1789-1903" (Washington, 1903), I, 945.

30. Bryan: *Op. cit.*, I, 517n. John Davis was proprietor of the Indian Queen Hotel, a flourishing hostelry in Washington.

31. A member of the Marine Corps.

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ing company. I had to pass a fence before I reached the hill. On getting to it, there was a gap—the rails scattered in every direction. Miller got down to open it. I bade him remain there. Before I had reached the top of the hill, he called to me. I heard him and [as I] looked around, he beckoned several times. I still went on. He mounted his horse and strained after me. Hallooing [he] told me he had seen several men run off into some bushes; [and] that he expected [they] designed to pick me off. I had gained the summit of the hill, but a cornfield being between the hill and the road, I could see nothing of the company that had filed off. I saw the men as they left the bushes running towards me, but galloping off before they gained the hill, I was (I thought) pretty well out of their reach. I saw two ascend it, and of them one only fired. Miller then asked me if I did not think that proof. Thinking that the company that appeared to be advancing might interrupt our return, we kept the field; passed down the meadows at the head of the Tiber,³² through Mrs. Casinove's³³ plantation, and out near the Capitol; and then went in view of the turnpike gate. The British had not passed the hill, then sundown. As I passed on, I again saw Davis and Ivey [?] coming in. I found you at the Navy Yard gate, and told you I would make my report, if it met with your approbation, before Colonel Wharton. My reason was that you and the Colonel hearing my report, if you fired the Yard, might be justified. The Colonel was not with you, and you . . . sent Sergeant Stickney³⁴ to look for him. He [Stickney] returned and reported the Colonel had left the Yard. Captain Haraden³⁵ being present, I reported as here stated. You observed that everything was ready, but as Captain Creighton had gone out to ascertain where the army was, you would wait his return. Miller had assured me they had passed through Georgetown.

Desirous of knowing positively myself, I proposed to you my going as far as the President's House,³⁶ where I expected . . . I might ascertain by some one to be relied on what was the fact, and if anything was to be done—or could meet Captain Creighton. You assented. When I reached Jersey Avenue below Mr. Carroll's, I met

32. Various referred to as "Tiber River," "Tiber Creek," and "Goose Creek." Bryan: *Op. cit.*, I, 54. "The Universal Magazine," July, 1793, p. 43. In the latter reference the Tiber is described as "the principal stream that passes through the city"; and which "is to be collected in a grand reservoir beside the capitol, whence it will be carried in pipes to different parts of the city; while its surplus water will fall down in beautiful cascades, through the public gardens west of the capitol, into the canal."

33. The reference appears to be to a member of the family of Peter Casanove, mayor of Georgetown, 1784. Bryan: *Op. cit.*, I, 275n.

34. A man named Levi Stickney enlisted in the U. S. Marine Corps in 1813, and was discharged at New York in 1818. It is not known whether he was at Washington, District of Columbia, at the time of its capture.

35. Callahan: *Op. cit.*, p. 247. Nathaniel Harriden, U. S. N. Master, 30 June, 1799. Lieutenant, 31 March, 1807. Commander, 27 April, 1816. Died 9 January, 1818.

36. The White House, so-called even before the British burned the building. Bryan: *Op. cit.*, I, 313n.

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Mr. Walter Cox, cornet in Caldwell's³⁷ troop of horse. He told me he had left the army at Tenley town³⁸—and I informed him where the British were. He went with me as far as the President's House. A houseman in uniform, apparently a field officer, was at the steps. I asked him his name. He seemed much agitated; was about to draw a pistol from his holster—when on observing I perceived he was an American as well as myself, and [upon my] requesting him not to be flurried, that my object was to gain correct information of our army, he informed me his name was Tatum (whom I recognized to have seen in the evening near the turnpike gate). He returned his pistol on my mentioning my wishing information to convey to you.

On Mr. Cox's coming up (who was behind, having stopped on meeting some acquaintances) and asking if any person was within, the Colonel replied he expected not, for he had called John,³⁹ and was not answered. Mr. Cox desired his servant to dismount and ring the bell. The Colonel made the servant hold his horse; dismounted; went up the steps; pulled the bell several times with much violence; knocked at the door; and called John. But all was as silent as a church.

Colonel Tatum made some observations on having had it in his power to have taken the British general;⁴⁰ got hold of Mr. Cox's hand; and wished to detain him in conversation; but on my observing we must not be detained, he left the Colonel, and we rode off. Then, and not until then, was my mind fully impressed that the Metropolis of our Country was abandoned to its horrid fate. We had not proceeded far on Pennsylvania Avenue before we overtook Captain Creighton, when I learned that no further opposition was to be expected. At the Tiber Bridge⁴¹ we met William Smith of Caldwell's troop. Mr. Cox turned him back on telling him they would return together to the camp after going to the Navy Yard. Mr. Cox proposed on our getting to Capitol Hill to pass the north end of the Capitol that we might see if anyone was there. We saw *not one soul*. We went on in the direction of Tomblinson's Hotel.⁴² When about midway between that and Long's, Mr. Cox (we being in front) laid himself on his horse's neck as if observing something. I thought he was looking at what I took to be cows. He observed he saw the cows, but he also saw men advancing. They were rising from the hollow directly in front of Long's. We advanced until within forty yards or

37. Captain Elias B. Caldwell, of Washington, commanding a volunteer company. See "Records of the Columbia Historical Society" (1895), I, No. 2, p. 20.

38. Tennallytown, situated less than three miles northwest of Georgetown.

39. John Sioussa, the French porter, who was the last person to leave the White House. "Memoirs and Letters of Dolly Madison" (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1886), p. 111.

40. Major-General Robert Ross.

41. On Pennsylvania Avenue below, and to the west of, the Capitol. See "A Correct Map of the City of Washington, Capital of the U. S. A.," by Peter Force, 1820.

42. B. H. Tomlinson was the proprietor of this hotel. Bryan: *Op. cit.*, I, 519n.

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less, when they began to display. I gave the reins to my horse, and Captain Creighton followed me. Cox and Smith and Cox's servant came to the right about. We were fired on by the party. I passed Carroll's⁴³ long row of buildings; turned by the Reverend A. McCormick's and with the Jersey Avenue to the Virginia Avenue and to the Navy Yard, Captain Creighton keeping with me. We made a report accordingly. You then determined to fire the Yard⁴⁴—and asked Captain Creighton and myself if we would keep our horses, or take a seat with you in your boat. Captain Creighton determined on going with you. My horse was too good a one to be lost. I obtained your permission to rely on him, when you told me to take care of myself and horse, and bade me farewell; turned yourself to the lanthorn; drew out your watch; and observed it was twenty minutes after eight. I left you only to return to my children. I passed from the Yard by the 20 buildings,⁴⁵ and by Mrs. Young's to the Potomac Bridge.⁴⁶ The south draw was up. I had it put down—and was scarcely over before I saw the flames of the Yard—and had but reached the level beyond the causeway before I saw a considerable explosion, which I conceived was the ordnance store, but possibly was the one at Greenleaf's Point,⁴⁷ as I saw very soon after the flames at the fort at that place. By the time I reached the hill—which did not exceed fifteen minutes—I saw the Capitol in flames (though I had seen lights within while on the bridge). This, I had no doubt, was the work of the British. A sight *so repugnant to my feelings, so dishonourable*, so degrading to the American character, and at the *same time, so awful*, almost palsied my faculties.⁴⁸

43. Daniel Carroll was owner of a group of buildings on Capitol Hill. They came to be known as "Carroll's Row." *Ibid.*, I, 312, 519.

44. Tingey subsequently wrote to the Secretary of the Navy: "After receiving repeated contradictory reports relative to the strength and position of the enemy during the afternoon and evening of that day, at twenty minutes past eight, P. M., I received incontestable proof (by Captain Creighton and Mr. M. Booth, my clerk, both of whom had been voluntarily active to obtain me positive information) that the enemy was in complete possession of the city, having themselves been within the range of, and exposed to, the fire of his musketry." "American State Papers, Military Affairs," I, 577. T. Tingey to W. Jones, October 18, 1814.

45. Buildings originally erected by a syndicate on land owned by Daniel Carroll, of Duddington. Carroll eventually took them over for debt. Bryan: *Op. cit.*, I, 280-82.

46. The route taken was almost due west.

47. On Greenleaf's Point (now Washington Barracks) were an arsenal and a few other public buildings. M. I. Weller and J. Ewell: "Unwelcome Visitors to Washington, August 24, 1814," in "Records of the Columbia Historical Society" (1895), I, No. 2, p. 2.

48. During their occupation of the Capital the British wantonly destroyed public property without reference to its military usefulness. The torch was applied to the Capitol, the White House, and the Treasury Building on the night of August 24. The following day various other public buildings, and some belonging to private individuals were destroyed. Of the former only the Post Office and Patent Office were saved. For an itemized account of losses, see "American State Papers, Military Affairs," I, 532, 533. J. B. McMaster: "History of the U. S.," IV, 142-44. Gen. George W. Cullum: "The Attack on Washington City in 1814." The last-named survey is in "Papers of the American Historical Association" (New York and London, 1887-88), II, 62, 63. Horatio King: "Burning of Washington in 1814," in "Magazine of American History" (New York, November, July, 1885), XIV, 443.

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Finding many of the citizens at Owin's [?] on the hill, of which [persons] a large portion were women and children, I remained from two and a half to three hours, viewing the tumbling ruins—and about midnight reached Wren's, where I found my children. All were up; and people constantly passing. Most of the baggage and other wagons had passed. I had been but a short time at the house, when a man who stopped stated the President was then within a mile of the place, and threw out in my opinion very improper threats. However, on my making some observations, he seemed to be very quiet.

Thursday 25th. I was up at the dawn of day, and as soon as I could get my horse, I took young Wren with me to show me the way to Mrs. Minor's,⁴⁹ where, it was said, the President was. He had been there the evening before with General John Mason⁵⁰ and Mr. R. Rush,⁵¹ but stayed only a short time. I returned to Wren's, and very soon Sergeant-Major Forrest arrived to take charge of the powder. He had with him a guard of 20 to 24 men and boys. Going with him on their way to give him instructions, I saw Doctor Blake,⁵² the mayor of the City—who had also taken his family to that neighborhood.

The troop of Fairfax dragoons, commanded by Captain George Graham, had arrived. Many of the most respectable gentlemen of the country were with him. Such a quantity of powder being in so public a place appeared to excite great alarm. For my part, I felt none. However, I told them if Captain Graham with two or three others, together with Captain Samuel N. Smallwood of Washington City, and Doctor George A. Thornton of Alexandria, who were there, would form themselves into a committee and recommend the removal, I would have it done. The following is the purport of their decision:

We, whose names are herewith annexed, a committee to consider the necessity of immediately removing the powder deposited at the farm of Daniel Dulany, are of opinion that it should be removed farther in[to] the interior—and advise that M. Booth under the authority he may be cloaked with by the Navy Department, under the order of Commodore Tingey, with respect to its safety, procure wagons and order the removal.

Given under our hands this 25th August, 1814—

GEO. GRAHAM
SAM'L N. SMALLWOOD
(Signed) GEO. A. THORNTON
WM. MOSS
WM. H. FOOTE

49. About ten miles (by a straight line) northwest of Washington. Adams: *Op. cit.*, VIII, 120, map: "Positions of the British and American Forces . . . August 20 to September 12, 1814."

50. Brigadier-general of militia. Bryan: *Op. cit.*, I, 565ff.

51. Attorney-General, Richard Rush.

52. Dr. James H. Blake. Bryan: *Op. cit.*, I, 468, 615.

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In consequence of the foregoing recommendation, I gave the following instructions:

Agreeably to the above decision, I hereby give you authority to secure some more safe place of deposit for the powder at the farm of Daniel Dulany, Esquire, and that you cause with all practicable dispatch its removal to the distance of from four to six miles in[to] the interior. And that you impress wagons for that purpose; and Sergeant-Major Forrest of the Marine Corps will take it under his charge. When this duty is performed, your function with respect to the powder will cease.

Given under my hand this 25th August, 1814—

(Signed) MORDECAI BOOTH,
Clerk to and for

Mr. D. Bennett,
A citizen of the County
of Fairfax, Virginia.

Thos. Tingey,
Comdt. Navy Yard.

I then went to the farm of Mr. Dulany to see Sergeant-Major Forrest, and to give him orders. I there impressed the wagons of Richard H. L. Washington, then passing through the farm to avoid being impressed. I had impressed Rector Gist and George Valandingham, who had reported themselves that morning, and were ordered to the powder house. After giving the necessary orders, I returned to Wren's. Captain Smallwood was just leaving it with his family and my children for my relations, L. Lee's, in Loudoun County. He informed me the President had been there, and had just gone off. Captain Graham informed me he had gone to Mr. Moffit's, where he expected to find Mrs. Madison⁵³—and if I wished to see him, I would (if I would lose no time) overtake him. I had not gone more than a mile before I was overtaken by the most tremendous storm I had ever witnessed. I was compelled to take shelter, and found myself under the hospitable roof of Mr. McLain. As soon as the storm was over, I was on my horse; but before I had proceeded far, I met a man who told me the President had sheltered himself from the storm at a place known by the name of the Crossroads, five miles from the Little Falls Bridge⁵⁴—that there he had learned that Mrs. Madison had passed on her way to Willie's Tavern⁵⁵—and the President had gone on there. I followed on, as I expected my family would pass Willie's. I very soon overtook the President, accompanied by Mr. R. Rush and two of Graham's troopers as a guard. I continued with them until within a

53. See "Memoirs and Letters of Dolly Madison," p. 114ff.

54. Which spanned the Potomac above Washington.

55. The editor of "Memoirs and Letters of Dolly Madison" states (p. 114) that Mrs. Madison and some attendants proceeded "to a little tavern in the middle of an apple orchard, sixteen miles from Washington, where Mr. Madison had promised to join them."

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short distance of Wilie's. Meeting with three of the wagons that had been engaged in removing powder, and had run the day before, I stopped to order them to Mr. Bennett's—(by the bye, they did not go) and I soon reached Wilie's. There I found the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. John Graham, and several other gentlemen; Mrs. Madison, Mrs. Jones, and other ladies.⁵⁶ Mr. Jones was very particular in his enquiries. Asked me if I would inform him whether you had removed any of the copper—and hoped you had taken the precaution to destroy all the boats and galleys. Spoke of the necessity of firing the Yard; and [observed] that although your order to fire it was not in writing, yet it was given in the presence of a third person. This he mentioned in consequence of my observing I had acted without written orders. Having approved of what I had done, from the information I had given him, and giving me directions with respect to the powder, he spoke of the immense consequence the naval stores would have been to the British if suffered to fall into their hands—and that they would in all probability have launched the frigate then on the stocks, and taken her off if she had not been destroyed.

After waiting a considerable time at Wilie's, and my family not coming up, I became uneasy and returned down the road six miles without hearing anything of them. I concluded they had taken a different road, and returned to Wilie's. At a late hour (perhaps twelve o'clock at night) the President,⁵⁷ Secretary of the Navy, General Mason (whom I had met as I was in search of my family), Mr. Graham, and other gentlemen, with an escort of Graham's dragoons, left Wilie's with an intention of passing the Potomac River above the Big Falls, and joining the army. This the Secretary of the Navy informed me of, himself. The party were disappointed in crossing the river as they had intended.

Friday, 26th. This morning I was off by the day to Mr. Lee's to see my family in a place of safety that I might return to you. I reached Mr. Lee's about 10 o'clock in the forenoon. I was fatigued, and found my foot very much swollen. I waited until four in the evening. My family had not arrived; and hearing nothing of them, I conjectured that Captain Smallwood had gone into Maryland to his wife's brother.

On Mr. Lee's promising to send over, and assuring me that he would receive my children with pleasure, I set out on my return. That

56. *Ibid.*, p. 115. The President arrived "late in the night . . . with the friends who had accompanied him the night before. He looked careworn and weary, and after a somewhat scant meal of such food as had been left in the over-crowded tavern, he yielded to his wife's entreaties and sought forgetfulness in sleep."

57. *Ibid.*, p. 116. "Toward midnight a courier . . . warned the President that the enemy had discovered a clue to his hiding-place, and were even then on their way hither. Yielding to the entreaties of his wife and friends, he sought refuge in a miserable little hovel in the woods . . . here he spent the remainder of the night."

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evening I met the Secretary of the Navy. As he had been disappointed in crossing the Potomac, he had returned to carry his lady, and some others in company, to Fredericktown—after which he intended joining the army. I requested to know his commands to you. He observed he had no others [than] that should the enemy evacuate the City, you would use all diligence in collecting the public stores.

This evening I learned that from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and fifty wagons belonging to the army had crossed the Potomac just above the mouth of Goose Creek.⁵⁸ This is a distance of at least forty miles from the City of Washington, and perhaps twenty to Montgomery Court House,⁵⁹ where they expected to join the army. Montgomery Court House is twenty-four miles from Bladensburg.

I passed General Young's⁶⁰ brigade that night, one mile above Wilie's, and reached that place about eight o'clock at night.

Saturday 27th. I again was on my horse a little after daylight—my foot very much swollen and my ankle very painful. On getting to the Falls Church, I met with Bennett, who informed me that after my family had been exposed to the violence of the storm of the day before, Captain Smallwood had returned, and had located himself at his house. I went home with him and got my breakfast. He informed me that Sergeant-Major Forrest and himself had hunted a situation all of the 25th and chief part of the 26th to remove the powder to, without finding one they thought would be better than where it was. I visited Sergeant-Major Forrest, and was told that everything was safe; and then proceeded to the City to you, understanding the British had evacuated it. I crossed the Georgetown ferry, and on reaching the Navy Yard, found you had been there from the day before—and that you had also been at the Yard the 25th, the day after the action, reconnoitering the movements of the British, and but a few minutes after Admiral Cockburn⁶¹ had left it. On my communicating the Secretary's message respecting the collecting of the public stores, you informed me of the abominable plunder of public as well as private property. Then it was that I felt with most regret my crippled state; being incapable of rendering assistance by my exertions. My lameness was produced from my boot bruising my instep, and my foot and leg being so much swollen I could not bear my foot to the ground. The inflammation had become alarming and excessively painful. Added to this, I had several large boils—one on

58. Northwest of Washington.

59. In Montgomery County, Maryland, whither most of the militia removed after the general retreat began. Cullum: *Op. cit.*, II, 61.

60. General Robert Young was in command of a brigade of troops consisting of militia and volunteer companies from Alexandria and vicinity. It contained one company of cavalry. Williams: *Op. cit.*, p. 136.

61. Rear Admiral Sir George Cockburn, who, with General Ross, was an active participant in the seizure of Washington.

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the joint of my wrist—one on my hip—and one on the under part of my thigh; [so] that it was with difficulty that I could sit my horse. I remained until evening in the City; and as you thought it was best the powder should remain where it was, and directed me to continue in charge of it but not to dismiss the wagons, I thought I could not be materially useful to you. I would return to Bennett's that I might be near the powder, and at the same time be with my family that I might have their attention in my really deplorable situation. On my way I heard the British cannon as their fleet ascended the Potomac River to Alexandria;⁶² and about eight o'clock at night I got to Mr. Bennett's.

Sunday, 28th. I was completely laid up—but Sergeant-Major Forrest came to me to know if the powder had not better be removed and placed in the rear of the army. As the alarm of the British fleet's getting to Alexandria had spread, and not knowing that we had any troops to prevent their penetrating into the country, I of course wrote to you for directions; to which you replied:

DEAR SIR,

I am firmly of opinion that the powder cannot be in a better and more secure place than where it is, as any movement will rather endanger its security. I will act in time—as soon as I know what's best.

Compliments,

(Signed) T. W. TINGEY

Monday, 29th. Painful as my foot was, and covered with boils which made it really distressing to be on horseback, I went to Alexandria, thinking that you might perhaps be there to observe the movements of the enemy. I called at Shuter's Hill.⁶³ Mrs. Dulany informed me you had not been down. I went into the town. On entering it, I met John Macpherson, Senior, Esquire, who told me of the degrading terms of its capitulation,⁶⁴ and [that it] then was in possession of the enemy. I passed through, and met with young Slade, with whom I had some conversation. We spoke of General Hungerford's⁶⁵ being on his way to Alexandria with a brigade of

62. The British squadron, commanded by Captain John A. Gordon, met with little opposition as it moved up the Potomac to Alexandria. The terrified Alexandrians quickly capitulated; whereupon the British fleet lay off the town for three days, shipping supplies which Gordon required the townspeople to provide him with. McMaster: *Op. cit.*, IV, 145.

63. Apparently in the vicinity of Dulany's farm, where the powder had been stored.

64. Captain Gordon required the inhabitants of the town to deliver up all naval and ordnance stores, all shipping and "merchandize of every description"; to raise all vessels which had been sunk to prevent capture; and to supply the British ships with refreshments "of every description . . . paid for at the market price, by bills on the British government." "National Intelligencer," September 3, 1814.

65. Brigadier-general of militia, John Pratt Hungerford. For a time he encamped on Arlington Heights. Later, in September, he aided in harassing the British as their fleet sailed down the Potomac.

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troops—of which I had been informed the evening preceding. He informed me it was understood he was the night before at Occoquan,⁶⁶ and that the Alexandrians had sent to request him not to come there as it would endanger the town. I went to the bank of the river to view the force and position of the fleet. Again were my feelings most sensibly excited on seeing the British flag waving triumphant in the District. They had commenced taking possession of the shipping, as I saw one of their launches towing down a ship, said to have drifted, then considerably above the town. Others that lay in the stream [they were] hauling in—and their armed ships [were] ranging with the town from the upper to the lower end. Two sloops of war had not got up; and one, opposite the mouth of Hunting Creek⁶⁷ appeared to be aground. Two frigates, two sloops of war, a brig, and two or three smaller vessels only lay before the town.

I proceeded up to Georgetown, where I stopped for a short time, being so much exhausted by pain I could scarcely sit my horse. I however reached you that evening about three o'clock—found you much engaged in collecting the public stores—and, to my astonishment, was informed by you of the destruction of the powder at the Naval Magazine. This evening I stayed at your house and attended to deliveries of provisions brought in—while you took my horse and went to the fort and battery on the point. I remained in the City all night, the British then in Alexandria, plundering.

Tuesday 30th. I was in the Yard with you all the fore part of the day—but not able to do anything of consequence. I did a little writing—but finding I had a smart fever, and being of little or no service to you, determined to return to Bennett's. Before I left the City, I saw Captain Creighton, just on his return from Baltimore. That evening Captain Porter⁶⁸ also arrived, and I understood from Captain Creighton [that] Commodores Rodgers⁶⁹ and Perry⁷⁰ were momentarily expected. Such was the situation I was in, I could not ride out of a walk, and it was late at night before I got to Bennett's.

Wednesday 31st August, and Thursday the 1st September. I could not leave the house either day; and I, for the first time, took some medicine.

66. In Prince William County, Virginia, less than twenty miles from Alexandria.

67. A small stream flowing through Fairfax County into the Potomac.

68. Callahan: *Op. cit.*, p. 441. David Porter, U. S. N. Midshipman, April 16, 1798. Lieutenant, October 8, 1799. Commander, April 22, 1806. Captain, July 2, 1812. For activities of Porter during the War of 1812, see L. S. Maclay, "History of the U. S. Navy" (New York, 1894-1907), I, 542-75.

69. Callahan: *Op. cit.*, p. 469. John Rodgers, U. S. N. Captain, August 28, 1802. He had, at the time Booth wrote the above, already made four successful cruises during the War of 1812. See Maclay: *Op. cit.*, I, 541.

70. Callahan: *Op. cit.*, p. 432. Oliver Hazard Perry, U. S. N. Midshipman, April 17, 1799. Lieutenant, January 15, 1807. Commander, August 28, 1812. Captain, September 10, 1813. For an excellent account of Perry's exploits during the War of 1812, see Maclay, *op. cit.*, I, 480-528.

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Friday 2nd September. My foot feeling somewhat easier, and having heard our gallant naval officers were about forming batteries on the Potomac to intercept the enemy's return down the river, and hoping I could be serviceable to you, I again ventured on my horse, and reached the Yard in the fore part of the day. On my way I saw the Secretary of the Navy. He informed me he had seen you, and had no further commands at that time. He then mentioned he was about fixing his office in a house north of the Seven Buildings,⁷¹ and would soon resume business as usual. I found you busy in preparing, or having prepared, stores, and moving ordnance for military operations. Everybody was in motion. I saw the gallant Perry and his officers setting out to take their station. My misfortune in being in so crippled a state prevented my exertions as I could have wished, and that evening, to my mortification and regret, you were so unwell you were confined to your bed. Captain Haraden seemed to be exerting himself with great energy. I passed the night in the City.

Saturday 3rd September. From your request that I would attend to the dispatch of the 32 pounders from the Yard to the White House⁷² (made the overnight) and Captain Haraden's request [that] I assist in the necessary attention to dispatching wagons with stores, ammunition, etc., I was early in the Yard—and attended until after breakfast time. After breakfast you determined on sending two wagons loaded with powder from Mr. Dulany's farm. I mounted my horse, and although I was yet so afflicted that my foot was ready to burst, I galloped the whole distance, and by one o'clock had two wagons under way with fifty barrels and two quarter casks of powder to Commodore Porter at the White House. I paid severely for this ride, but by bathing and poultices got some relief.

Sunday 4th September. Today could not stir, and kept on the bed. By the application of poultices, and [by] bathing, found the swelling abating and the inflammation and the pain subsiding.

Monday 5th September. Came to the City with my family, and arrived at night. All was well, and the wagons just returned from the White House; reported the safe delivery of the powder, and advised

71. On Pennsylvania Avenue, between 19th and 20th streets. Byran: *Op. cit.*, I, 414.

72. On the west bank of the Potomac, below Mount Vernon. This phase of the contest is described by Secretary of the Navy, W. Jones, as follows: "After the capitulation of Alexandria to the enemy's squadron, a considerable force, in seamen, was ordered from Baltimore . . . under the command of Commodore Rodgers, with Captains Porter, Perry, and Creighton. The former attacked and annoyed the enemy in his rear, in boats and with fire vessels, whilst the other commanders planted their batteries on White House Point and Indian Head.

Those measures precipitated the departure of the enemy, and greatly annoyed him in descending the river; but there was not time sufficient to prepare the means to render that annoyance effectual." "American State Papers," Military Affairs, I, 577. W. Jones to R. M. Johnson, October 3, 1814. See "National Intelligencer," September 8 and 10, 1814, for extended reports on the activities of Perry and Porter along the Potomac.

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that Commodore Porter said it would be an abundant quantity. The Commodore did not acknowledge the receipt.

Tuesday the 6th. Today received your order to have the powder brought back to the Naval Magazine on the Eastern Branch. Went to the Magazine; examined the number of barrels of powder in it with Doctor Monroe.⁷³ There were ninety-three barrels which had remained in the Magazine, and one barrel the Doctor stated to have been found near the Magazine, that had been taken out; twenty-two quarter casks that had not been removed, and one Doctor Monroe had found, thrown in a swamp on the opposite side of the Branch. The barrels of Ewell's⁷⁴ powder had been made into cylinders, and remained in the Magazine—and eighty 18 pounder cylinders of 5 lbs. each had been delivered from the Magazine for public use—which would be equal to four barrels. That, of the whole quantity of powder left in the Magazine after the removal on the 23rd of August and not plundered or destroyed, was one hundred and fourteen barrels and twenty-three quarter casks.

Having no further use for Murray's horse, he was returned this day in the afternoon. From the morning of the 23rd ultimo to this afternoon he was in the service of the public fifteen days.

Between the 6th and 10th I have caused to be delivered by wagons of George Vallandigham, Rector Gist, and Richard H. L. Washington, agreeably to receipts furnished you, one hundred and fifty barrels of powder from the farm of Daniel Dulany, Esquire.

I am sorry to state my foot is still in so painful a situation it makes it difficult for me to sit up long enough for me to do the ordinary business required of me and to complete this report—the apology I must offer for its being made at so late a date.

Respectfully,

MORDECAI BOOTH

Washington, 10th September, 1814
Commodore Thomas Tingey.

73. Dr. Thos. J. C. Monroe was the keeper of the powder magazine. He resigned to enter the army as post surgeon, May 6, 1816.

74. Thos. Ewell was the head of the Washington Powder Mill, located near the Navy Yard, and had contracts with the U. S. Navy for powder.



The Building of a Democratic Republic

BY JOEL N. ENO, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK



FIRST, in order to a clear and unconfused discussion of any theme, a strict definition of the sense of the principal term used is necessary.

What is democracy in its original and true sense? Founded by Solon, the great lawgiver and statesman of the city-state of Athens, Greece, about 590 B. C., who by his social legislation relieved the poor of intolerable burdens, and gave all freemen some degree of right as citizens, and thus erected the framework of a real democracy, making the demos or body of citizens the sovereign power of the State, with complete control of all their executives; but, it is reported, as bound by oath, to observe for ten years, the laws or constitution which he was chosen and authorized by elected leaders to frame; the ten years as a test period of the citizenry, whether they would obey these laws, while he absented himself from Athens.

Yet in any human community of numbers, there have been throughout all known history, those unwilling to obey laws however just, and however wise the lawgivers, even a Moses or a Solon, when liberty gives them opportunity to further their own ends; and party strife, in a few years enabled Pisistratus, a popular and successful general, backed by the discontented element, to grasp the supreme power, while he held the better element satisfied by keeping the form of Solon's constitution, yet holding the guiding power in his own hands, to the intellectual advancement and military strengthening of Athens. He reduced taxation and made provision for the disabled and aged citizens, who were restricted to native men, not aliens nor slaves. Yet as he used military force to crush opposition, he was twice expelled, and his government did not long survive his death in 527 B. C.; democracy being revived by Cleisthenes about 510 B. C. by a new and more satisfactory grouping of the citizens; but by 454 B. C. the men selected for office were often inefficient; but the ten generals being elected by the votes of the people, gave a single powerful man, Pericles, his opportunity to direct the State through the most brilliant age of Athenian

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culture, when the democracy, by opening officeholding to all save the poorest citizens, encouraged keen interest in the Athenian government; but jealousy, hostility and war by Sparta, Thebes and Corinth, in 431 B. C., with a siege in which Pericles and many others died from a plague; in 413 B. C. the Athenian army and fleet were destroyed by the Spartans; and in 405 Athens, faced by starvation, surrendered. Democracy fell because of lack of union of the city states; a new and original form of government, of a single separate state; yet such is always in danger of overthrow by its rivals or enemies outside, and from party strife within. Only in theory has ever such a government been but temporarily by the citizenry as a whole. It is an advance beyond clannism and tribalism, which are promotive of and prolific in petty wars. Yet the virtuous character of a democratic government depends upon and lies in the virtuous character and intelligence of the citizenry, and particularly of the elected officers and rulers. For there are those in any large community incompetent of will and intelligence to control, much less to guide themselves or their own affairs. Early Rome presented an example of strong, orderly and conscientious government on the principle of the *res publica*, or common weal, without either a king or a democracy; beginning about 509 B. C. with the election of two consuls for a year's term, and in 494 B. C. the addition of ten tribunes annually elected by and of the common citizens of Rome, and protecting them from encroachment on their just rights by the magistrates chosen from the patrician class; and also in 449 B. C. by the laws then codified, engraved on twelve bronze tablets and set up in the Forum where they could be read by anyone. In 376 B. C. the commons or plebeians rose in arms to obtain an equal share in the consular office with the patricians and gained the election of a plebeian consul, and in 367 B. C., after a ten-year struggle, plebeians were granted equal rights with the patricians; and by 266, Rome ruled all Italy, from the Strait of Messina on the south to the Rubicon on the north, though citizenship was confined to residents in Rome and its vicinity. Yet the conquered peoples were allowed to manage their own local affairs, provided they furnished soldiers for the Roman armies in time of war; having private rights, but not the right to vote or hold office, they were held to allegiance by the presence of Roman or Latin colonists, mainly plebeians and veteran soldiers, who were granted farming lands at strategic points. This policy was continued

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in the immense conquests that followed, until it became so difficult in distant and barbarous provinces that paying of tribute was substituted; their wheat flooded the market of Italy, so cheapening it that the Italian small farmers sold out to the rich, who by use of slave labor could compete. Result, a few rich landholders hold the Italian farmland to this day; and the landless, flocking to Rome, swelled the fickle, ignorant and selfish mob, which was for centuries a constant menace to the peace of the city; ready for use by ambitious generals for their own purpose to rule as emperors.

The United States has been called a democratic republic. While the fate of the Athenian democracy and of the Roman republic contains a lesson and a warning for us, the greatest danger to our country lies in a different direction. The citizenry of Athens was racially homogeneous, and the governing body of the Roman republic mainly so; as was the case in the original thirteen colonies which became the United States. Like the Roman republic, they guarded the privilege of a voice and share in the government, by restricting it to men of sound moral character, executive ability, and at least a small property; that the voter should have a stake in stable and economical government. A relic of this requirement still remains in Rhode Island, which requires \$134 of property; and registration, or payment of a real estate tax. The food relief of the needy from the public storehouse by G. Gracchus, at Rome, led to plain charity and voluntary pauperism; and a similar course in England and the United States shows a tendency toward similar results. Yet it is a sound principle of business exchange, that value received shall be equaled by value given; by which a person who contributes nothing to the public funds, is entitled to nothing from the public funds, nor to any voice in their distribution; if he receives from public funds, it is as a pauper or a parasite. Delinquency in payment of taxes disqualifies for voting in Georgia, Mississippi, New Hampshire and Pennsylvania; pauperism disqualifies in Delaware, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, and Wisconsin; bribery, in Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia; and the two latter disqualifications should carry

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in all the states. The propaganda of Karl Marx, in his book "Das Kapital," is falsely called Socialism, for by his own description, it is unsocial, class against class, the propertyless "proletariat" against all the owners of private property, even to the point of seizing all private property by revolution, either with or without bloodshed; bringing the control and operation of the means of production into the hands of the proletariat. Marx claimed that such were the inevitable results of natural causes, and cannot be controlled or guided by human will; a determinism or fatalism comparable to that of another Semite, Mohammed.

But the experience of the Bolsheviks, the radical extreme, or "red" wing of the Marxians, who in 1917, after the abdication of the Czar in March, and the collapse of the Russian fighting against Germany, seized the power and sought to compel production, by Trotzky's armies, was baffled by the opposition of self-interest, which has been the basis of human economic activity from the beginning; and production declined until, in 1921, appalling famine came in the Volga basin and other parts of Russia; notwithstanding a modification in 1920 of the communistic policy, and permission of private trade and private possession. Even the voluntary common sharing of property in the early church, inspired by enthusiastic Christian love, soon experienced the natural result; the reducing of the whole community to one level of pressing poverty. Compare Acts 4, 32, 34, 35 with 2:44, 45 and Romans 15:26. Tried under the most favorable conditions of society possible, communism has proved unworkable; much less under the despotic compulsion of Bolshevism, by confiscation of the fruits of honest labor and economy, and the discouragement of thrift and proper ambition; all which are worthy of their reward.

Yet the most valuable, practical, and practicable object lessons from history, for the applied science of government, are found in the history of England and its American colonies, and the United States; the evolution of human liberty under self-government guided by constitutional and sound governmental principles. The beginning of government in New England was township government, transplanted from England, where a township was, in territory and function, the smallest representative of parish government; as shown in the first edition of Coke's "Commentaries Upon Littleton," published in 1628, contemporary with the earliest settlement of the Puritans: "It can-

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not be a town in law, unless it hath, or in past time hath had, a church, and celebration of divine services, sacraments and burials." The conservative element in the Massachusetts settlements considering church membership a guarantee of good moral character, at first made it a prerequisite for voting; but Dorchester, Cambridge and Watertown had many who were firmly convinced that observed uprightness of life and conduct was surer evidence, and began to plan for a new and independent settlement based on that principle; which Dorchester began at Windsor, Cambridge at Hartford, and Watertown at Wethersfield, all on the Connecticut River, 1634-35. It ought to be noted, though generally overlooked, that Massachusetts Bay Colony dropped the requirement in 1647. The towns were quasi corporations, organized under the charter of the Bay Colony first, 1629, succeeded by those of Connecticut (with New Haven) and Rhode Island. The General Court or lawmaking body of the Colony was composed of the Governor and assistants, magistrates of the rank of gentlemen, to which were added freemen or freeholders; these two classes possessing political citizenship. In 1644 they divided into the Upper House of the Assistants, and the Lower House of the Deputies or representatives of the towns; forming the first two-chamber Legislature in America. The town meeting arose in Dorchester and Watertown in 1633, in which all residents of the town might speak, though only gentlemen, artisans and freeholders might vote: the property requirement in Connecticut was fixed in 1659 at 30 pounds (£30); this Colony also in 1639 drew up the Fundamental Orders, now called the first written constitution. The confederation of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven and Plymouth, as the United Colonies of New England, foreshadowed the United States. New England carried with her her principles in her expansion and colonization in the State of New York, Northern New Jersey, and the Middle West. The local government units in Virginia, the leading southern Colony, were counties with county courts; a meeting, until 1645, of all free white males; but in that year displaced by a board of eight justices appointed by the Governor, Berkeley, and between 1650 and 1670 a royalist immigration raised the population from 15,000 to 40,000; the two causes together established an aristocratic organization. In 1686, however, the House of Burgesses insisted upon its right to levy taxes in spite of any veto by Governor or King; and the new King,

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William III, confirmed it. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the Carolinas, proprietary colonies, tried various plans of government by county units. The tendency of the colonies until the French and Indian wars of the eighteenth century was toward local self-government; and the proposal in Parliament to unite all the colonies in 1701, aroused so great opposition from them, that the bill was dropped; and the large and successful part they had in those wars encouraged the idea that they could take care of themselves independent of England, provided they acted together; and active desire for separation from England was aroused when in the final campaign, that country used search warrants to prevent the colonists from selling supplies to the French troops, 1755 on, and in 1764 imposed a tax on sugar and a revenue stamp tax to help pay the heavy cost of the long campaign, 1754 to 1763; on the principle that such was taxation in which they were allowed no voice nor representation. Though the Stamp Act was repealed in 1766, Parliament still held to the authority to tax; and in 1767 the Prime Minister, Townshend, secured the placing of duties on numerous articles of import into the Colonies, including glass, paper, and tea; and aggravated matters by devoting the proceeds to pay the salaries of the colonial governors and judges, thus making them independent of the colonists, and dependent servants of England; evasion of duties to be tried in courts of admiralty without juries. In 1768, troops were sent to Boston to aid the governor in enforcing the acts; the quartering of the soldiers on the citizens to intimidate them, resulted in hostile feeling, and on March 5, 1770, a conflict, the "Boston Massacre," in which five persons were killed and six wounded. For the next two years, the British ministry persisted in interfering with the liberties of the colonial legislatures, their protests being met by dissolution of the assemblies by the governors. The colonists thereupon organized provisional legislatures, and committees of correspondence between the leaders of the colonies. From 1770 the tax was retained on tea only. Cargoes sent to New York, Annapolis, and Philadelphia, were compelled to be returned to England; Charleston, South Carolina, put the tea in storage; Boston formed a "Tea Party" on December 15, 1773, who threw overboard 342 chests of tea, the entire cargo of three ships, valued at about £18,000. England retaliated by the Boston Port Bill, closing the port of Boston, 1774, to commerce. Two days after it became effective on June 1, the

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Virginia House of Burgesses was dissolved by the Governor, but met at a tavern, and recommended an annual congress of delegates from all the colonies, to consider their united interests. On August 1 they appointed delegates. Other Colonies took similar action, the members of the First Continental Congress being appointed to meet at Philadelphia on September 1, 1774. Its most important act was to propose agreements among the Colonies neither to import nor to export English goods. They also appointed a second congress to meet in May, 1775. At the time of the First Congress, the Colonists still believed that a peaceful settlement of their disagreements with England was possible; but after the closing of the port of Boston, the leaders in Massachusetts organized a Provincial Congress including a committee of safety, which organized a body of emergency militia called minutemen. When General Howe, commander of the British garrison in Boston, on the night of April 18, 1775, sent out 800 soldiers to seize the leaders, John Hancock and Samuel Adams, and also to destroy the military stores of the Colony at Concord, Paul Revere and other riders warned the neighboring minutemen, who began to gather on the village green at Lexington the next morning, where the British troops on arriving ordered them to disperse, and when they did not move, fired upon them, killing seven men and wounding nine. Later in the morning the minutemen made a stand at the North Bridge at Concord and forced the British to retreat toward Boston, firing upon them from behind walls or other shelters along the way, and killing 273, with a loss of ninety-three Americans. In the whole population of the Colonies, however, at least one-third were Loyalists, siding with the British; others were neutral. Massachusetts had not waited for authority from Congress; yet the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, May 15, 1775, counting on the predominance of public sentiment, set about organizing for war of defense; and appointed George Washington commander-in-chief. Twenty thousand militia intrenched for a siege of the British in Boston, but were driven back at the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775; yet inflicted serious losses on the British regulars, though only about 1,500 Americans and 2,500 British were actively engaged. Washington with 2,500 militia in early spring, 1776, fortified Dorchester Heights, and by March 17 forced Howe with 10,000 to evacuate Boston. From this time on, the history of the Revolution is made up of a long series of conflicts,

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mainly on land, with but few important pitched battles, as at Long Island, August 27, 1776; Harlem Heights, September 15, 1776; Bemis Heights, September 19 and October 7, 1777, continued by the same troops at Saratoga, October 11-13, 1777, resulting in the surrender of Burgoyne October 17, 1777, the turning point of the war, which ended with the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia, October 19, 1781. In the final treaty, signed at Versailles, France, September 3, 1783, Great Britain acknowledged the United States to be free, sovereign, and independent; as the Continental Congress in the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, claimed their right to be. Their territory extended from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from Florida to Canada. Virginia, in June, 1776, adopted its State Constitution, introduced by a bill of rights; the first of the State constitutions, and the model for the rest. They provided for an executive, called governor or president, and for courts and legislatures: the latter being given large powers of control over both the executive and the judiciary. Throughout the Colonies, though the suffrage for local elections was made more general than it had been, the privilege of voting was still restricted in some way. Even the most democratic provisions permitted only taxpayers to vote; nor did the privilege of voting carry with it the privilege of holding Colonial offices. To be eligible for Governor in North Carolina, a man must own real estate to the value of £1,000; in Massachusetts the same, or £200 in other property. The Second Continental Congress proposed Articles of Confederation of the Colonies, but the ratification was not completed until 1781, going into effect March 1, 1781; weakened by having no real authority over the people themselves; no adequate powers for controlling commerce either domestic or foreign, nor for dealing with foreign nations, nor adequate means for raising funds to carry out its plans and work; both the Confederation and the states becoming so deeply in debt by the war, that at its end, one dollar in specie would purchase \$1,000 in Continental currency. Therefore, in 1786, delegates from the several states met at Annapolis to consider questions of common interest; one result of the meeting being a call for the states to elect delegates to a convention for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation. This convention, whose members represented the ablest men in the states, met in Philadelphia in May, 1787, and framed the Constitution, which was signed September 17, 1787,

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by thirty-nine of the original fifty-five members; the three great differences of interests being settled by compromise. 1. The differences between the small and the large states, by giving all equal representation in the Senate, and by apportioning membership of Representatives according to the population of each State. 2. Five slaves to count in representation and taxation as equal to three free persons. 3. Congress to lay duties on imports, but not on exports. Ten amendments in 1791.



Rates of Toll on the Cumberland Road in Pennsylvania.	
Every score of sheep	6
" Hogs	4
" Cattle	12
" Horse and rider	4
Every led or drove horse	Mule or Ass 3
" Sled or sleigh drawn by one	
" horse or pair of oxen	3
" Horse or pair of oxen in addition	3
" Dearborn Sulky Chair or Chair	
" with one horse	6
" Horse in addition	3
Every Chariot, Coach, Conchee, Stage,	
" Phaeton or Chaise with two	
" horses and four wheels	12
" Horse in addition	3
Every other carriage of pleasure by	
" whatever name it may be called,	
" the same according to the number	
" of wheels and horses drawing	
" the same	
Every cart or wagon whose wheels do	
" not exceed three inches in breadth,	
" drawn by one horse or pair of	
" oxen	4
" Horse in addition	3
Every cart or wagon whose wheels	
" exceed three inches and does not	
" exceed four inches in breadth,	
" for every horse or pair of oxen	
" drawing the same	4
Every cart or wagon whose wheels exceed	
" four inches, and do not exceed six	
" inches in breadth for every horse	
" or pair of oxen drawing the same	3
Every cart or wagon whose wheels exceed	
" six inches and do not exceed eight	
" inches in breadth for every horse	
" drawing the same	2
All carts or wagons whose wheels exceed	
" eight inches in breadth FREE	
Any person refusing or neglecting to	
" pay toll a fine	

TABLET ON OLD TOLL HOUSE



TOLL HOUSE AND SINGLE TOLL GATE

Transportation in Pennsylvania*

BY FREDERIC A. GODCHARLES, LITT. D.,
MILTON, PENNSYLVANIA



HE problem of transportation is one that has taxed the ingenuity and resources of mankind from the earliest recorded history. As man progressed in civilization, the interchange of commodities and products between the different countries, and consequent intercommunication, became necessities which had to be met. During these early periods, roads were almost unknown, the tracks for trade being those of Nature alone; and it was left for the chieftains of a later time—the Greeks, the Romans, the Carthaginians—to prepare ways for the movement of their legions and supplies, which were the first steps in improvements that the nineteenth century did so much to perfect.

In a recent address, Mr. Leonor F. Loree, president of the Delaware and Hudson Company, opened with this interesting statement: "Transportation is the instrument with which man overcomes the limitations of his physical environment. Whether he finds it necessary to move articles over wide stretches of water, or land, or over the heights of mountains, his commerce is by transportation. Curiously enough, all the methods to which he has resorted may be found still in use in various parts of the world. Trains of porters are engaged in Africa, each man carrying a pack of 65 pounds on his back and averaging 15 miles per day, or in a year 152 ton-miles. The pack-horse can move 780 ton-miles, and the horse, when attached to a wagon, will move on the highway, 6,240 ton-miles. The modern high-powered locomotive on a railroad of low grade will move about seventy million ton-miles annually, and the large type of lake steamers engaged in the transportation of ore, in the season of open navigation of about seven months, will move three hundred and fifty million ton-

*This article forms a chapter in "Pennsylvania—Political, Governmental, Military, and Civil," about to be published by this Society, and is reproduced in "Americana" because of the general interest of the topic covered and in recognition of the fact that the social problems solved, as well as those created, by changing methods of transportation, are experienced so widely as to be universal.

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miles. This enormous increase in service over the naked achievement of man alone by using the most approved appliances of the day is one of the potent aids that have enabled him to rise from a condition of savagery to his high place in our industrial civilization."

Even before the human race inhabited what we now know as America wild animals were here and they became the originators of our roads. The animals beat down paths in going to and from water, which grew more defined as they were regularly used. Then came the Indians, who naturally followed these beaten paths, but as their need was greater, and to go from place to place was necessary, they marked their routes by cutting the bark of the trees and setting up monuments of stones. The trappers followed the Indians, those eager to till the soil followed the trappers, when the trails became bridle paths, and then the road, made by chopping away the trees to a width of fifteen or twenty feet.

The North American Indian had no horses. The crude means of carrying burdens on the back by various strappings was the only mode known by savages for overland transportation. An early explorer said if America had horses and kine and were peopled with English, no realm in Christendom could be compared with it. When the Indians traveled they moved by water if their purpose made it possible. For their land travel they created paths leading from one stream to another. They had a wonderful faculty for establishing routes that were the best that could be chosen. An Indian overland trail always led the traveler to his destination in less time and with fewer physical obstacles than any other course between the two points which it connected. These trails were from twelve to eighteen inches in width, and frequently were worn a foot or more deep by generations of soft moccasins. Along such native highways the trained runners of the Indians are believed to have covered almost a hundred miles between sunrise and sunset. The Indians strapped two long poles to a dog, and between the ends, which dragged behind a dog like harness, the cargo was carried. It was tied in a bundle, then to two stout sticks which formed a frame work to support it. This contrivance was called a travois, or drag. Later horses were used in the same manner as the dogs. If an accurate map of Pennsylvania should have the railroads marked by heavy colored lines, it would be a fairly good map of the early Indian trails through

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"Penn's Woods." The railroad engineers did not merely follow the routes of the aborigines because of their known paths, but because these men of the forest chose most unerringly the most practicable route to their objective point, and it is but natural that our main arteries of travel today should so nearly coincide with these primitive Indian trails.

The earliest Colonists walked as did their predecessors, the Indians, on their own stout legs, when they traveled by land. We find even the provincial Governors of Pennsylvania and the other early Colonists walking off sturdily into the forests; crossing the rivers and smaller streams on fallen trees; and sometimes being carried across "pick-a-back" by vigorous Indian guides. Yet those early Americans were commencing the conquest, though they did not know it. Each new farm established a little farther on, each new child born, helped toward the far-distant victory; but their chief contribution to the contest in which Nature was at last to be defeated by man's demand for movement in speed and comfort lay in a gradual change in the character of the people themselves. As generation after generation slipped by, the separation of related families and an increase in the petty business affairs of the population multiplied the small journeys between different settlements and Colonies. The time of the individual man became more valuable. The restlessness and hurry of the modern American, his desire for speed and a short-cut to his destination, found its small beginning. Gradually also, the attitude of the people toward the wilderness changed. It still remained—as do its present fragments—a thing of awe, but it was better comprehended and less feared.

By the time the several English Colonies had found a firm foothold along the Atlantic Coast there were five localities from which radiated the first travel movements of the country. They were the Chesapeake Bay region; Eastern Massachusetts; New York Bay and Hudson River; the Connecticut River Valley and Long Island Sound; and Delaware Bay and the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers. The three most important of these were the Chesapeake, New York, and Delaware bays. Travel by land was limited, hazardous and inconvenient. Travel by boat was greatly preferred, which accounts for the early settlements being made on the banks of rivers and along the seacoast. Even perilous canoes were preferable to the miseries of land travel. We were slow in abandoning water travel and water transportation.

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The story of our upward growth from the dugout canoe, the first vehicles of transportation, to the floating hotel of today, from the dog-sled and Conestoga wagon to the thunderbolts that we call express trains, and just recently the transcontinental air transportation, wonderful as the progress has been, is not one that inspires us with pride alone. There are tragedies in it, blunders, blindness, and mistakes innumerable.

For nearly a hundred and fifty years from the establishment of the first permanent settlements along the Atlantic Coast there were practically no improvements made in the manner of moving over the face of the land. Almost all progress, in that respect, was confined to improving Indian trails which led into the wilderness, joining a newly established farm or settlement to its neighbors, or turning old pack horse paths into crude wagon roads as the settlements gradually grew into towns. During all that time the trend of travel, generally speaking, was north and south. True, there were a few adventurous spirits who plunged into the unknown and sometimes came back bringing tales of distances beyond comprehension, of never-ending woods, of unknown mountains, rivers or lakes. But that was not travel. That was adventure, hunting, or sheer folly, and the population, clinging to its little strip of a hundred and fifty miles in width along the coast, never seriously considered giving battle to the vastness which brooded beside them.

The first settlers came into this part of Pennsylvania on horseback, traveling over narrow paths broken by the Indians. These pioneers made their way over the hills and through the dense forests, blazing the trail as they moved forward that it may guide their return, if necessary, or make the way for others who were to follow them. Horses then became so plentiful that no one walked save a vagabond or a fool. Women rode with as much ease and frequency as men. Young girls rode on side saddles for long journeys. Older women rode behind men on pillions, or padded cushions, which had a sort of platform stirrup.

Driving alone, that is, a man or woman driving for pleasure alone, without a driver or post boy, is an American fashion. It was carried back to Europe by both the French and English officers, and the custom was noted with approval, as was also the usual good condition of our

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roads. The fact is that because our roads were good we adopted in America the light weight continental carriages.

Pennsylvania has approximately 13,500 miles of steam railroad lines, 4,000 miles of electric railway track largely in the cities, and a total of more than 90,000 miles of highways and streets, of which the State systems, primary and secondary, include in excess of 12,000 miles.

The principal arteries in internal water-borne transportation are the Monongahela, Allegheny, Ohio, and Delaware rivers, and the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company canals. The Susquehanna is too shallow for navigation. In the northwest corner the city of Erie owes its importance to its position on Lake Erie.

According to reports for 1924 the railroads within the Commonwealth carried a total of 363,000,000 passengers and 827,000,000 net tons of freight. The total tonnage of freight carried by the railroads, products of the mines represented sixty-three per cent., manufactured products twenty-six per cent., products of agriculture five and one-half per cent., products of forests, four per cent., and products of animals, one and one-half per cent. The electric lines carry approximately 1,700,000,000 passengers annually. In 1924 there were transported over the State Highway System nearly 6,000,000 tons of freight.

At Pittsburgh there were 14,500,000 tons carried on the Monongahela River, and about 4,000,000 tons on the Allegheny. The steamers on Lake Erie produced a traffic through the port of Erie of more than 2,000,000 tons, and on the Delaware River at Philadelphia the traffic amounted to more than 19,000,000 tons. The canals carry more than one million tons annually.

Public Highways—There are in Pennsylvania approximately 93,000 miles of public roads, exclusive of city and borough streets, of which 10,719 miles were on the State-aid highway systems in 1924, and under the direct supervision of the Department of Highways. Through additions, this mileage on January 1, 1927, was approximately 12,000 miles. Of this mileage about 4,000 miles have been designated as the primary highway system, which includes the connections between the larger population centers, county seats, and routes into adjacent States. This system is, with a few exceptions, co-extensive with the Federal-aid Highway System. The remainder, or about 8,000 miles, consists of roads designated as secondary State highways and State-aid highways.

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These highways serve more than 9,000,000 people scattered over 45,000 square miles of territory, within sixty-seven counties, forty-three cities, 931 boroughs, and 1,571 townships.

An historian in 1807 said: "It was not at all uncommon to see as many as five hundred packhorses passing the Harrisburg ferry, going westward loaded with seeds, salt, iron, etc. The iron was carried on horseback, being crooked over and around the bodies of the animals; barrels or kegs were hung on each side of this. These faithful packhorses were generally placed in divisions of twelve, carrying about two hundred pounds each, going single file, and managed by two men, one going before the leader, and the other in the rear to see to the safety of the pack. When the bridle road passed along declivities over hills, the path was in some places worked out so deep that the pack or burden came in contact with the ground, and was often displaced." There were regular packhorse companies established in many places, such as Lancaster, Harrisburg, Carlisle, Shippensburg, Bedford, and Pittsburgh.

The corduroy road, made by filling up marshy places and chuck holes with saplings and logs from the crowded forests, laid close to each other across the road, rendered these highways passable by carts and stagecoaches.

Ferries and bridges were built soon as there were roads. True, many of the bridges of the early provincial days were insecure make-shits, and in many cases only floating bridges, but we were soon to excel in bridge building and today lead the world. The largest stone bridge in the world is over the Susquehanna River at Rockville.

The "Chronicle," of Harrisburg, on November 11, 1816, carried this item: "On Sunday, the 3rd, inst. the mail coach crossed the Susquehanna on the Harrisburg bridge. Loaded waggons and carriages of every description now pass over."

The records show that Pennsylvania was better supplied with wagons than any of the other Colonies. Braddock secured here for his expedition in 1755 one hundred and fifty wagons. In 1780 Washington made a requisition for ten hundred and sixty-six wagons from this State, in addition to those which had already been supplied. Joseph Reed, who was then President of the State, protested, saying: "Your Excellency recollects that the army has been chiefly supplied with horses and wagons from this State during the war and that most of them now

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attached to the army are drawn from this State." He further adds that one-half of all the supplies furnished the army for the preceding three years came from Pennsylvania.

The word stagecoach was originally applied to a coach which ran from station to station over a number of stages of the road, usually with fresh horses for each stage. It was not used to designate a coach which ran only a short distance. The story of the stagecoach begins at a later date than that of the tavern, but the two allies reached the height of their glory together. The chariots of the Appian Way, drawn by the fastest horses of ancient Italy, formed a dismal cortège in comparison with the sprightly procession of stagecoaches on the old stage routes of our Commonwealth. The body of the stagecoach furnished the model for the first passenger cars on the railway; and many of the present-day motor cars are comparable in size and furnishings. Early in our history we began to have coaches. Watson gives a list of all private citizens who kept carriages in Philadelphia in 1761—there were thirty-eight. Eleven years later only eighty-four. 1794, when the city had 50,000 population, there were 847 carriage owners, of which only thirty-three were coaches, the others being smaller vehicles.

Excitement followed in the wake of the stagecoaches all along the road. Their arrival in the towns was the leading event of each day. Relays of fresh horses were placed at intervals of about twelve miles. Ordinarily a driver had charge of one team only, which he drove and cared for. Mail drivers, however, often drove three or more teams, which were cared for by grooms at the stations.

In unusual and violent weather the slowness of stage and mail coaches was appalling. In 1704 we read: "Our Philadelphia post from New York is a week behind, and not yet com'd in." A story is told in a Philadelphia newspaper: "A stage between this city and Trenton took fire and was entirely consumed. It was occasioned by a passenger putting a hot brick on the floor of the stage to keep his feet warm; and what is more extraordinary, it burnt with such rapidity that the passengers, six in number, with difficulty made their escape."

Stage lines are said to have been running in 1733 between Philadelphia and New York by way of Burlington and Perth Amboy, and there is an authentic record that, in November, 1756, a new stage left John Butler's "Sign of the Death of the Fox," in Strawberry Alley,

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Philadelphia, for New York. This trip was made in three days. After 1785 stage lines connected Philadelphia with New York, Albany, and Boston. The expense of traveling between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh in 1812, a distance of 297 miles, was \$20.00 by stage with way expenses of \$7.00 and it took six days. The expense by wagon was \$5.00 a cwt. for persons and property, and the way expenses were \$12.00, for it took twenty days.

The first trip by stage-wagon over the Bethlehem Pike was made by George Klein, September 10, 1763. After that date he ran regularly between Bethlehem and Philadelphia, making the round trip weekly. He started Monday mornings from the Sun Inn, Bethlehem, and on his return set out from the King of Prussia Inn, Race Street, Philadelphia, on Thursdays. The distance was fifty-two and three-quarters miles. Every mile of this route became famous before the close of the Revolutionary War, for Bethlehem was crowded with delegates to Congress, officers, soldiers, civilians, and many prisoners of war. Even the famous Liberty Bell was hauled over this route after the battle of Brandywine, so that it could be stored away in the cellar of Zion Reformed Church, Allentown, until the danger of its capture by the British was past.

The traveler in the old stagecoach was not tantalized by the fleeting half-glimpse of the places which we gain in railroad or automobile travel today. He had ample time to view any unusual, beautiful, or historic spot as he passed. He had leisure to make inquiry, he had many hours to hear his fellow-traveler's tale, or that of the driver. The frequent traveler grew versed in its lore and its history. He knew the gossip, too, of each house as he passed, he knew the traditions and tales of each locality. The traveler by coach learned constant lessons from the great teacher, Nature. The city bred man learned of the round of work on the farm, the succession of crops, and he knew each tree in the forest, each grain and grass, and wildflower when he saw it. He heard the songs of the birds, he witnessed the timid flight of wild creatures, quail, pheasants, turkeys, rabbits, woodchucks, squirrels, and frequently the wily fox and the deer. At night he heard the strange sounds of owls, and sometimes the snarl of the catamount.

The old stage routes had a peculiar nomenclature familiar to the tens of thousands who traveled over them in their palmy days. The names applied to particular localities along the routes were of impor-

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tance and blended harmoniously with the unique history of each route. As examples we read of The Shades of Death, The Narrows, Girty's Notch, Piney Grove, Big Crossing, Devil's Elbow, Negro Mountain, Woodcock Hill, Chalk Hill, Red Hill, Big Savage, Snake Hill, Laurel Hill, Fourteen Mile Narrows, The Turkey's Nest, Sterrit's Gap, Doubling Gap, Indian Spring, Burnt Cabins, and Possum Hollow. Rich memories always clustered around every one of these names, and old stage drivers and wagoners delighted to relate the scenes with which they were associated.

The National Road, commonly known as the Cumberland Road, which began at Cumberland, Maryland, and ran to Wheeling, West Virginia, is the only highway of its kind ever wholly constructed by the government of the United States. When first opened it was 130 miles long and cost one and three-quarter millions of dollars.

In August, 1803, the first through line of coaches from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh was established. This route was *via* Lancaster, Harrisburg, Carlisle, Shippensburg, Bedford, Somerset and Greensburg. Time, seven days.

The last Governor of Pennsylvania to ride to the State Capitol in a stagecoach was William F. Packer, who rode from Williamsport to Northumberland and, after a night's lodging at the Burr House, was most delighted the next morning when Mr. Amos Kapp appeared at the hotel to pay his respects to the Governor-elect and remarked: "Do not be in a hurry, your coach will be here soon." In a few moments the "Clara Coach," with four white horses, drove up in front of the Burr House, when Mr. Packer and his family climbed aboard. Mr. Kapp owned as many as one hundred fine horses at a time, as did Mr. Jesse C. Horton, also of Northumberland.

The Lancaster Turnpike was the first "artificial" road constructed in Pennsylvania, and one of the earliest in the United States. It was sixty-two and one-quarter miles in length, and completed at a cost of approximately \$444,000, in 1794. It was constructed by a turnpike company incorporated for the purpose in 1792, the first of a long line of similar companies which sprang into existence during the following eighty years. In the early years of the nineteenth century many miles of such roads were constructed. There were upwards of 2,500 miles in operation in 1831, and a large mileage was added during the 'forties

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and through the period following the War of the Rebellion, up to 1873, when the present Constitution was adopted.

The Commonwealth appropriated about \$2,000,000 toward the construction of these turnpikes; but almost without exception they proved to be unprofitable ventures. Many of them were poorly constructed, and but few yielded sufficient revenue to pay for their maintenance. This resulted in many of them being abandoned, and failure to properly maintain others caused their condemnation, when the maintenance devolved upon the counties or townships, boroughs or cities through which they passed, but the change in authority did not result in greatly improving the road conditions. In many instances conditions became worse, resulting in the common belief that an ordinary dirt road was a bad road because it was generally impassable six months in the year, but an abandoned turnpike was even worse, because it was bad all the time.

At the time of the establishment of the State Highway Department, in 1903, there were still in use over 1,100 miles of toll roads. The last of these were freed of toll during the administration of Governor John S. Fisher.

Interest in improved roads revived with the vogue of bicycles, the result of which was the beginning of the construction of telford-macadam roads. Then followed various acts passed by the General Assembly; the first, June 12, 1893, enabled the taxpayers of townships and road districts to make roads at their own expense; the act of June 26, 1895, organized a county road system in Allegheny County, which was soon spread to other counties.

With the coming of automobiles the influence of the motorist was added to that of the cyclist and led to the act of 1903, providing for the establishment of the State Highway Department. It was not, however, until the act of May 31, 1911, that roads were built and maintained at the sole expense of the Commonwealth.

Canals—The story of the rise and fall of the old Pennsylvania Canal is the story of canals in America. The history of our canals is a significant commentary upon American life and character—restless, eager for a change, tearing down as soon as we have built, tossing away a tool because another has been invented which is a split second faster.

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In the earliest days water communication was the popular mode of commercial transportation, and on the several rivers of Pennsylvania it was with "dug outs." They were made in imitation of the Indian canoe and consisted of a pine log with a portion of it dug out like a trough. The Indian traders used them to convey furs and other products down the stream. Next came the bateau, which was a flat boat and was considered of great value to early settlers and traders along the Susquehanna. But for river navigation on a more extended scale the Durham, or keel boats were of far greater importance. Thousands of bushels of grain and produce were brought down stream to the markets in them.

On account of the raids at the mouth of the Conewago Creek, at the place on the Susquehanna long known as York Haven, these keel boats could not pass down that stream farther than Middletown. There the boats would be unloaded and the goods conveyed overland to Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Some of the most picturesque scenes in American history were those of the old flatboat days. To market his own or his neighbor's products, a man built a boat, and committed it to the waters. Having reached his destination and sold his cargo, the captain must sell his boat, too, for of course it was out of the question to take it back up the stream. Usually it was broken up and sold as timber. Then the boatman walked back home, picking up a ride on a wagon whenever he could, very much in the same manner as the hitch hiker of the present day. Even as early as 1790, 150,000 bushels of grain passed down the Susquehanna, destined for Philadelphia and the export trade.

The spirit of the early settlers in Pennsylvania was alive with the idea of internal improvement and very early they were anxious to reach out toward the western empire that was to become the promised land and furnish food for the world. William Penn fostered the idea and recommended a scheme to connect the Susquehanna, at what is now Middletown, with Philadelphia, by way of the Schuylkill, the Lebanon and Swatara valleys, uniting the waters of the Schuylkill River at Reading with those of Tulpehocken Creek and the Quittapahilla, which flowed into the Swatara ten miles westward, and thence into the Susquehanna at Middletown. This was before the year 1700.

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This vision of William Penn eventually resulted in the earliest survey for a canal in America, in 1762, but for lack of money actual construction did not begin on it for nearly thirty years, and then only four miles of it had been built when poverty halted its progress, and it lay dormant for almost another thirty years.

In 1761 commissioners were appointed by the Proprietaries to clear, scour and make the Schuylkill navigable for boats, flats, rafts, canoes and other small vessels, from the ridge of the mountains commonly called the Blue Mountains to the river Delaware. This action was the initial step in the formation of the Schuylkill Navigation Company, whose future works did so much to develop that great valley and the inexhaustible mines of coal not dreamed of in the days of the Founder. The broad river itself in many portions was concentrated into pools, forming slack water navigation, and these pools were connected by sections of canals with a depth of six feet of water, passing boats with a capacity of 200 tons.

During the latter part of the year 1789, the Supreme Executive Council appointed a commission to view the Delaware, Schuylkill, and Susquehanna rivers, in pursuance of an Act of Assembly passed September 28, 1789, with the object of ascertaining data whether or not these waters could be rendered navigable. This commission, composed of Timothy Matlack, Reading Howell, William Dean, John Adlum and Benjamin Rittenhouse, attended to the important duty assigned them and in their report strongly recommended that a commission of experienced surveyors be named for "the purpose of ascertaining the most convenient and practicable place for connecting the waters of the three rivers, with those of the Allegheny, Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, and in cases where portage by land will be necessary, to examine the face of the country and report the most suitable places for landings and roads."

A great meeting was held at Paxtang, October 20, 1789, which was attended by citizens of eight counties, when an organization was effected with James Ewing, of York County, as chairman. Committees were named for each county to solicit subscriptions for the furtherance of these surveys, and a commission was appointed, consisting of Frederic Antes, of Northumberland County; John Brattam, of Huntingdon; Andrew Galbraith, of Cumberland, and Sabastian Graff and John Haldeman, of Lancaster, to superintend the work of remov-

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ing obstructions in the Susquehanna and Juniata rivers. A resolution was adopted which authorized the appointment of three surveyors, to begin at the mouth of the Juniata and proceed up the Susquehanna to Sunbury, thence up the West Branch to Sinnemahoning Creek, thence to Canoe Place, or such place "as will connect most easily with any practicable branch of the Allegheny, the Consua, Toby's Creek, or any other which may discharge itself into the Allegheny nearest to the mouth of French Creek, and thence examine French Creek up to Le Boeuf and the portage of Presqu' Isle."

Timothy Matlack, John Adlum, Samuel Maclay, Reading Howell, Frederick Antes, and William Dean were commissioned April 9, 1790. The three first mentioned set out on the work along the Susquehanna and the others took up the work on the lower Susquehanna and Schuylkill. Samuel Maclay kept an interesting journal of the experiences of the commission, from which the following is taken: Messrs. Matlack and Adlum set out from Philadelphia May 6, and met Maclay at Lebanon. They remained there nearly a week, and began their work when they set out from the Swatara, having taken James McLaughlin, Edward Sweeney, and Matthew Gray into the pay of the State. The party reached Herold's, below Selinsgrove, by May 17, then proceeded to Northumberland. Here Maclay went to visit his family at Lewisburg. John Adlum visited with his friend, Colonel Frederick Antes, and Timothy Matlack was the guest of Colonel William Wilson, also of Northumberland.

The party was organized during this stay at Northumberland. The actual survey began at Canoe Place, where Adlum ran a line to the Allegheny. He writes in his journal of catching beaver and of the large numbers of "wolves which frequently crossed their track, in a very indifferent manner." June 14, they surveyed the West Branch of the Sinnemahoning as far as Boyd's quarry, and the following day reached Bennett's. On July 2, the party reached the Ohio River, and went down it, being guided by an Indian named Doctor Thomas.

When the western boundary of the State was reached, Conne Shagon, the chief, had gone to Venango, but another chief, Captain John, made the commissioners a speech of welcome. At this place they came across a Dutchman, who had been taken prisoner by the Indians in the last war, but who chose to continue to live with them.

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On July 7, the commissioners had an interesting interview with the celebrated Indian chieftain, Cornplanter, at Jenoshawdego.

Maclay records that the Indians were very jealous of them until they were made to fully understand their mission. Cornplanter then welcomed them with a speech. Maclay says: "We were addressed by an orator, on behalf of the women." This speech of Cornplanter's was responded to by Colonel Matlack. The commissioners then went to Cornplanter's town and "had the honor of his company for supper." July 14, they struck the old French road to Erie. Maclay records that "the cart ruts are quite plain yet." He further records: "Lake Erie is a fresh water sea. You can see the horizon and water meet." The party pushed down the Allegheny a distance of eighty miles, and Sunday morning, July 18, they met Mr. Adlum and his party. Adlum finished a survey the next day, and the entire party was again united at Buckaloon, or Brokenstraw, about five miles from the present town of Warren. On the 20th the party arrived at Fort Franklin, where the commanding officer, Lieutenant Jeffries, was very polite to them. Two days later Maclay records: "We paired off and discharged an old Indian chief and a white savage." The commissioners left Fort Franklin this day, and reached David Mead's, at present Meadville. They then went to Le Boeuf, and from there back to Fort Franklin, where they arrived August 1. Maclay writes about using some oil, collected from a small oil spring along French Creek, on his lame back. The effect was beneficial.

The survey of the Allegheny River began at this point, and they also explored the tributary streams all the way down that river to the Conemaugh, then to Frankstown, on the Juniata River, where they arrived September 8. The commissioners proceeded down the Juniata to the Susquehanna. Maclay notes that he arrived at his home Friday, September 17, and found his family all well and at dinner.

The report was made as three different surveys, and the cost was £561 27s. The subject created such an amount of interest for the internal improvement of the outlying territory that Governor Mifflin, in his message to the Legislature in 1791, said: "The very laudable attention paid to the survey of roads and rivers is a conclusive proof of the importance of the object, while it furnishes an example highly deserving of your imitation. Every day, indeed, produces an additional incentive to persevere in improvements of this kind. The



OLD CANAL DAYS



OLD CANAL LOCK

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commercial policy of insuring the transportation of our produce from the interior counties to the capitol is dependent upon the ease and facility of the communications that are established throughout the State; and when we consider Pennsylvania, not only as a route that actually connects the extreme members of the Union, but as a natural avenue from the shores of the Atlantic to the vast regions of the western territory, imagination can hardly paint the magnitude of the scene which demands our industry, nor hope exaggerate the riches of the reward which solicits our enjoyment."

The committee appointed in January, 1791, to examine the report of the commissioners who explored the Delaware and western waters of the Susquehanna, reported February 19. They considered the Delaware toward New York State and to Lake Ontario; the Lehigh and Schuylkill, the latter with the object of reaching Harrisburg; the Juniata and the north and west branches of the Susquehanna. This report was comprehensive and proved the wisdom of those assigned to the important work for, when the canals were later built the system hardly differed at any point from this report.

Enterprising citizens realized the cost of overland transportation was too great to afford profit and soon began to devise plans by means of which the obstacles to navigation at Conewago Falls might be avoided, and passage down the Susquehanna from its upper reaches to its mouth might be accomplished. Bertram Galbraith, of Lancaster, and others were appointed to explore the river and report some feasible plan. The Revolutionary War prevented immediate action, and the matter was postponed until the year 1789, when Bertram Galbraith, Thomas Hulings and Samuel Boyd were appointed commissioners "to explore the Susquehanna and Juniata Rivers." They reported January 30, 1790, that "the Conewago Falls, about fourteen miles above Wright's Ferry, is the great obstruction and bar to the wealth and population of our western country." They urged that a canal should be built around these falls or riffles.

A petition was addressed to the General Assembly praying for financial assistance, and it became an important subject for discussion. It was proposed that a canal be built one mile long, thirty-three feet wide and nine feet deep.

One of the most notable events in the history of Pennsylvania was the formal opening of this canal, which event was celebrated Novem-

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ber 22, 1792. Governor Thomas Mifflin, one of the projectors, and a number of distinguished guests attended the ceremonies, having ridden on horseback to the foot of the falls on the Lancaster County side. This was the first canal built in Pennsylvania, and so far as definite records show, the very first in the United States. It was, in fact, the initiatory enterprise which inaugurated a great system of artificial navigation and internal improvement in Pennsylvania.

Governor Mifflin was, indeed, a great advocate of the canal, and on April 13, 1791, approved an act appropriating £5,250 "to improve the Susquehanna River from Wright's Ferry to the mouth of the Swatara." The contract was let July 3, 1792. James Brindley was selected as engineer. This first improvement of river transportation was by the Conestoga Lock and Dam Navigation Company. It improved the waterway from Lancaster to Safe Harbor, a distance of eighteen miles. The estimated cost was \$20,000 and the State appropriated half this amount. The final cost was \$102,000, but the canal proved to be of great importance to Pennsylvania, and became a center of attraction. The affairs of the canal were managed from 1797 to 1814 by a canal company, and proved to be most successful. An attempt was made during this period to build a canal around the falls on the opposite side of the river. It was intended as an opposition canal, but ended in failure.

As early as 1808 Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury, at the request of Congress, had drawn up his famous "Report on Roads, Canals, Harbors, and Rivers," in which he recommended the construction by the government of a number of canals and trunk roads, whose total cost would be \$20,000,000. This was a vast sum for those days, but so rapidly had the national wealth increased in twenty years that Gallatin declared the country could afford it. The Treasury was full and a surplus accumulating. But the embargo and then the war with England came on, and states and corporations begging for help for canals and roads were told that nothing could be done. William Duane wrote, in 1810, that there was not a single canal in the State and that two-thirds of the lands remained a wilderness.

At the close of the second war with Great Britain a number of prominent citizens urged upon the Federal Government the necessity of establishing a general system of artificial navigation extending

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throughout the thickly populated states. While they failed to secure their objects through the Congress, their appeals stimulated action upon the part of individuals, and corporations were formed which led to the construction of trunk canals by several states.

In Pennsylvania there were many canals projected and actually constructed, the work being begun by these corporations a decade before the Legislature determined upon the construction of a canal and railroad line to connect the Delaware and Ohio rivers. The most successful enterprise of its kind to be projected and carried into successful operation was the Schuylkill Canal Navigation Company, incorporated on March 8, 1815.

The purpose of this company was transporting coal, lumber, merchandise, produce, etc., by a system of canals and slackwater navigation, which was to be afforded by appropriating the water of the Schuylkill River from Mill Creek, in Schuylkill County, to Philadelphia. The transportation of such articles was then to be carried over the Center Turnpike to Reading, and the Perkiomen and Germantown Turnpikes to Philadelphia. The first board of directors were elected at Norristown on October 5, 1815, and the construction of the canal was begun in 1817. The total length of the canal from Port Carbon to Philadelphia was 105 miles, 62 miles of canal and 43 miles of pools in the river. The canal had a fall of 580 feet and there were 120 locks, 81 above Reading and 39 below, 28 dams, 17 arched stone aqueducts and a tunnel above Port Clinton was 450 feet long and cut through solid rock. The total cost of the canal was \$1,800,000. In 1827-28 the canal was extended to Mill Creek, making the total length 108.23 miles, and by an enlargement in 1846, the number of locks was reduced to seventy-one.

When water was turned into the canal at the beginning of July, 1824, the event was anticipated and celebrated as such an important occasion deserved. On the morning of July 5, amid the booming of cannon, and shouts of the people, three boats, "Thomas Oaks," "Stephen Girard," and the "DeWitt Clinton," moved down the canal from Reading. Then was witnessed the first triumph in a class of internal improvements which had been recommended by the far-seeing William Penn more than 130 years before. General Joseph Hiester, ex-Governor of Pennsylvania, managers, engineers and invited guests occupied the "Thomas Oaks," named after the engineer who con-

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structed the canal; the "Stephen Girard" was occupied by citizens of Reading, and the "DeWitt Clinton" by business men and manufacturers. A fourth boat followed, being loaded with agricultural implements. At Pottstown a great concourse of people welcomed the party, and there was a military display and patriotic addresses. The boats returned to Reading about dusk, having been drawn by one horse at the rate of nearly six miles an hour without much effort. On July 26 the "Stephen Girard" made her first voyage to Philadelphia.

John and Nicholas Coleman introduced the system of running packet-boats through the canal from Reading to Philadelphia, the trips being made three times a week. It required one day in each direction. There were no sleeping quarters, but an excellent restaurant service was furnished, and the boats were well patronized. The first steamboat on the canal went from Philadelphia to Reading on December 5, 1826.

One is apt to think of a canal as having always a smooth, well-kept channel, but a journey on the Schuylkill, according to S. Alspach, in 1827, as published in "The Schuylkill Canal Navigator," says "the canal is very difficult without an experienced navigator or proper directions." A captain leaving Philadelphia was instructed to "Tow the whole way to Manayunk—let the horse go at a slow walk—attend to the line—keep a lookout for stumps and rocks—keep out about 10 or 15 feet, according to the situation of the place, till you pass through the Little Canal, then keep out about 30 feet till you come to Young's Landing—then keep the towpath channel at the Falls about 10 or 12 feet from shore, and so continue until you have passed the rocks," and so on.

This canal has continued in operation and since 1870 has been managed by the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company as a part of its great carrying system. The portion now in operation extends from Port Carbon to Philadelphia, a distance of 89.88 miles.

The construction of the Pennsylvania Canal involved some of the greatest engineering feats of the day. Various tunnels constructed in the State were the first in America. One at Auburn on the Schuylkill was the first for a canal, and three others which were earlier than any outside of Pennsylvania were at Lebanon on the Union Canal, at Tunnelton on the Pennsylvania Canal, and one under Grant's Hill,

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in Pittsburgh. The tunnel near Lebanon was 729 feet long, cut by hand through solid rock. Work was begun in May, 1825, under supervision of Simon Guilford, of Lebanon, construction engineer, and completed in June, 1827. The first boat to pass through was named "The Alpha," built at Meyerstown (then called Tulpehockentown). It came up on the evening of June 11, and passed through the tunnel on the morning of the 12th. When the canal was enlarged in 1857, the tunnel was shortened at the northern entrance to a total length of 600 feet. Both entrances were arched with stone, and retaining walls extended some distance from these arches. On October 9, 1932, the Lebanon County Historical Society unveiled a massive boulder, bearing a descriptive tablet, with appropriate ceremony.

For several decades, even after the steamboats came, thousands of the homemade flat boats, keel boats, arks or rafts, came down the Susquehanna every year; the volume was astounding. Nile's "Register" says that from February 28 to June 23, 1827, a count was made at Harrisburg, which showed that 1,631 rafts, 1,370 arks, and 300 keel boats had passed down the river, estimated to carry 40,000,000 feet of lumber, 468,000 barrels of flour and whiskey, 244,000 bushels of wheat, and 11,000 tons of coal. At Catawissa, on the North Branch, from 100 to 200 craft passed down stream daily in the spring and early summer.

When passenger boats were introduced about 1825 there was genuine pleasure in traveling on one of the elaborate packets. These boats were ingeniously and well constructed with accommodations for about thirty passengers. They always furnished good tables and a wholesome and rich fare. The quiet rest, with pleasant conversation, ever changing scenery, and the bustle of newcomers and departing passengers, helped to diversify the day's experience. The berths were made up each evening by members of the crew, and they were none too comfortable. Each berth was a narrow wooden or metal frame with a strip of canvas fastened over it, they were set as close together as possible all around the cabin. No one, of course, took off his clothes. Travelers of that day have left us most interesting and amusing stories of the travel on the canal packet boats.

Principal Canal Systems—The several principal canals of the State in the order of the dates in which they were created by Acts of

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Assembly, and from which all others were either extensions or feeders, were as follows:

1. Schuylkill and Susquehanna Navigation Company, created September 29, 1791, passed through the counties of Dauphin, Lebanon, and Berks. It began at Columbia on the Susquehanna and extended to the mouth of the Juniata, then later on up along that river to Hollidaysburg at the eastern base of the Allegheny Mountains—a total length of 171 miles.

2. Delaware and Schuylkill, April 10, 1792, in Berks, Montgomery, and Philadelphia counties.

3. Conewago Canal in York County, April 10, 1793.

4. Brandywine Canal and Lock Navigation, April 10, 1793.

5. Lehigh Navigation, February 27, 1798, in Northampton and Luzerne counties. A total of forty-six miles.

6. Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, February 19, 1801.

7. Concocheague Navigation, February 7, 1803; connected Chambersburg with the Potomac.

8. Conestoga Lock and Dam Navigation, March 17, 1806, in Lancaster County, was an improvement of Conestoga Creek by locks and dams from its mouth to the city of Lancaster, a distance of fourteen miles.

9. Union Canal Company, April 2, 1811, connected the Susquehanna at Middletown to the Schuylkill two miles below Reading; length eighty-two miles. There was also a branch canal and feeder twenty-two miles in length with a railroad of four miles to Pine Grove coal mines.

10. Neshaminy Lock Navigation, March 26, 1814.

11. Schuylkill Navigation, March 8, 1815, in Schuylkill, Berks, Montgomery, Chester, and Philadelphia counties. This began at Port Carbon on Schuylkill, and ran to Philadelphia, a distance of 108 miles. Managed by the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company since 1870. Eighty-nine miles of this canal, from Port Clinton to Philadelphia, are still in existence.

12. Lackawana Navigation, February 5, 1817, a part of the Delaware and Hudson Canal, from Honesdale on the Lackawaxen to the mouth of that stream, a distance of twenty miles.

13. Monongahela Navigation, March 24, 1817, in Fayette, Greene, Westmoreland, Washington, and Allegheny counties. From Johnstown on the Conemaugh, at the western base of the Allegheny, down the Conemaugh, Kiskiminetas and Allegheny to Pittsburgh—distance, 105 miles.

14. Octoraro Navigation, March 29, 1819.

15. Conewago Canal, east side, March 29, 1814.

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After extensive surveys made in 1824 and 1825, the Commonwealth, by Act of February 25, 1826, entered into the actual construction of an extended system of internal improvements and continued the annual expenditure of large sums of money for canals and railroads until 1841. Ground was broken at Harrisburg for the building of the Pennsylvania Canal on July 4, 1826. The western section was completed and the first boat entered Pittsburgh, November 10, 1829. By the year 1834 a total of 673 miles of public works had been completed, at a time when the credit of the State was good. Unfortunately too extensive a system was undertaken and the works were not constructed or managed with economy. The debt in 1834 had mounted to twenty-three millions. By 1841 it reached forty-two millions, and the State defaulted even the interest on these bonds, when all work ceased.

In the report of the Canal Commissioners for 1827 was this paragraph: "In the latter end of May, the location of a line from the mouth of the Juniata to Northumberland was commenced by Mr. Simon Guilford. He was instructed to examine both sides of the Susquehanna with the utmost care, to present an estimate of each, and further, to ascertain whether the river might be advantageously crossed at any intermediate point, so as to place the canal partly on one side and on the other. At the meeting of the board on the 2nd of July, a report was received from Mr. Guilford, accompanied by an estimate from which it appeared that a canal on the east side would amount to \$1,018,758, and on the west side to \$472,298. Strong representations were at the same time made, from Dauphin and Northumberland counties, in favor of the east side, to all of which the utmost respect was paid. But the vast difference of expense was thought by the board to leave them no choice, and a location was adopted, beginning at Duncan's Island, and extending up the west side to a point opposite Northumberland." This canal was thirty-seven miles in length.

The canals of Pennsylvania embraced four major systems:

1. A great line of communication from Philadelphia, passing by Lancaster, Columbia, Middletown, Harrisburg, Lewistown, Huntingdon, Hollidaysburg, Johnstown, Blairsville, Pittsburgh, Beaver, New Castle, Meadville, to the borough of Erie, a total distance of 535 miles, of which 118 were by railroad, 28 by the Ohio river, and 397

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miles by canal. This canal passed through the fertile agricultural country of Lancaster and Dauphin counties, the iron regions of the Juniata, and the bituminous coal fields of the Conemaugh, Kiskiminetas, and Allegheny.

A section of this route was necessarily over the mountain and in 1831 a charter was granted for the Allegheny Portage Railroad and work begun which, when completed on April 16, 1834, opened up a through line from the Atlantic Seaboard to Lake Erie. This unusual railroad was the wonder of all civil engineers at home and abroad for many years.

The portage extended from Hollidaysburg over the Allegheny Mountains at Blairs Gap to Johnstown, a distance of thirty-six and a half miles. In this short distance, however, it overcame an elevation of 1,398 feet above Hollidaysburg and 1,171 feet above Johnstown, the summit being 2,325 above tidewater at Philadelphia. There were five inclined planes on each side of the summit and eleven levels or graded lines of railroad connecting the planes on which horses were used on the short levels and locomotives on the longer ones. Canal boats, built in sections, were carried over the mountains. The earliest engine to run on the levels was the "Boston," built by Matthias Baldwin, in 1834; it had wooden driving wheels and used wood for fuel.

In 1834 an emigrant's boat from the North Branch of the Susquehanna passed over the inclined planes on trucks while the family was in it. It was launched again at Johnstown, reached Pittsburgh, was run into the Ohio, floated down to Cairo, and was towed up the Mississippi to St. Louis.

Other emigrants, who had no boats of their own, were so numerous that second-class passengers were operated for them. Through tickets were sold from Philadelphia to Nashville or St. Louis for thirteen dollars, not including meals, and two weeks were required for the trip.

2. A great line from Philadelphia to the Junction of the Tioga River with the North Branch of the Susquehanna on the boundary of New York State, where communication was made with the Erie Canal. This line diverged from the former at the mouth of the Juniata and passed through Liverpool and Selinsgrove, Northumberland, Danville, Berwick, Wilkes-Barre, Pittston, Towanda, and Athens. It tapped the rich Wyoming Valley coal region and much fertile agricultural country. The total distance was 324 miles, of which only 81 were by railroad. It was called the North Branch Canal. Water was first let in November 29, 1830. There were seven locks in the 55 miles from Northumberland to Nanticoke, the rise being 68.89 feet. This stretch cost \$1,096,178.34½.

3. The West Branch Canal ran from the Forks at Northumberland, on the former system to the mouth of the Bald Eagle Creek,

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passing through Milton, Muncy, Williamsport, and Lock Haven, tapping rich farming regions, opening the valuable iron regions of the Bald Eagle Valley, and the heavy lumber and bituminous coal of the upper West Branch Valley. The distance from Northumberland to Muncy Dam was $24\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and it had six locks, the rise being 41 feet. Water was first let in November 30, 1830. It cost \$421,771.00. The Lycoming line extension contract, Muncy Dam to Bald Eagle, was let June 29, 1831; was completed in 1835, at a cost of \$1,078,041.99 $\frac{1}{4}$.

The Lewisburg Cross Cut was also authorized at the same time as the extension of the West Branch. There was a great celebration when it was completed, October 26, 1833, at a cost of \$158,423.86. It consisted of a dam across the Susquehanna River and three locks and three-fourths of a mile of canal. Formidable politicians were resident in old Union County in that day. There is much doubt if such consideration would be shown today, even with all the cunning of our modern politicians.

Northumberland was an important point upon the canal system, as the amount of traffic was considerable and a great sum was collected in tolls at the outlet lock of both the North and West Branch divisions.

4. The improvement of French Creek united that stream with Lake Erie.

5. The Delaware Canal.

While the State Government erected the greater number of canals, as well as the longer mileage, many of them were constructed by corporations.

During the active days of canal transportation there were sixteen divisions, consisting of a total length of 978 miles. After the railroads began to buy up these rivals it was not long before all but a few were actually owned or controlled by them. By 1875 there were only 741 miles of canals, and by the end of the century less than 200 miles in operation.

Niles declared in 1829 that "the public mind is every day more and more settling into a belief that railroads will supersede canals"; but there he immediately mars his reputation as a prophet by remarking that "we rather think that from improvements now presented, locomotives will never come into general use. The ascent of considerable heights," he continues, "over which railroad shall pass will possibly be assisted by stationery engines, or the use of additional horse power."

Canal Lotteries—By the Act of April 17, 1795, the presidents and managers of the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Navigation and the Dela-

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ware and Schuylkill Canal Navigation companies were authorized to raise by means of a lottery a sum of \$400,000 for the purpose of completing the works cited in their acts of incorporation, under a prohibition that neither of them should form the same into capital stock, upon which to declare a dividend or profits. An Act passed March 4, 1807, authorized the said companies to raise their respective sums separately, subject to the prohibition as to dividends.

The two companies were consolidated by Act of April 2, 1811, into a corporation known as the Union Canal Company of Pennsylvania. The new company was authorized to raise money by loan to complete the canal and to use the proceeds of the lotteries already authorized, and by the twenty-eighth section of the act authority was given to raise the residue of the original sum equal to \$340,000 by a lottery. By the act of March 29, 1819, the proceeds of the above lottery were pledged as a fund for the payment of an annual interest of six per cent. upon the stock of the company.

By these and subsequent acts it appears that the lottery grants were given in the first instance to the two companies, and afterwards continued to the Union Canal Company to aid and encourage the construction and completion of a canal and lock navigation uniting the waters of the Susquehanna and Schuylkill. In consequence of these lottery grants, individuals were induced to invest their funds in the furtherance of the work, and loans were made upon the credit of the capital stock and the profits of the lotteries.

There was much sentiment against these lotteries and as there were laws in force for suppressing and preventing lotteries, there was objection made when the extension of this lottery was brought to the General Assembly. The Committee on Ways and Means, February 9, 1928, reported that it was inexpedient to resume the lottery grants to the Union Canal Company at this time and further resolved, "That the committee be instructed to bring in a bill to regulate lottery brokers, and to restrain the sale of lottery tickets within this Commonwealth."

Incidents—There were many incidents connected with the canal which are of unusual interest. The following are a few from the newspapers of those days:

The "Crawford Messenger," December, 1828, stated that a canal boat was launched at that place on the 28th of November, which was

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built of materials that were growing on the banks of French Creek the day before. The boat left Meadville for Pittsburgh on the 30th, having on board 20 passengers and 300 reams of paper manufactured of straw.

During October, 1829, Hazard's "Register" published this article:

"It is with much pleasure we are enabled to announce to our readers, from undoubted authority, that the water is now flowing down the Susquehanna division of the Penna. canal. The water was first introduced two weeks since, and is now three feet high at Selinsgrove, and last Saturday had passed down the canal as far at Liverpool, and is gradually passing on; the whole line being in complete order to receive the water. No break or defect of any kind has been found, though the water now occupies 27 miles of canal, a circumstance highly honorable to the talents and attention of Mr. Guilford, the engineer, and to the Contractors, who executed the work. Boats are frequently passing with parties of pleasure from Selinsgrove to Sunbury & Northumberland."

The "Miltonian," July, 1830, says: "The 'Miltonian' canal boat, Capt. James Blair, returned from her trip on Tuesday last, after an absence of six weeks. She left here in May with 1,000 bushels of wheat for Philadelphia, delivered her cargo in prime order; took in a load of oats for Pottsville; loaded at that place with coal for Philadelphia; and has now safely returned to our shore from the latter place with 20 tons Nova Scotia plaister. She has had a prosperous trip."

The "Sunbury Gazette," December, 1831, says: "The canal boat 'Sunbury,' owned by Mr. H. Yoxheimer, a Sunbury merchant, made a trip from Sunbury to Philadelphia & return in twenty days."

The "Miltonian," May 13, 1831, says: "In the spring of 1831, the first six boats to arrive at Milton port from Philadelphia carried on an average 20 tons each, at an average cost of \$10. There was used 6 horses, 12 men and 6 boys. Had horse transportation been used for this merchandise it would have required 60 wagons, 60 men and 240 horses, at \$1.50 per cwt., and would have cost \$3,600, or three times as much as by canal."

The "Columbia Spy," April 13, 1833, says: "On Tuesday last, arrived at this place, the Union Canal boat 'Cordelia,' of Reading, Frill, Master, in seven days from Philadelphia, *via*. the Union Canal

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—with merchandise for Dominick Eagle. The 'Cordelia' is the first and only boat that ever arrived at this place from the city through the canal. We understand that another boat, with merchandise to the same firm, left Philadelphia on Thursday. Ten years ago the idea of an artificial water communication between this city and Philadelphia would have been looked upon as a chimera of the brain—and unworthy of attention."

"Pittsburgh Gazette," March 24, 1834, says: "We have, today, the pleasure to announce the arrival of the first lot of goods, by the way of the Portage Railroad. It was the packet boat, 'General Lacock,' Captain Craig, arrived this morning from Johnstown, with goods in thirteen days from Philadelphia."

Steamboats—The steamboat is a Pennsylvania product. The long controversy between John Fitch and Robert Fulton can make no difference, as both were Pennsylvanians, although the former was not a native, his experiments were made here on the Delaware, and while Fulton was a native of Lancaster County, his practical steamboat was launched on the Hudson. There were other Pennsylvanians who early experimented with steam propulsion. The story of the unfortunate Fitch is an interesting contribution to the history of Pennsylvania. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War he became a gunsmith for the American troops, with whom he was quartered at Valley Forge. It seems that this was his best situation, for he had been born on a farm in Connecticut, January 21, 1743, and although so small in stature and weak in body he could hardly work, yet was compelled to labor as a common farm hand. His love of knowledge was remarkable and at the age of seventeen he had studied surveying, when he left home to seek his fortune. At first he tried the sea, but found it a hard service, and apprenticed himself to a clockmaker. This was an unhappy experience, but he was able to start in business at the age of twenty-one. At twenty-five he married unhappily, and soon abandoned his home to become a wanderer. He managed to earn a precarious livelihood by roving about the country cleaning clocks from house to house.

When the Revolution broke out he did his bit, and near the end of the war he set out for the West on surveying and trading tours. He was captured by the Indians, two of his companions were killed, nine

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were taken prisoners, and all his goods were destroyed. Fitch was fortunate to escape with his life, and, after severe trials, escaped from captivity and returned to Neshaminy, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, where, in 1785, he completed his first model of a steamboat. This first model had wheels at the sides, but on July 20, 1876, he propelled a boat with a steam engine of three-inch cylinder with paddles or oars. The boat moved very slowly up the Delaware; the engine being too small for the hull, and a clumsy and incomplete machine. He did, however, succeed in demonstrating the possibility of a boat moving upon the water by a steam engine. A German clockmaker of Philadelphia, Henry Voight, helped him make this engine and boiler.

From this experiment he persevered in making every effort with the Legislature of Pennsylvania and the Continental Congress to obtain financial assistance, with only the usual ill success of inventors, obtaining no money, but gaining the reputation of being insane.

In face of these discouragements and neglect Fitch succeeded in constructing a vessel, forty-five feet long and twelve feet beam, with an engine of twelve-inch cylinder, which made a succesful trial trip on the Delaware, at Philadelphia, August 27, 1787. Members of Congress, the Pennsylvania officials and a vast crowd of people witnessed this trial. During the next two years he improved greatly on the invention.

In 1790, Fitch ran a boat between Philadelphia and Burlington with a speed of eight miles an hour, going up one day and returning the next; on Sundays it made a return trip to Chester. A timetable, with rates of fare, appeared in the Philadelphia newspapers from June to September for several years. He received a patent for his steamboat April 23, 1791. Misfortune, however, dogged poor Fitch's steps, his supporters fell away; and, in 1793, he went to France to construct a steamboat, only to find his project frustrated by the Revolution there. It is said that his plans and specifications were deposited with the American Consul at L'Orient, who for several months entrusted them to Robert Fulton; and the latter's steamboat certainly was, in 1817, declared by a committee of the New York Legislature, to be "in substance the invention patented by John Fitch in 1791."

In 1794 Fitch worked his passage home to America as a common sailor. Two years later he produced another steamboat from a ship's yawl, which was propelled by a screw propeller. In 1798, he operated

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a three-foot model of a steamboat upon a small stream in Bardstown, Kentucky. Here he gave up his struggle, and prophetically said: "You and I will not live to see the day, but the time will come when the steamboat will be preferred to all other kinds of conveyance; when steamboats will ascend the western rivers from New Orleans to Wheeling; when steamboats will cross the ocean. Johnnie Fitch will be forgotten, but other men will carry out his ideas, and grow rich and great upon them."

Fitch was taken ill in June, 1798, and his physicians prescribed opium pills, of which he was to take one each day. Instead of this, on July 2, he took twelve at once, and died in a tavern, without a relative or friend near him, and the inventor of the steamboat lies in an unmarked grave in Bardstown, Kentucky.

Robert Fulton, who was born on a farm in Little Britain Township, Lancaster County, in 1765, demonstrated the first successful commercial steam vessel August 17, 1807, when he opened the throttle and the "Clermont" slowly, but surely, moved against the swift current of the Hudson.

Steamboat on Western Waters—The building of the "New Orelans," the first steamboat to run on western waters, at Pittsburgh, in the year 1811, was the most important event that had occurred in the realm of commerce for many years, and did more than any other agency for the development and industry of the West. Robert Fulton, with his partners, Robert Livingston and Nicholas J. Roosevelt, contemplated the project of operating steamboats on the Ohio, and arranged to make a thorough investigation of all conditions the entire length of the rivers from Pittsburgh to New Orleans. In May, 1810, Mr. Roosevelt, accompanied by his wife, arrived in Pittsburgh and built a flat boat specially suited to the purpose of the voyage and set out for New Orleans, where he arrived six months later. He noted all the problems, gauged the water, measured the velocity at different seasons, and consulted with pilots and boatmen, who passed their lives on these waters. All were of the same opinion, that steam would never be able to resist the current of the waters. Nothing that he had seen or heard, however, shook the confidence of the experienced Roosevelt, and his report impressed Fulton and Livingston with his own convictions. In the spring of 1811 Roosevelt returned to Pittsburgh to superintend the building of the first steamboat that was to navigate

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on the western waters. The boat was named the "New Orleans" when it was launched, March 17, 1811; it cost \$38,000. This first steamboat was one hundred and thirty-eight feet in length, with twenty-foot beam. The engine had a thirty-four inch cylinder and the boiler and other parts of the machine were in proportion. There were two cabins, one aft for ladies and a larger one for gentlemen.

On October 20, 1811, the "New Orleans" began her voyage from Pittsburgh to New Orleans. Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt were the only passengers. Besides Captain Baker and Pilot Andrew Jack, there were six hands, two female servants, a man waiter and a cook. The people of Pittsburgh turned out in great numbers to witness the departure of the steamboat, the voyage of which was to change the relations of the western country.

Public dinners were given to Mr. Roosevelt at Cincinnati and Louisville, when complimentary toasts were drunk, but there yet remained a doubt as to the steamboat's ability to navigate against the current. Mr. Roosevelt dined his hosts on board and demonstrated that the "New Orleans" could make good headway up stream.

The voyage was not devoid of danger, for the passage over the Falls at Louisville, followed by extreme darkness, the pursuit of Indians, and an accident of fire on board, which was happily extinguished before much damage was done, were the daily perils. New Orleans was finally reached and the trip was a success. The "New Orleans" plied between Natchez and New Orleans as a common carrier until the winter of 1814, when she struck a snag and was lost at Baton Rouge.

After the demonstration of the practicability of steam navigation of the rivers by the "New Orleans," other steamboats were built at Pittsburgh. Nor has this feature of the commerce of Pittsburgh and region disappeared, for to this day thousands of steamboats carry coal, iron, and other products of that industrial beehive to the markets below. In 1814 one of the Ohio steamboats, called the "Enterprise," carried a cargo of guns and cannons for Jackson's army from Pittsburgh to New Orleans.

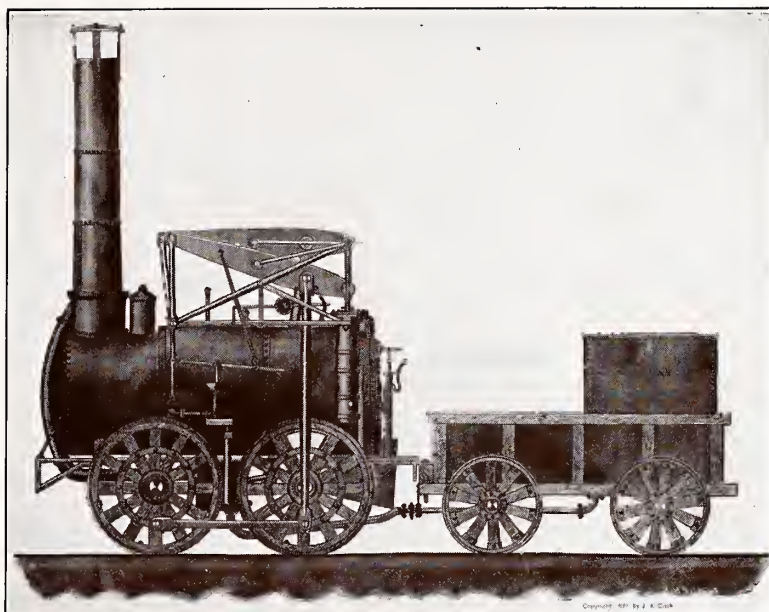
Early Attempts With Steam Navigation—Even before the advent of canals or railroads the enterprising merchants of Baltimore sensed the importance of facilitating the commerce along the great Susque-

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hanna River. They believed it would materially enhance their volume of business, especially in lumber, iron, grain, and whiskey, if the river would be freed of such obstructions as impeded or hindered navigation. Large sums of money were expended in removing rocky channels in the river below Columbia, so as to admit the passage of arks and rafts down stream on their way to tide water. A canal had been constructed from Port Deposit, northward, in order that the returning craft might avoid the shoals and dangerous reefs along the first ten miles above tide water.

In spite of all these improvements no satisfactory way had been found which would return to the producers of the Susquehanna Valley such articles of commerce and merchandise as they would naturally require in return for the raw products of the forest, field and mine. The authorities of Pennsylvania were also awake to the situation, as were the citizens. Several attempts had been made to have a complete survey of the river and estimates of the cost of the work required to make the great river navigable.

To Baltimore, more than to Pennsylvania, belongs the credit of an actual attempt to establish steamboat navigation. In 1825 a small steamboat, named the "Susquehannah," was built in Baltimore and, when launched, was towed to Port Deposit. The "Harrisburg Chronicle" said: "The 'Susquehanna' was expected at Columbia on Sunday night. Tuesday's reports were that she had not got to Columbia. Eye witnesses to her progress put the matter to rest on Wednesday; they had seen her a short distance above the head of the Maryland Canal, with a posse of men tugging at the ropes, and when they had tugged nine miles gave up the job. So ended all the romance about the 'Susquehanna.' She drew too much water (twenty-two inches) for the purpose and started at the wrong point. Watermen say that the crookedness of the channel, with the rapidity of the current, makes it utterly impossible for a steamboat to ascend the falls between the head of the canal and Columbia." The "Chronicle" article further says: "We have a report that Mr. Winchester, of Baltimore, has contracted for the building of a steamboat at York Haven. We also learn that the York Company are making progress with the sheet-iron steamboat, and that she will be launched about the 4th of July." This sheet-iron boat was called the "Codorus," and early in April of the next year ascended the river as far as Binghamton, after which she



THE "STOURBRIDGE LION," HONESDALE



FIRST LOCOMOTIVE ARRIVING IN LANCASTER

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returned to York Haven. Her captain, a Mr. Elger, reported that navigation of the Susquehanna by steam was impracticable.

Either the original "Susquehanna" renamed, or another steamboat built by the Baltimore promoters, and named "Susquehanna and Baltimore," was put on the river and operated above Conewago Falls by Captain Cornwell, an experienced river pilot. She was accompanied on her trial trip on this portion of the river by a board of commissioners of the State of Maryland, Messrs. Patterson, Ellicott and Morris, three distinguished citizens of Baltimore. Captain Cornwell had already in March made several successful trips as far up as Northumberland and Danville on the North Branch and to Milton on the West Branch, returning to York Haven without accident.

April 17, 1826, the boat started from York Haven, having in tow a large keel boat capable of carrying a thousand bushels of wheat, and proceeded on her fatal trip, arriving at the Nescopeck Falls at 4 o'clock on May 3. At these falls there was an outer and an artificial inner circle of shallow water for the accommodation of rafts and arks. Captain Cornwell decided, after consulting with other river men on board, to try first the main, or deep water channel, and, the captain argued, that if the boat would not stem it, that he could then drop back and try the other one. The boat made a halt in a small eddy below the falls on the east side of the river and some of the passengers went ashore; this was the case with the Maryland commissioners. The boat was directed into the main channel and had proceeded perhaps two-thirds of the distance through the falls, when she ceased to make further progress, the engine was stopped and she was permitted to drift back to the foot of the rapid, when she struck upon a wall dividing the artificial from the main channel, and at that instant one of her boilers exploded. The scene was as awful as the imagination can picture. Two of the passengers on board, named John Turk and Heber Whitmarsh, raftmen from Chenango, New York, were instantly killed; William Camp, a merchant from Owego, was fatally scalded by escaping steam. Dave Rose, of Chenango, New York, was fatally injured. Quincy Maynard, the engineer, as stated in the account published in the "Danville Watchman," one week after the occurrence, was not expected to recover. Christian Brobst, of Catawissa, and Jeremiah Miller, of Juniata, were seriously injured. Messrs. Woodside, Colt and Underwood, of Danville, were more or less injured, as

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were Messrs. Barton, Hurley, Foster and Colonel Paxton, of Catawissa, and Benjamin Edwards, of Braintrim, Luzerne County. It is said by somebody on board that at the time of the explosion a passenger was holding down the lever of the safety valve, but why this should be done after the boat had ceased her efforts to pull through, is difficult to conjecture. Thus ended the second attempt to navigate the Susquehanna by steam power.

Railroads—While canals and slack water navigation entered almost exclusively into the system of internal improvements designed by Pennsylvania, and the discussion of projects for the construction of artificial waterways received a large share of public attention, there were also those who regarded railroads as most likely to confer permanent advantages and result in benefits commensurate with their cost. The natural features of the State had much to do with this opinion. It had not yet been demonstrated that canal construction was feasible except in immediate proximity to a river or other source of water supply, and hence railroads received consideration as a means of communication between the valleys of the Schuylkill and Susquehanna.

The first suggestion in Pennsylvania of the construction of railways for the purpose of transportation was made in the "Aurora," Philadelphia, in January, 1801, in an article relative to the construction of canals. In that article it was stated that "wooden railways might profitably supercede canals." Another writer in the same paper recommended that railroads should be of iron instead of wood. Pennsylvania had a hard struggle to become reconciled to the railroads. Opposition to them was more bitter and prolonged in the Keystone State than elsewhere. Nothing came of the earliest attempts to build railroads.

Pennsylvania, however, has been intimately connected with the development of railroads in America. The first practical railroad was constructed in Delaware County, the first locomotive ran in Honesdale, the first successful American locomotive was built in Philadelphia, the sleeping car was first perfected on the Cumberland Valley Railroad, the first combination of water and rail route and the first portage railways were over the Allegheny Mountains, the earliest tunnels in America were built in Pennsylvania, the largest bridges, the largest air brake manufacturing plant in the world, the steel freight,

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passenger, and oil tank cars were invented and built here, the first rails were rolled in Pennsylvania, and numerous other interesting and valuable engineering triumphs were to be found in this Commonwealth. Today locomotives, cars, rails, steel bridges, and products of other great Pennsylvania industries keep the railroads of America moving.

First Steam-propelled Carriage—Oliver Evans was undoubtedly the pioneer in America in the invention of a steam-propelled carriage, and, although he did not engage in the construction of any locomotive, he was the first to suggest the possibilities of a steam railway between Philadelphia and New York.

Evans was the son of Philadelphia's first Episcopalian minister, and stands out as a man of originality, invention and enterprise. He was apprenticed to a wheelwright, and before he had reached the age of manhood the construction of a land-carriage to be propelled without animal power began to occupy his attention. At the age of twenty-one he invented a machine for making cardteeth. Two years later he invented an elevator, conveyor, drill, hopper-boy and the descender, the application of which to mills worked by waterpower effected a revolution in the manufacture of flour. In 1786-87 Evans obtained from the legislatures of Pennsylvania and Maryland the exclusive right to use his improvements in flouring mills. It was about this time he began the construction of a steam engine which differed in form, as well as in principle, from those in use. He applied his engine to flouring mills. This was the first steam engine constructed on the high-pressure principle, and to Evans rightfully belongs the merit of the invention, although it has been common to assign it to Vivian and Richard Trevithick, of England, who had had access to Evans' plans.

By order of the Board of Health of Philadelphia, Evans constructed the first steam dredging machine used in America. It consisted of a scow, with a small engine to work the machinery to raise the mud. The machine, which he named the "Orukter Amphiboles," or "Amphibious Digger," propelled itself on wheels from Sixteenth and Spring Garden streets to the Schuylkill River, a distance of one and a half miles, where, after its launching, it was propelled by a rear paddle wheel to the Delaware and up that river sixteen miles, passing all the vessels that were under full sail. This, it should be observed, was years before Fulton started his "Clermont" up the North River.

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Evans' experimental trip was made on September 13, 1804,* and is believed to have been the first instance in America of the application of steam power to the propelling of land carriages. Evans predicted the time when such carriages would be propelled on railways of wood or iron. He was ahead of his time, and unable to convince the financiers of the day that there were great possibilities of profit in the development of steam transportation, and he could not realize his hope of constructing a railroad. He was desirous of building a railroad between his home city of Philadelphia and New York, but was prevented by the lack of money.

Early Railroads—Originally railroads were called tramroads, and are known to have been used in England as early as 1730. These primitive roads bore little resemblance to the railroads of the Civil War period, and no resemblance whatever to the modern railroad of the present day.

Soon after the construction of tramroads the builders, in order to render more durable the parallel wooden rails, began to protect their tops with strips of iron, and in 1738 some enterprising genius produced a rail made wholly of iron—an iron rail—from which was derived the name railroad.

Although tramroads were in frequent use in England, it was not until 1801 that experiments of that character were tried on this side of the Atlantic; and, if accounts are true, our own State of Pennsylvania had the honor of pioneership.

What is believed by many to be the first railroad in the United States was built in Ridley Township, Delaware County, in 1801, by Thomas Leiper. The fact is that it was a tramway and not a railroad.

*In an article sent to the newspaper Mr. Evans said in part: "The time will come when people will travel in stages moved by steam engines at fifteen to twenty miles an hour. A carriage will leave Washington in the morning, breakfast at Baltimore, dine at Philadelphia, and sup at New York on the same day. Railways will be laid of wood or iron, or on smooth paths of broken stone or gravel, to travel by night as by day."

As early as 1773 Evans publically stated that he could by steam drive wagons, mills, etc. Finally, he published a bet of \$3,000, engaging "to make a carriage run upon a level road against the swiftest horse to be found." None took him up. Men of science pronounced the idea chimerical, and said the motion would be too slow to be useful. About this time Evans also labored to induce proprietors of turnpikes to introduce steam carriages upon their roads, but none followed his counsels.

He wrote "The Young Steam Engineer's Guide" and "The Young Millwright's Guide," a work which remained a standard many years after his death. Evans has sometimes been called the Watts of America. Undoubtedly he was one of the most ingenious mechanics that America ever produced. He died April 25, 1819.

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It was built for the transportation of stone from his quarries on Crum Creek to his landing at tidewater on Ridley Creek, a distance of nearly one mile. The ascents were graded inclined planes, and the superstructure was made of white oak with cross-ties and string pieces. The cars or trucks were on cast iron wheels with flanges. The rails were of wood, and, of course, soon yielded to the heavy friction of the car wheels.

This first experimental railroad was superseded by the Leiper Canal, which passed from the upper quarries down Crum Creek to the landing, and was built by the Hon. George G. Leiper, the eldest son of Thomas Leiper, in 1828, and continued to be used until 1852, when it in turn was succeeded by a modern railroad.

At Bear Creek furnace, in Armstrong county, another such road was in operation in 1818.

A few Pennsylvanians, who were in advance of the times, urged the Legislature to take some action to encourage the system of internal improvements by the construction of railways.

The first proposition for the incorporation of a company to build a railroad was made by John Stevens in 1822. His petition to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania was to build a railroad from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh. Nothing was done in the matter that year, but in 1823, an Act was passed March 31, to incorporate "The President, Directors and Company of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company," with authority to lay out a railroad from Philadelphia to Columbia, in Lancaster County. This was the first railroad act passed in Pennsylvania. The preamble said:

WHEREAS, It hath been represented by John Stevens, in his memorial to the Legislature, that a railroad from Philadelphia to Columbia would greatly facilitate the transportation between those two places—suggesting, also, that he hath made important improvements in the construction of railways—and praying that, in order to carry such beneficial purposes into effect, himself and associates may be incorporated.

It was ordered that John Connelly, Michael Baker, Horace Binney, Stephen Girard, and Samuel Humphreys, of Philadelphia; Emmor Bradley, of Chester County; Amos Ellmaker, of Lancaster City; and John Barbour and William Wright, of Columbia, should be constituted the president and directors of a company to be called the "Pennsylvania Railroad Company."

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Connelly was named as president and John Stevens was appointed superintendent of the projected road. The law granted a term of fifty years for the existence of the company, with power to lay out a railroad from Philadelphia to Columbia not more than forty feet wide, to be located so as to do the least damage to private property.

This was the first effort made in the United States to construct a railroad of such length, and even antedates the construction of canals by the State of Pennsylvania. At the same session the House passed a bill to incorporate a company to build a railroad from Harrisburg, but it was not successful in the Senate.

The projectors of the Columbia railway did not have in view the probable construction of a canal with a terminus at Columbia, but they wished to divert the large and growing trade which found its way down the Susquehanna River to Columbia in keel boats and arks from going to Baltimore. Mr. Stevens made a preliminary survey and estimate of the cost of construction, but nothing further was done under this charter.

On April 7, 1826, the Legislature granted a charter for the Columbia, Lancaster and Philadelphia Railroad. It was intended to be a stock company, but for lack of large subscriptions, the scheme was believed too great an undertaking for a private corporation, and it was thought best to appeal to the Legislature for aid.

On March 24, 1828, the Legislature authorized an extension of the Eastern Division of the Pennsylvania Canal to the mouth of Conestoga Creek, and also an examination of the route from Columbia to Philadelphia, with the view of constructing a canal or railroad, if the latter was deemed more expedient. The canal commissioners reported in favor of a railroad, with an inclined plane at Schuylkill River and one at Columbia. On June 24, 1828, Major John Wilson, principal engineer, reported that he had located twenty miles of the road east of Columbia. Contracts were let for the grading January 27, 1829. On Monday, March 31, 1834, three passenger coaches, drawn by horses, arrived at Columbia from Lancaster. Three days later, April 2, the locomotive made its first trip on this part of the road.

A day was appointed for the opening of the road from Columbia to Philadelphia. At sunset on April 15, 1834, Governor Wolf, the canal commissioners, members of the Legislature, and a number of other distinguished persons arrived in Columbia *via* the canal from

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Harrisburg. They were driven to the head of the plane at Columbia, where cars were in waiting with locomotive attached and with steam in the boiler. The cars were taken to Lancaster in one hour. When the distinguished party passed over the road from Lancaster to Philadelphia, on April 16, 1834, they were met at every station with crowds of people, who came from farms and workshops to rejoice in the novel sight. The entire road between Philadelphia and Columbia, eighty-two miles long, cost about \$5,000,000.

Steam and Gravity Railroad—What is sometimes said to be the oldest railroad in America is now known as "The Switchback." It was graded in 1818-19, and it is claimed that it was the first road ever to have been laid out with a surveyor's level.

The railroad was commenced in January and was put in operation June 6, 1827. It was built for the transportation of coal by gravity, the empty cars being returned to the mines by mules, the latter riding down grade with the coal in their own cars. The mules traveled from thirty-five to forty-five miles per day, and seemed to enjoy riding in the cars. The road was nine miles in length, with four miles of siding.

In 1844 planes were built so that the empty cars might be drawn back to Summit Hill by steam power. It is a coincidence that anthracite was discovered near Summit Hill, the site of this first railroad, by Philip Ginter, an old hunter.

Since 1870 this pioneer railroad has been given over to pleasure purposes entirely, as the coal has since been transported from Summit Hill over the steam railroads by way of Lansford.

The Switchback Railway starts in Mauch Chunk and runs to the foot of a plane, when the top is reached the cars run by gravity along the top and side of the mountain to another plane, and again hoisted in the same manner, then they run on to Summit Hill and back to Mauch Chunk a total distance of eighteen miles and through such picturesque scenery that it has often been called the "Switzerland of America."

Central Pennsylvania Railroads—The General Assembly incorporated three companies in 1826, one of which was the Danville and Pottsville Railroad Company, incorporated April 8, 1826. Construction was begun in July, 1834, on the section between Sunbury and Shamokin. The formal opening of this branch was celebrated Novem-

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ber 26, 1835. It is now a part of the great Pennsylvania system. The Philadelphia and Erie Railroad Company was chartered as the Sunbury and Erie Railroad Company on April 3, 1837; and the Northern Central Railroad Company was formed on December 9, 1854, by the consolidation of the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad Company, the York and Maryland Line Railroad Company, the York and Cumberland Railroad Company, and the Susquehanna Railroad Company. The main line extends from Baltimore to Sunbury.

The original incorporators of the Sunbury and Erie Railroad Company included some of the prominent capitalists of the country, but in this case most of them were residents of Northumberland County, which brought to the project a determined local pride and enthusiasm which overcame the numerous and oftentimes discouraging hindrances to its construction.

The period allotted for the road's completion was extended from time to time, and finally, on February 12, 1846, the company was allowed until June 1, 1851, to begin construction. The road was opened between Williamsport and Milton, December 18, 1854, and between Milton and Northumberland, September 24, 1855. The occasion of the formal opening of the road from Williamsport to Milton was celebrated at both places and honored with the presence of the Governor-elect, Hon. James Pollock, of Milton, and other distinguished personages. The Philadelphia Council and many prominent persons of that city arrived at Milton, and a large delegation from Williamsport, who had made the trip to Milton to act as an escort for this distinguished party to Harrisburg, where the principal celebration was to be held. Governor-elect Pollock welcomed the guests at Milton, to which response was made by Hon. James Cooper, Speaker of the Senate, and others. A cane, wrought from wood in Independence Hall, and prepared by his friends, was presented to Mr. Pollock.

The Sunbury and Erie Railroad was first operated by the Catawissa Railroad Company, which ran its rolling stock over the line for some time.

The railroad bridges over the North Branch at Northumberland were completed for traffic January 7, 1856, which opened the road from Williamsport to Sunbury. From this time it became a long struggle to complete the line from Williamsport to Erie, which was

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to be the western terminus. Borough councils and prominent citizens subscribed for stock, and various attempts were made to construct the road, but each new organization only repeated the story of failure.

A number of very able and experienced railway men and the directors conceived the idea of virtually borrowing the credit of the State, without imposing any liability upon the Commonwealth, to aid in the construction of this road. Among them were the following citizens of Northumberland County: Henry Reader, David Watson, Montgomery Sweeney, General Robert H. Hammond, Samuel Hepburn, General Henry Frick, James Hepburn, Joseph R. Priestley, Hugh Bellas, Charles G. Donnel, Judge Alexander Jordan, Ebenezer Greenough, Edward Gobin, John C. Boyd, Daniel Levy, Henry Yoxthimer, Henry Masser, William Forsyth, Dr. James Dougal, and Frederick Lazerus. Their proposition was that the various canals remaining in the ownership of the State should be sold to the Sunbury and Erie Railway Company for \$3,000,000, giving the railway company the right to sell or mortgage the several canals, as might be deemed best, the proceeds to be applied to the construction of the Erie line, and the State to accept a mortgage upon the line for the \$3,000,000 to be paid for the canals. It was believed this would provide sufficient funds to complete the line, and when accomplished the mortgage held by the State would be abundant security against loss to the Commonwealth.

A bill to enable this sale of the canals was read in place in both House and Senate and an earnest battle ensued as the members of the canal board were not willing to be shorn of their immense powers, which would result if the State sold the canals. The Republicans in the House supported the bill; the personnel of the canal board was entirely Democratic. No community in the State would benefit more by the completion of the link from Williamsport to Erie than would Philadelphia, and the great interests of that city soon brought a solid support in both House and Senate in favor of the bill. Many Democrats whose districts were traversed by the proposed road also fell into line, so that in spite of desperate opposition, the bill finally passed the House by a decided majority, and gained the narrow margin of one vote in the Senate. Governor William F. Packer was a resident of Williamsport, and, of course, was intensely interested in the measure.

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The bill reached the Governor only three days before final adjournment, and when he examined it, the Governor discovered a vital error in phraseology which had been overlooked, but which would result in serious embarrassment in executing its provisions. He could not return it with his objections, as it could not be passed over the veto; there was not time for the passage of a new bill, and the bill could be amended in the hands of the Governor only by the adoption of a joint resolution instructing such change. A joint resolution was required to lay over a day under the rules and it required two-thirds vote to suspend the rule, while the delay of a day would be fatal. The matter was submitted to Speaker Longnecker, who presided with ability and dignity over the body, and he informed those who were conferring with him that a joint resolution could not be read and finally passed on the same day.

Among the prominent Democratic members was George Nelson Smith, of Cambria County, a thorough parliamentarian and one of the most popular members of the House. It was suggested to the Speaker that he call Smith to the chair. The Speaker consented, Smith took the gavel and the resolution to amend the bill was changed from the usual form of a joint resolution by saying, "Resolved, If the Senate concurs, etc.," giving the appearance of a House resolution requiring simply the concurrence of the Senate. As soon as it was read the point was raised that it was a joint resolution and must lie over for a day, but Smith faced the emergency with magnificent boldness, deciding that it was not a joint resolution and directing the final vote to be called. It was evident that a majority of the House meant to save the bill; tactics for delay would be defeated by previous question and by the aggressive action of Acting Speaker Smith the House was suddenly brought to a call of the yeas and nays and the bill was saved. The Senate had ample time for concurrence and it was given.

Even after giving the Sunbury and Erie Railway Company the benefit of the loan of \$3,000,000, the work was pushed forward under many embarrassments. It was on the verge of collapse in the general prostration of 1860, but the Legislature came to its relief by an extensive credit. The Civil War came with its quickening of business and large increase of circulating medium, and the great enterprise of building a railroad through an almost continued wilderness from Williamsport to Lake Erie, a distance of nearly 250 miles, was completed Octo-

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ber 17, 1864, and the State gained not only by the sale of its canals and the abolishment of the canal board, but the \$3,000,000 was abundantly secured to it. The new railroad brought multiplied wealth to the State and the people that could never have been realized excepting by the construction of a great railway through the boundless riches of that great region.

The name Sunbury and Erie was changed to the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad Company by Act of Assembly, March 7, 1861. The entire line of the road to Erie was opened October 17, 1864, having been previously leased to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, January 1, 1862, for a period of 999 years.

It is coincident to note that it was during the administration of Governor Pollock that the main line of the public works was sold to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company by virtue of the Act of Assembly of May 16, 1857. The Governor had very strongly urged the sale of the public works, as they had become a running sore of corruption, including political debauchery and the systematic plunder of the treasury. The transaction was closed June 25, 1857, when the whole line of public works between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh passed into possession of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, the consideration being \$7,500,000.

First Locomotive in America—The first locomotive put upon a railroad in America was the English "Stourbridge Lion," which Horatio Allen operated on the Delaware and Hudson Canal and Railroad Company tracks at Honesdale, August 8, 1829. This first locomotive in the New World was one of three purchased in England by Horatio Allen, for the company of which he was assistant engineer, and was the first of these to arrive in New York. About July 1, it was shipped up the North River to Rondout, for the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, and thence by canal to Honesdale, Pennsylvania. The engine was placed upon the rails and everything arranged for the initial trial. A large cannon was stationed on the top of a high peak to sound the joyous occasion. On Saturday morning, August 8, 1829, the fire was kindled and steam raised, and, under the management of Mr. Allen, the "wonderful machine" was found capable of moving, to the great joy of the crowd of excited spectators. After running the locomotive forward and backward on the portion of road between the

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canal basin and the high railroad bridge across the West Branch of the Lackawanna, Mr. Allen started it, with no person accompanying him, and without any car being attached, and ran it with good speed around the curve and across the bridge and up the railroad about one and a half miles, to where the railroad crossed by a common road bridge, placed too low to admit the passage of the "Stourbridge Lion" under it. Here Allen reversed the engine and rank it back to place of starting, greeted by the cheers of the people and the booming of cannon.

The "Stourbridge Lion" moved off with considerable velocity, passed the curve over the creek safely, and was soon out of sight of the large assemblage. On his return to the starting point, Horatio Allen had made the first railroad trip by locomotive on the Western Hemisphere.

Mr. Alva Adams, a mechanic, while assisting to fire the cannon, had his arm so badly shattered that amputation became necessary. This was the only accident during the eventful day.

After repeating the trial a few times, Mr. Allen removed the "Stourbridge Lion" from the track, and it was left standing by the side of the railroad, with no covering but a temporary shed roof until the winter. It was then housed in with rough boards, but no further attention was given the great curiosity during about fifteen years. In this time so many of the parts had been detached or broken that it was worthless as a locomotive. The boiler was then removed to Carbon-dale and the other parts sold for junk.

The failure of entire success was a great disappointment. The experiment demonstrated that the manner of constructing the railroad was not sufficiently firm and substantial for locomotives. The road had been built in the summer, the structure was of hemlock timbers, and heavy rails were notched on the caps. The timber had cracked and warped from exposure to the sun. After about five hundred feet of the straightaway, the road crossed Lackawaxen Creek on a trestle-work, thirty feet high, and with a curve of four hundred feet radius. The impression was general that the iron monster would either break down the road or that it would leave the track at the curve and plunge into the creek. This accounts for the fact that no one accompanied Horatio Allen on the trial run.

That this engine proved to be impracticable under the circumstances was caused by no defect in its construction, or the principle

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involved, nor did it want in performance of its duties, but the fault was that roads in America had been built for horsepower alone, and we had not yet realized the change necessary for locomotives. Nevertheless, this experiment was the forerunner of the mighty race of the monsters which now traverse the country in every direction.

Philadelphia, Germantown & Norristown Railroad—Attention was drawn to the propriety of building a railroad from Philadelphia to Germantown, in a series of articles in the "United States Gazette," March and April, 1830. A public meeting was called November 13, at the house of Jacob Mason, which was attended by citizens of Philadelphia, Germantown, Mount Airy, Chestnut Hill, White Marsh and Norristown. The suggested route was from Philadelphia to Norristown; Reuben Haines was chairman and Benjamin Chew, Jr., secretary. A committee was appointed to defray the expenses of a survey. The movement was stimulated by Edward H. Bonsall, who had previously made an amateur survey of the route for the road. The committee went to work with industry, and in five weeks was ready to make a report. The route determined upon from Norristown to Philadelphia passed through White Marsh and Plymouth, and as near Germantown as practicable.

The Philadelphia, Germantown and Norristown Railroad was incorporated February 17, 1831. The rails were laid to Germantown by June, 1832, and the road was formally opened that month. For six months horsepower was employed. Much difficulty was experienced before the road was completed to Norristown. After much discussion and several Acts of Assembly the road was opened to Manunk, October 18, 1834. The whole road was opened through to Norristown on August 15, 1835, when the occasion was celebrated by a great feast. Speeches were made by Colonel Thomas L. McKenney, Joseph R. Chandler, Nathan Sargent, W. Gaylord Clark, Samuel Chew, and W. D. Lewis, of Philadelphia, and General Joly, of Norristown. To this railroad is to be given the credit of introducing many important improvements in locomotive engines and other railroading necessities.

First American Locomotive—The first successful American locomotive was made in Philadelphia by Matthias William Baldwin, and completed January 8, 1831. The story of the man and his wonderful

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achievement is the story of one of the greatest industrial plants in the world and is full of human interest.

It was in 1829-30 that steam, as a motive power on railroads, began to attract the attention of American engineers. George Stephenson had produced a successful locomotive in England. In 1830 the Camden and Amboy Railroad Company brought across the ocean a locomotive, which was kept hidden from the public eye until it should be used. Franklin Peale, who owned the Philadelphia Museum, where up-to-date novelties were shown, wished to have a small working model of a locomotive to exhibit, and he turned to Matthias Baldwin. The two men found out where the locomotive was kept and visited the place. Baldwin was already familiar with the published description and sketches of engines which had taken part in the Rainhill competition in England, but he now had an opportunity to see and measure for himself an actual engine.

Baldwin made the model, completing it January 8, 1831. It was taken to the museum and on April 25 was put in motion on a circular track made of pine boards covered with hoop-iron. It drew two small cars, each holding four persons, and attracted great attention from the crowds who saw it. Both anthracite and pine-knot coal were used as fuel, and the steam was discharged through the smokestack to increase the draught. The success of the model obtained for Mr. Baldwin an order for a locomotive for the Philadelphia, Germantown and Norristown Railroad Company.

This engine when completed was called "Old Ironsides" and left the shop November 23, 1832. It stood on the rails like a "thing of life." The track was made clear in the afternoon of that day, after the passenger cars had completed their run, and steam was raised sufficient for use in twenty minutes after fire was set in the furnace. "Old Ironsides" went to the township line and returned immediately, a distance of six miles, at a speed of about twenty-eight miles per hour, it being after dark.

The next day "Old Ironsides" drew four cars loaded with passengers to Germantown, making the six miles in less than half an hour. On Monday 26th, another trip was made with six cars and passengers and in a short time the locomotive was at regular work. Its light weight, between four and five tons, did not give it that tractive power necessary to draw a loaded train on wet and slippery rails, hence the

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newspapers of that day termed it a "fair weather" locomotive, because the notices specified that "the locomotive built by Mr. M. W. Baldwin, of this city, will depart daily, when the weather is fair, with a train of passenger cars. On rainy days horses will be attached." The "Old Ironsides" was a four-wheeled engine, modeled essentially on the English fashion of that day. The wheels were made with heavy cast-iron hubs, wooden spokes and rims, and wrought-iron tires. The price of this engine was \$4,000, but the company claimed that it did not perform according to contract, and after correction had been made as far as possible, a compromise was effected and Mr. Baldwin received \$3,500 for his work. "Old Ironsides," on subsequent trials, attained a speed of thirty miles an hour with the usual train.

First Coal Burning Locomotive—The first locomotive that burned coal to be put into successful operation in America was made in York in 1832, by Phineas Davis, of that city.

On January 4, 1831, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company offered a prize for a locomotive of American manufacture. The sum was to be awarded to the inventor of the best engine which would burn coke or coal and consume its own smoke. The engine was to be delivered for trial June 1, 1832. Davis became one of the competitors, and he built his engine, called "The York," and conveyed it on wagons to Baltimore in time for the trial. "The York" won the competition from among five entrants, and Phineas Davis received the coveted prize. The "Baltimore Gazette" of July 31, 1832, says: "We are gratified that the locomotive steam engine, 'The York,' constructed by Phineas Davis, of York, Penna., commenced operation yesterday. It started with a train of fourteen loaded cars, carrying together with the engine tender, a gross weight of fifty tons. The whole went off in fine style and was out of sight of the depot in six minutes."

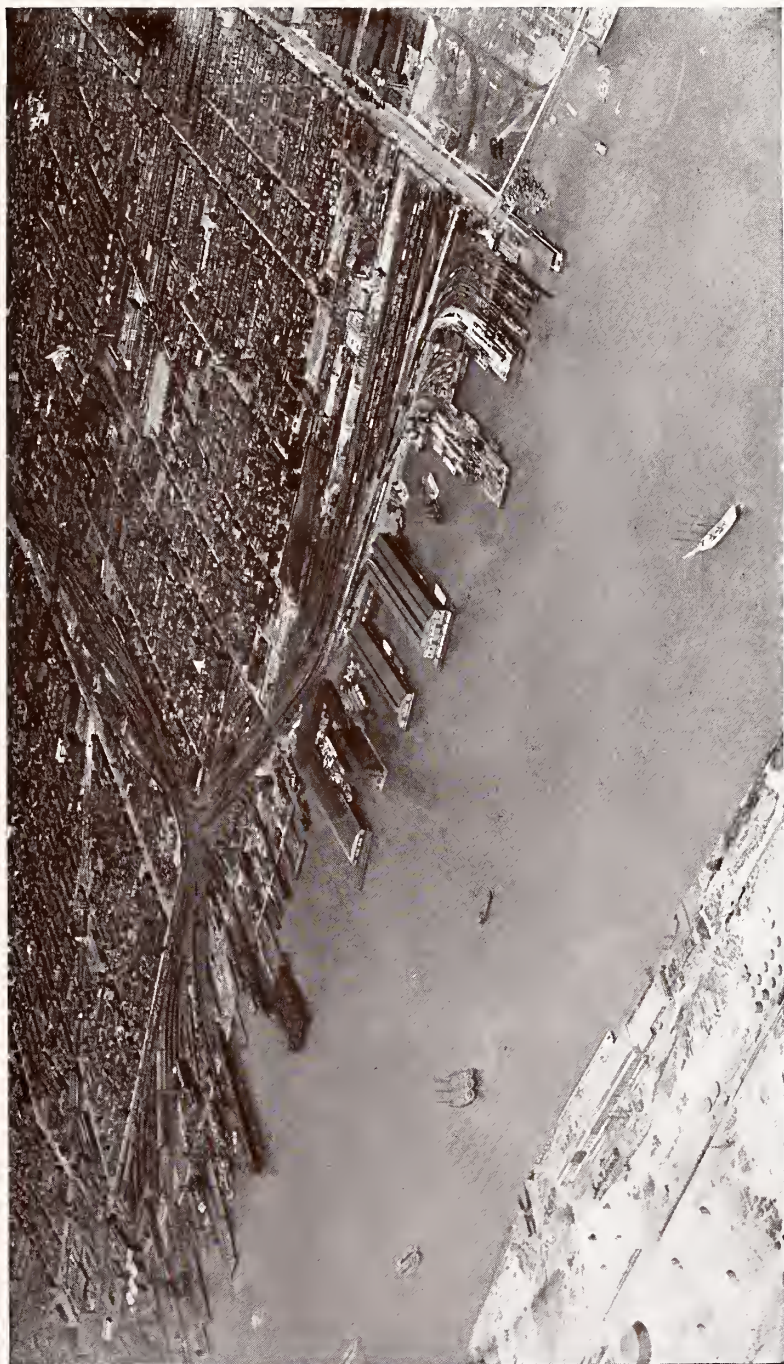
In the trial run the "York" made the thirteen miles in one hour and five minutes. Returning with only one car, it made the last mile in three minutes. The fuel used was anthracite coal. Davis' engine was mounted on wheels thirty inches in diameter, the motion for which was produced by gears. It could negotiate a curve of four hundred feet radius. Even though the engine weighed only three and a half tons, the officials of the railroad were pleased with the test, and since that time steam engines have been in use.

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The Reading Company—The Philadelphia and Reading Railway Company was incorporated by special act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, approved April 4, 1833. The charter granted to the company, December 5, following, authorized it to construct a railroad from Reading to Philadelphia. At Reading it was proposed to connect with the Little Schuylkill Navigation and Railroad, which had been incorporated in 1827, to build a railroad from Tamaqua to Reading. By a later statute the company was authorized to extend its road from Reading to Port Clinton, where connection was made with the Little Schuylkill Navigation and Railroad. It was planned primarily to transport anthracite from the Schuylkill region to Philadelphia and intermediate points, especially where a number of blast furnaces were then operating.

On December 5, 1839, the railroad was opened to traffic from Reading to Philadelphia, and on January 1, 1842, the first locomotive and train passed over the entire line between Mount Carbon in Schuylkill County, and Philadelphia. On May 17, 1842, the Richmond Branch, from the Falls of the Schuylkill to the terminal at Port Richmond on the Delaware was opened, from which time the Reading has been an important railroad. In 1853 the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company began the construction of the Lebanon Valley Railroad, extending from Reading to Harrisburg. The line was completed in 1858, and merged into the Reading Railroad. May 8, 1871, the parent company bought the Northern Liberties and Penn Township Railroad, in Philadelphia, control of which had been obtained in 1857.

In the period between 1859 and 1870, the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company commenced the systematic extension which has resulted in the development of the present Reading System. In that period the company acquired through purchase or lease twenty-six railroads. Between 1870 and 1880, thirteen more were acquired; in the next decade nine were added; from 1890 to 1900 eight were acquired, and since 1900 four more were added, until at the present time the Reading Company, with its affiliated lines, operates 1,619.15 miles of railroad, exclusive of the Central Railroad of New Jersey, and 3.63 miles of road leased jointly by the Reading Company and the Central Railroad of New Jersey.



TYPICAL MODERN PIERS IN PHILADELPHIA

Courtesy Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce

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The Pennsylvania System—Among the several railroad groups of America is that of the Pennsylvania System, and this corporation enjoys the distinction of having the greatest number of individual stockholders. This company grew out of the mixed canal and railroad system constructed by the State between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

The Pennsylvania Railroad Company, the most important carrier in Pennsylvania and in the Eastern United States, and one of the greatest and most extensive railroad systems in the entire world, was brought into existence by an act of Assembly of Pennsylvania, approved by Governor Francis R. Shunk, April 13, 1846. Letters patent were issued February 15, 1847, and the company organized March 20, but the election of officers was held and the actual beginning of this great corporation dates from March 31, 1847. Under the articles of incorporation this company was authorized to construct, equip, and operate a line of steam railroad to connect with the then known Harrisburg, Portsmouth, Mount Joy and Lancaster Railroad, and to run to Pittsburgh or to any point in Allegheny County, or to Erie, in Erie County, as its management might deem expedient.

The Erie Canal, devised by DeWitt Clinton, and constructed by David Thomas, a Pennsylvanian, had deflected the trade of the Great Lakes and the West from Philadelphia to New York, and made the latter the leading city of the Nation. It was expected that a railroad over the mountains would bring this trade back to Philadelphia and restore the supremacy of that city. In order to make sure that no outside influence should get control, the charter provided that all of the directors "shall be citizens and residents of this Commonwealth." This part of the plan failed, but the leading capitalists of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and elsewhere in the State, subscribed liberally to the stock of the company and from the beginning the enterprise was well backed with ample funds and equally valuable influence.

Hardly had the original road been opened for traffic before the company began to extend its lines and enlarge the field of its operations. The movement which proved of the greatest benefit to the public, and to the company itself, was in 1857, when the Legislature passed an act, May 16, directing the line of public works between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh to be sold, and the Pennsylvania Railroad Company became the purchaser. Governor James Pollock caused the

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sale to be made June 25, and on July 31 following the actual transfer was consummated. This transaction fixes the date from which the progressive history of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company begins. The purchase price was seven and one-half millions and ownership was obtained for the combined State canal and railroad. The State was relieved of a burdensome property, and at the same time these public works were placed under the control of a corporation whose methods of management must result in great benefit to the people of the State.

The canals on the Susquehanna and its branches above the mouth of the Juniata, together with the Delaware Division, were sold the following year to the Sunbury and Erie Railroad Company, now a part of the great Pennsylvania System, and the work of extension did not cease. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company, in 1861, leased for 999 years the Harrisburg, Portsmouth, Mount Joy and Lancaster road and brought it under the Pennsylvania's management. The work of extension has ever kept pace with the opportunity to develop this great railroad system until it includes, in whole, or in part, more than one hundred lesser lines of road, with its main line, branches and spurs.

The great terminal station in Philadelphia, recently damaged by fire, was soon replaced by one of the finest railroad stations in the world, even comparable with the great Pennsylvania Station in New York City. The greatest corporation in Pennsylvania is the railroad system which so gloriously carries the name of the Keystone State into every part of the Western Hemisphere.

Cumberland Valley Railroad—Another important link in the State system of public works, destined later to become a part of the great Pennsylvania system, was the Cumberland Valley Railroad, which was formally opened from Harrisburg to Chambersburg, Thursday, November 16, 1837.

First Sleeping Cars—Many improvements in railroading were inaugurated on this great system, but none, possibly, have been more popular than the development of the sleeping cars. As early as 1839 the officers of the Cumberland Valley Railroad installed a sleeping car service between Harrisburg and Chambersburg. This first sleeping car was an adaptation of an ordinary day coach to sleeping requirements. It was divided into four compartments, in each of which three bunks

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were built against one side of the car, and in the rear of the car were provided a towel, basin and water. The only things furnished by the railroad company were pillows and mattresses, which were piled up in one corner and dragged by the passengers to the scene of torture when required. No bed clothes were furnished and the weary passengers, fully dressed, reclined on rough mattresses with their overcoats or shawls drawn over them, doubtless marveling the while at the fruitfulness of modern inventions.

As times went on other similar cars with berths arranged in three tiers on one side of the car were adopted by various railroads, and occasional, but in no manner fundamental improvements were made on the original sleeping car of the Cumberland Valley. Candles furnished the light, and the heat was supplied by box stoves burning wood or sometimes coal. For a number of years these makeshift cars found an appreciative patronage, and temporarily served the patrons. It was nearly ten years before these sleeping cars were generally adopted by other railroads, and the innovation of bedding furnished by the railroads marked a slight progress.

Railroad Enters Pittsburgh—It was but natural that the great undeveloped wealth of the Mississippi Valley should attract those who had any vision as to the future of this vast country. This enormous wealth must be dumped into the great cities planted along the Atlantic Seaboard. General Washington, skilled surveyor that he was, early trained his eyes westward, and he spent much time in outlining plans for connecting the Potomac and Ohio rivers by means of a canal. Twenty-five years after his death the Erie Canal was opened, when the merchants of Philadelphia and Baltimore realized they must awaken or succumb.

Baltimore believed a railroad should be built to the West. The Baltimore and Ohio, first of all great railroads, shows by its name the purpose for which it was incorporated. Pennsylvania, however, undertook to connect the West by a system of combined railroads and canals. From the first both cities looked to Pittsburgh as the logical terminus of their improvements. Then began a struggle of Philadelphia-Baltimore rivalry, which lasted for forty-three years, from 1828 to 1871.

In 1828 Pennsylvania had given a charter for fifteen years to the Baltimore and Ohio, by which it could construct its line through South-

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western Pennsylvania to Pittsburgh. The members of the Legislature at that time did not consider future competition, for the State works had not been built. This act, among other onerous conditions, was discriminating in favor of traffic to Philadelphia; it also contained a heavy State tax on freight, and the company could not accept it.

The Pennsylvania State works from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh were completed in 1834. When the charter of the Baltimore and Ohio expired in 1843, the road was completed only as far as Cumberland. The company tried to obtain better terms from Pennsylvania. The residents of the western part of the State were all eager for an additional outlet to the coast, but the Philadelphia politicians were unwilling to yield any concession to their Baltimore rivals.

Several years later it was admitted that the State works would never provide adequate transportation facilities to the West, even though in excess of \$10,000,000 had already been expended and the Commonwealth seriously involved. Pennsylvanians were made to realize that railroads were superior to canals and that the commercial solution of Philadelphia lay in a central railroad to Pittsburgh.

Public meetings were held in Philadelphia and elsewhere. A State railroad convention was held at Harrisburg, January 14, 1846, when resolutions were adopted favoring the Central Railroad scheme and against the Baltimore and Ohio right of way grant. The people of Pennsylvania believed since a railroad must be built it would be better for it to be run entirely through Pennsylvania and be a Pennsylvania institution. They also felt that if the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was given a franchise, it would be next to impossible to raise money to build the Pennsylvania Railroad. Pittsburgh business interests were fearful if the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was refused admission to Pennsylvania that road would extend its rails farther down the Ohio to Wheeling, perhaps, and thus control river trade, which had long been enjoyed at Pittsburgh. Many meetings were held in Pittsburgh urging the support of the Baltimore bill. It must also be understood that State prejudice held back railroads from entering other States. In 1846 States rights theories were more potential than they are today.

The Baltimore and Ohio bill was defeated in the Senate February 23, 1846, by a single vote. Philadelphia rejoiced and Pittsburgh was sad. The Senate reversed itself February 26, and Philadelphia was

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maddened beyond reason. On April 10 the Baltimore bill passed the House, with an amendment providing that the grant to the Baltimore and Ohio should be null and void if the Pennsylvania Railroad obtained subscriptions of \$3,000,000 in capital stock, of which \$900,000 must be paid in cash by July 31. The bill passed the Senate and was signed by Governor Shunk, April 21. Every effort was exerted to procure the subscriptions, a house-to-house canvass resulting in 2,600 subscriptions. Nearly all of which were for five shares or less. Philadelphia won the struggle and the conditions were met in time. Governor Shunk issued a proclamation announcing the grant to Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to be null and void.

In 1837 a group of Pittsburgh men obtained a charter for the Pittsburgh and Connellsville Railroad. This with the design to get into Baltimore, as it would build fifty-eight miles of the route to that city. That scheme fell through, but in 1843 the charter of the Baltimore and Ohio was renewed but they did not seem to appreciate the advantage secured for them by the astute Pittsburgh business men.

The Baltimore and Ohio had completed its line to Wheeling and the Pennsylvania was about to finish its line into Pittsburgh. The Pittsburgh and Connellsville obtained authority to make connection with the Baltimore and Ohio at Cumberland. The road was opened from Pittsburgh to Connellsville January, 1857. Then came the panic of 1857 and the depression by the prospect of the Civil War.

In 1864 the stretch of ninety miles between Uniontown and Cumberland again became a political matter. Thomas A. Scott, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, determined this link should not be built, as the last thing he wanted was a competing line in Pittsburgh.

On April 11, 1864, two bills were introduced into the Legislature. One claimed the Pittsburgh and Connellsville Railroad had misused its charter; the other incorporated a new railroad from Connellsville. The bills passed and became laws without the approval of Governor Curtin.

Judge Grier, in United States Court, June 20, 1865, held the repeal of the Pittsburgh and Connellsville to be unconstitutional. This case now became a legal battle for years and eventually got into Congress and back into the Pennsylvania General Assembly. On January 29, 1868, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania unanimously decided in favor of the Pittsburgh and Connellsville Railroad. The next day the

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Legislature repealed the act of 1864. The happy ending was in spite of all litigation. Pittsburgh and the great mineral and lumber wealth along the Monongahela and Youghiogheny valleys was opened up, and on June 26, 1871, the Pittsburgh, Washington and Baltimore Railroad was formally opened and the long struggle for Pittsburgh ended.

Lehigh Valley Railroad—The Lehigh Valley Railroad was naturally the outcome of the great enterprises upon the Lehigh River and the anthracite regions in the neighborhood of Mauch Chunk begun by Josiah White, Erskine Hazard, and George F. A. Hauto, in 1817, for the development of the coal trade, which afterward led to the establishment of the Lehigh Navigation Company.

A company was incorporated as the Delaware, Lehigh, Schuylkill and Susquehanna Railroad Company, by act of Assembly passed April 21, 1846. On January 7, 1853, the corporate name was changed to Lehigh Valley Railroad Company. The road was opened for traffic from South Easton to Allentown, in June, 1855, and to Mauch Chunk in September, following. It was completed to Wilkes-Barre in 1865; to the State line between New York and Pennsylvania in 1866, and to Buffalo, New York, in September, 1892. In 1872 the construction of the line extending from the Delaware River at Easton to Perth Amboy, New Jersey, was commenced, and opened for traffic in 1875. In 1885 the extension to tidewater on the Hudson River at New York was projected and the road subsequently constructed and completed. The Lehigh Valley Railroad System is today a double track trunk line extending through the states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and New York from the Atlantic Seaboard to the Great Lakes. The main line runs from New York City to Buffalo, New York, a distance of 448 miles. The entire mileage of the system is 1,392.89. The road is divided into four main line operating divisions—New Jersey and Lehigh, Wyoming, Pennsylvania, and Buffalo Divisions; also two branch line divisions, Mahanoy and Hazleton Division, covering the anthracite coal regions, and the Auburn Division, covering branch lines in the northern part of New York State.

The main shops of the company are at Sayre, Pennsylvania, where the principal buildings cover an area of more than six acres. The first

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president of the company was Hon. James M. Porter,* of Easton, and the principal office was in the Northampton county seat until 1856, when the stockholders voted to remove it to Philadelphia.

The Lehigh Valley, Philadelphia and Reading System, Jersey Central and Delaware and Hudson Railroad are named in a proposed merger with the New York Central, which the Federal Government believes would be beneficial to all concerned.

Delaware, Lackawanna and Western—The original main line of the present Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad System was first known as Ligetts Gap Railroad, taking its name from a gap about two miles before Scranton. Its route lay from Scranton to the Susquehanna River at Great Bend, Susquehanna County (near Binghamton, New York), fifty-three and one-half miles, there connecting with the then New York and Erie Railroad.

The charter was obtained March 14, 1849. By a supplement, approved April 14, 1851, the corporate name of the railroad became the Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company. The first train ran on Tuesday, October 14, 1851, and the road was opened for regular traffic on Monday following.

By a purchase of the charter of the Delaware and Cobb's Gap Company, which later was incorporated April 7, 1849, but which never began the work of construction, the Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company became the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, and the act of the General Assembly for this consolidation was approved March 11, 1853. The present system comprises 2,678.35 miles of line. It extends from the seaboard at New York to the Great

*President Porter, one of the organizers of the company, was the son of General Andrew Porter, a distinguished officer of the Continental Army in the Revolution. He was a lawyer and statesman, one of the founders of Lafayette College, and its president for twenty-five years. He served as judge of the Twelfth Judicial District, composed of the counties of Dauphin, Schuylkill and Lebanon, which office he resigned in July, 1840, to accept the portfolio of Secretary of War in a cabinet of President Tyler. Upon retiring from the cabinet Secretary Porter again resumed law practice in Easton. He was elected to the General Assembly, and in 1853 became judge of the Twenty-second Judicial District. He devoted much of his time to Freemasonry and served for many years as an officer in the Grand Lodge of the State. When he became president of the railroad he devoted his best effort to his high station, but upon the decision of the stockholders to remove the principal office from Easton to Philadelphia, he resigned the presidency, and was succeeded by William M. Longstreth, elected February 3, 1856. He was succeeded May 13, following, by J. Gillingham Fell, who held the office for several years, when he was succeeded by Hon. Asa Packer, who was one of the real builders of the road, and under whose leadership the system was wonderfully developed.

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Lakes at Buffalo, through New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Southern and Western New York, with branches into the slate and cement regions, and the anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania, and the agricultural, dairy and industrial area of Central New York.

The Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company assumed control of the Bangor and Portland Railroad August 1, 1900, by the purchase of its stock. This was the last of the branches located in Pennsylvania secured by the corporation.

The extensive anthracite coal lands of this company were in Luzerne and Lackawanna counties, but under the decision of the United States Supreme Court the railroad discontinued its coal business in 1909, when this was taken over by the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Coal Company. On July 21, 1921, the company sold its coal properties to the Glen Alden Coal Company.

Motor Vehicles—Motor vehicles have given the railroads and steamship lines their most serious competition, and with the road building program of this and other Commonwealths, this competition is greatly stimulated. The passenger cars, taxis and busses, and the motor trucks of freight car proportions present a problem which is a long way from being solved. Nowhere are these rapidly moving motor vehicles more numerous than on the excellent hard-surfaced highways of Pennsylvania.

Aeronautics—Aeronautics received early attention in Pennsylvania and the contribution of her inhabitants has been important. George Pletz, of Hummelstown, lost his life in 1828 in a trial flight with a flying machine of his invention.

The first attempt to reach Europe by a flight across the Atlantic Ocean was made in a balloon, in 1873, by Washington H. Donaldson, of Reading, Pennsylvania, the most daring aeronaut of his time. The "New York Daily Graphic" raised \$100,000 to finance the project. Donaldson started from New York City, October 6, 1873, his companions being Alfred Ford, of the "Daily Graphic," and a man named Lunte. After traveling about 500 miles, the balloon encountered a storm, and the voyage came to an abrupt end near Caanan, Connecticut. After this attempt Donaldson attempted a balloon ascension at Chicago, accompanied by a reporter named Grimwood. After they had passed

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out of sight, neither of them was ever heard from again. It is supposed they ran into a storm and perished in Lake Michigan. Donaldson's exploits constantly kept him in the public eye. On one occasion he made an ascent at Reading in a balloon constructed of ordinary wrapping paper. He sailed away in the presence of 20,000 persons, and landed safely in a ravine about twenty miles distant.

Samuel Pierpont Langley, while director of Allegheny Observatory (1867-87) became internationally known through his experiments in connection with the problem of mechanical flight. A sum of \$5,000 was voted him by Congress for carrying out of his ideas, which were not wholly successful. He was, however, the pioneer who cut the air trail. He made the first man-carrying airplane; the Wrights made the first that carried a man.

Mrs. Louise McP. Thaden, of Pittsburgh, was winner of the cross country derby for women, leading all of the 2,350 miles from Santa Monica, California, to Cleveland Airport. She also climbed more than 25,000 feet, and made a record of twenty-two hours in the air. Major J. Sydney Owens, the youngest ace in the American Flying Corps, who shot down five German planes officially and two unofficially, also was the winner of many racing events after the war. Marshall Earl Reid, of Philadelphia, a native of Milton, was one of the first successful aviators, the first to fly from New York to Philadelphia; he was an instructor during the World War.

All-metal seaplane, PN-9, was built in Philadelphia, and the "Shenandoah," the first great dirigible, was also built at League Island Navy Yard.

Pennsylvania's improved highways serve as guide posts to the aerial traveler, which the Commonwealth has taken forward steps to stimulate and regulate. The State Aeronautic Commission was created by act of Assembly, and Governor John S. Fisher, on June 1, 1929, appointed its members.



Baron of Saint Castine---American Pioneer

BY ROSCOE B. MILLER, NEW LISKEARD, ONTARIO



FORTUNATE is he who, being worthy of mention by historians, is worthily represented in much history written. Inherent merits of men and women whose deeds have yielded fruits with vital historic seeds are often unrecognized altogether or are improperly represented. But, however much characters properly historical may have been written about, and given honors in history and literature befitting them, any intimate details of their lives hitherto rather unknown assume an importance which is more apt to correspond with their rightful place in history.

Among personages who have bulked most largely in American history in their own times, and who have received special mention by historians and poets is the Baron of Saint Castine, a French nobleman, whose name, at least, is perserved in the town of Castine, in Maine, United States of America. Professor Henry Wadsworth Longfellow relates in his "Tales of a Wayside Inn," with pardonable poetic license, the story of the Baron's departure, as a very young soldier, from the Castin(e) ancestral estate, for the New World, and, of the lonesomeness of the Baron's father at home among the Pyrenees Mountains, ever inquiring: "Are there any tidings from over seas?" But while the tragedy of the poem is the death of the father upon hearing of his son's marriage to an Indian woman—"Madocawando's child"—research shows that the father had died before the son left his home for Quebec.

Inquiries upon whether Longfellow's "Madocawando's" was an actual historical personage among the Tarratine Indians encountered by the Baron when he was transferred to Acadie, or not, led to a reference to the librarian of Maine State Library, in Augusta, Maine. A volume compiled by a women's organization in Maine, entitled: "Maine In History and Romance," containing a chapter on: "The Baron's Letter: A Romance of Pentagöet," was received, as a result. Having an explanatory introduction, this chapter proved to be a translation of the original autobiography of the young Baron, of high his-

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torical interest. This document was originally found near the family chateau, in France, by a young Australian, the then last survivor of the family, living in Australia, but motoring through the Pyrenees on his honeymoon. Bertrand Castine and his party were compelled to put up on account of the breakdown of his motor at a local inn; and, they were accosted while taking a leisurely examination of ruins of the old chateau by an old man, in the garb of a curé. Mr. Castine was informed that when the "Bande Noir" (Black Band of marauders) had pulled the chateau to pieces for materials which could be carried away, a few relics only had been secured, luckily, by the curé's grandfather, and, of those held by him, yet, which might be examined by the party of tourists, fortunately including a musty parchment signed: "Jean Vincent de Saint Castin." When shown by the curé to the travellers, examination of it indicated that it was a rather lengthy letter written by the Baron to his oldest granddaughter, Marie, then in Quebec, after his return to the ancestral estates, in France, from his abode on the Penobscot River, in present-day Maine. With charming naivete and with delightful particularity of incident and details of living among his wife's people, to please his granddaughter, the letter gave accounts of different interesting scenes in which the Baron and his romantically wooed Indian wife had figured. Surely it was a find.

The translation of this parchment so acquired, indicated that, despite Professor Longfellow's poetic account of the scene on the family estates, in the Pyrenees Mountains, after the young Baron departed for New France and Quebec, as a fourteen-year-old soldier in the Carignan-Salieres Regiment, the death of the Baron's father on account of a fall from his horse was the actual cause of his son's enlistment in this overseas forces of King Louis XIV. Since his brother was to inherit the family seignior, the Baron wrote that, having had a passion for adventure, from youth, he implored his uncle, the Bishop of Lascar, to obtain permission from the King for his enlistment. When this wish was granted, and, after his brother, inheriting this estate, had given him a well-filled purse, he related how he rode on horseback to the Port of Bayonne, when his troop ship sailed for New France; but that the petty brawls of his fellow-soldiers, the oaths of the troops and sailors, the filth of the "Etoile de Mer" and seasickness, en route, disgusted him. Relief had been

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expressed by: "Quebec, at last!" The wild country about the new settlement of Quebec was very strange; and, it recalled with longing: "the sweet valleys of our own France." Certainly no autobiography of a pioneer American extant could be more tragically romantic.

After a single year of service in New France, the Carignan-Salieres Regiment was disbanded at Quebec, and the young Baron was at a loss to know what to do at first. But learning that the King had been pleased to grant him a tract of land, in Acadie, near Pentagöet, on the Penobscot River in present-day Maine, he determined to reach his grant, by a journey overland from Quebec. Guided by an Indian brave, with other Indians, the Baron walked all the way; and, although food of fish, nuts, honey and berries was plentiful, the young adventurer's garments were badly torn by underbrush, and, the long tramp wearied him exceedingly.

However, the country to which the Baron was bound pleased him greatly, when it was reached. Since the founding of Port Royal (Annapolis, Nova Scotia), in 1605, by Champlain, first as "Habitation" and, later, as "Royal Harbour," the peninsula to which the young Baron Saint Castine was sent, on the seacoast, on which the French fort had been erected, called Pentagöet, on the Penobscot's River, had dominated the local Abenakis Indians, and had over-awed the English settlements, southerly. Here, close to the water's edge where at dead of night he could hear the quiet steady lap lap of the waves, on the pebbly beach, he selected a point on which to reside. The scene is described as follows: "From love of the blue clear waters, the tongue of land stretched itself out into them, whilst with an equally fond embrace the salt sea had encircled the green pastures rich with their waving grasses, flowers and the refreshing shade of trees." A long low building, partly made of wood and partly of stone, was erected; and, as local lord and master, he was ready for the pungenies and delights of pioneer life on the Atlantic seacoast. Soon he acquired considerable influence with Madocawando (Mataconando), the Taratine Indian sachem, and his people, and the most interesting part of his letter discloses how, with detachment at first, and then with progressive regard for her qualities, the young French bachelor wooed and wed the daughter of Madocawando, whom he called "Rosy-throated Pigeon," among other affectionate names.

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The courtship of the future Baroness was accompanied, it is told in the autobiographical letter, by the singing of chansons, of which the favorite was:

A heart, a heart, ah, give me a heart,
To rise to circumstance;
Serene and high, and bold to try
The hazard of the chance;
With strength to wait, but fixed as fate,
The peer of all and only thrall,
Sweet lady mine, to you!

The Baron found that his love was of sure growth, strong and pure; and it was his suggestion that his wife should be named Mathilde and baptized according to the rites of the Catholic Church. He won her, despite the number of his rivals among the Tarrantines, some of whom he taught the elements of the Christian civilization. Vieing with the Tarrantines in their manly sports, including wrestling, shooting and swimming, and seeking to acquire all manner of Indian lore, the Baron had, no doubt, his temptations to forsake the principle of his Catholic training. He might have had, it seems, four or five Indian wives, and he appears to have been conscious of "the fascination of my manners" among them.

The pleasures of the Baron among the natives included gathering wild berries, with which the country abounded. The summer months provided him with "a continuous feast" of strawberries, blueberries, and blackberries; and wild cherries, thorn plums, apples, beechnuts and "pop-corn" were more rare pleasures, in his exile. His first taste of tea was obtained when an Indian runner brought from his friend, the Baron La Hontan, at Quebec, a few dried leaves, in a paper wrapper.

The manner in which the thirty years that the Baron spent at Pentagöet became "sanctified unto me" is interwoven with those years when his wife was developing from childhood, when she was carried in a birchen basket, on her mother's back, to young-womanhood. His admiration for her was deepened when he saw her standing alone in a light batteau, and paddling against a strong tide in front of his house, revealing poise as she deftly handled the craft. A healthy gleam of red beneath the tan of her cheek gave her a "loveliness without a name." Then, after they were married and took up occupancy

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of his long house, near Fort Pentagöet, she was admired as wife. She is described as having slender feet, clad in handsome moccasins, with long glossy black hair in braids hanging down her back, and being dressed in a doe-skin shirt, embroidered with beads. His delight in her was increased after the birth of their son, Bernand Anselm. To the babe both Indian and French songs were chanted, while being rocked in a genuine French cradle as the mother embroidered tiny moccasins fretted with bead-work. To please the daughter of this babe the Baron told how, when his son was asleep on the branch of an oak tree, a red squirrel called an "uncas" ate his dinner above him, and dropped an acorn upon his nose.

In the year 1701 the Baron was recalled to France. Since his wife's father, Madocawando (Mataconando), had died, and a former lover of his wife had become chief of the Tarratines, the departure of the Baroness was easier. So that, leaving his son, Bernand Anselm, to finish his education at the seminary at Quebec, and taking with him a gold accumulation of 3,000 pounds, the Baron and his wife sailed on a commodious ship for France. Upon landing safely they continued on to Paris, and had the honour of an audience with the grand old monarch, Louis XIV. Then it was that an account was given of the country he had seen in New France and Acadia, of the defence of Port Royal, and of his relations with the English, his neighbors to the south. Having had a veritable victory in diplomacy in his dealings with Sir Edmond Andros, the Governor of New England, after making a raid upon his Pentagöet establishment, royal commendation must have been highly satisfactory to the Baron.

Returning to the ancestral home, at Pau, near Escout, close to the Aspe River, the Baron found that his older brother was dead; and, since his sister asked him to remain at home and manage the estate, he abandoned his intention of returning to Pentagöet and there establishing a fishery for commercial purposes. His sister had her way. He remained in France, but his heart was fixed upon the old scenes in and about Pentagöet. Indeed, his constancy of character is commented upon by his friend, the Historian La Hontan, *personally famed as a good liar*, thusly:

The Baron of St. Castin, a gentleman of Oleron, in Bearn, having lived among the Abenakis, after the savage way, for about twenty years, is so much respected by the savages that they look upon him as

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their titular God. He was formerly an officer in the Carignan-Salieres Regiment, in Canada, and upon the breaking up of that regiment, threw himself among the savages, whose language he had learned. He married among 'em, after their fashion; and, preferred the forests of Acadia to the Pyrennean mountains that encompass the place of his nativity; for the first years of his abode, with the savages, he behaved himself so as to draw an inexpressible esteem from them. They made him their great chief or leader, who is, in a manner, the sovereign of the nation; and, by degrees, he worked himself into such a fortune, which any man but he would have made use of, as to draw out of that country, above two or three hundred thousand crowns, which he has now in his pocket, in good dry gold. . . . He never changed his wife, by which means he meant to give the savages to understand that God does not like inconstant folk.

In closing his letter, the Baron related the course of the life of his wife, Mathilde, on the family estate, stating that she was engaged in teaching Indian arts of blanket and basket weaving to her maids. He reminded his granddaughter that her own mother was Charlotte D'Amours, daughter of Louis D'Amours, sieur de chauffours; and, that she had married the Baron's son, Marie's father, in 1707. His letter ended with an expression of longing that her grandparents might be enabled to look upon the faces of his son, Bernand Anselm, his wife, and little daughter Marie, to whom he wrote, before he died.

A note by the editor of "Maine in History and Romance," states that the Baron of St. Castin or Castine died in Pau, in 1717, possibly, a year after this lengthy letter was written; and that the son, Anselm, did not reach France until after the Baron's death. His son did meet, however, his mother Mathilde, concerning whom, with singular fidelity to the loving description of the Baron himself, the poet, Prof. Henry W. Longfellow, makes the curate of the family see her as told in the following lines:

Instead, he beholds, with secret shame,
A form of beauty undefined,
A loveliness without a name,
Not of degree but more of kind;
Nor bold, not shy, not short nor tall,
But a mingling of them all;
Yes, beautiful beyond belief,
Transfigured and transfused he sees,
The lady of the Pyrenees,
The daughter of the Indian Chief!

William Albert McGonagle

BY HERBERT A. HULL, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI



IT is sometimes difficult to realize, in our present state of industrialized civilization, that the northwestern part of the United States, as it exists today, was carved, not so long ago, out of a wilderness. Among the leaders of men who devoted their lives to this work and took their full part in the upbuilding of this region, William Albert McGonagle held a prominent place. From the pioneer days of Northern Minnesota down through the third decade of the twentieth century, he participated in the affairs of this great State, particularly in those having to do with the city of Duluth. He was not only president of the Duluth, Missabe and Northern Railroad, but also an outstanding figure in civic and social life. A man of tremendous strength of mind and will, he put that strength behind projects and undertakings that were closely allied with the ambitions and aspirations of the people among whom he lived and worked; and as a result, he attained to high position in his city, State and Nation.

Mr. McGonagle began life on March 28, 1861, at Conshohocken, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, in a comparatively modest way, but as one who was destined to make a place for himself in the world and to win that place by virtue of his own efforts and personal force. His father, Joseph McGonagle, was a merchant in Conshohocken, where the boy attended the public schools and was graduated in 1876 from high school. The mother was Agnes (McKeeman) McGonagle.

Entering the University of Pennsylvania, in September, 1877, William A. McGonagle was graduated in June, 1881, with the degree of Bachelor of Science in civil engineering. In July of that same year he began his work in the railway industry of the United States, becoming affiliated with the Northern Pacific Railway Company in the capacity of draftsman in the office of the chief engineer at Brainerd, Minnesota.

So started his career in the Northwest. Later, he was promoted to transitman on the location of the Little Falls and Dakota Railroad,



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William A. McFonagle

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a branch of the Northern Pacific Railway, and still later to the post of resident engineer in charge of construction of the road's first division, at Little Falls, Minnesota. In that capacity he continued until completion of the railroad, in December, 1882, when he accepted an offer from Colonel John B. Fish, the chief engineer, to go with him to locate the Duluth and Iron Range Railroad in St. Louis County, Minnesota. Upon completing that location project, he was made assistant engineer in charge of construction of ore docks and terminals at Two Harbors, Minnesota. Subsequently, he was appointed resident engineer and superintendent of bridges and buildings, until he acceded to the post of assistant chief engineer in 1901.

It was in 1902 that he was promoted to the office of assistant to the president of the Duluth, Missabe and Northern Railway, a constituent company of the United States Steel Corporation. In 1903, he was elected first vice-president and general manager of this railway company and, in 1909, he was elected president. The year in which he died was the twenty-first that Mr. McGonagle had spent in the chief executive office of this railway company; and in these years he accomplished much that was of extraordinary value to his associates, as well as to the great body of citizenry of the Northwest.

Along with his activities in the railway industry, Mr. McGonagle had other business affiliations and led in the affairs of other industries. He was interested in the organization of the Duluth Crushed Stone Company, and was president of the Spirit Lake Transfer Railway Company, the Interstate Transfer Railway Company, the Agate Bay Land Company, and the Proctor Water and Light Company. He gave himself and his talents and energies to the development of Duluth's potentialities and those of Minnesota, in which he firmly believed. Perhaps no statement of this belief could be stronger than his own, uttered on March 20, 1926, when he was presented the plaque emblematic of his election to the Duluth American Legion's Hall of Fame:

During my lifetime in Duluth I have simply done my duty as all men should who value the honor of citizenship in our country. There has come with this work a deep satisfaction that I was of some use to my fellowman and that I was permitted even in a small way to do a part of God's work here on earth.

It has been a hard struggle at times, but as I look back over the years that have passed the only thought that comes to me is the one

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that I might have done more, and so, in the remaining years that may be allotted to me, I will try to do my duty even more thoroughly than I have done in the past.

I believe in Duluth. It has had a glorious past, even during the early years of struggle and existence. It has a standing of which we are all justly proud, and it has a future that we can make just as brilliant as we will by unselfish service.

In the four years that remained to Mr. McGonagle, he well lived up to his promise to do his duty, if such were possible, "even more thoroughly than I have done in the past." His record continued at the level of public usefulness that had brought him election to the Legion's Hall of Fame, an honor that came to him in response to the American Legion's request to all service clubs to name a citizen of Duluth who in their opinion had done the most for the city in 1925. The selection of Mr. McGonagle as the recipient of this honor was unanimous, some of the reasons for his choice having been his work in aiding the building of the Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association buildings in Duluth, as well as in promoting forest fire relief and the advancement of the Duluth Community Fund and aiding toward a better understanding among the various religious denominations of the city and a cultivation of religious tolerance. The plaque that Mr. McGonagle received bore, in bronze, the American Legion emblem, along with the date of the presentation and Mr. McGonagle's name, and was given him at a complimentary dinner held in his honor, at which were present representatives of all the service clubs of the city of Duluth.

Along with his other activities in connection with Duluth life, Mr. McGonagle was chairman of the advisory committee of the Duluth Community Fund, which takes care of twenty-six of the principal charities of the city and assists in conducting many worthy campaigns here. He was appointed, in 1910, to take charge of fire relief work for the American Red Cross at Baudette, in Northern Minnesota. In 1918, he was made chairman of the Minnesota Forest Fires Relief Commission to take care of fire relief at the time of the great calamity caused by forest fires in October of that year. He was also president of the Duluth Commercial Club and chairman of its public affairs committee, as well as president of the Kitchi Gammi Club of Duluth. In addition to these various activities of a civic nature, he was a member

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of the Free and Accepted Masons and in it belonged to the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite. In the Scottish Rite he attained to the thirty-third degree for the Southern Jurisdiction, and he also served as Grand Master of Masons in Minnesota. One of the civic matters that always held high place in his mind was the cause of accident prevention, which, as president of a railway, he was able to espouse most effectively. So it was that the Missabe road, in two successive years, won the Harriman medal for having the best safety records of railroads in its class.

William Albert McGonagle married, on October 5, 1887, at Methuen, Massachusetts, Sarah L. Sargent, a native of that place, where she was born on February 14, 1860, daughter of Samuel Gile and Sarah Wealthy (Emerson) Sargent. Her father was a native of Amesbury, Massachusetts, where he was born in 1827, and the mother, of Methuen, where she was born in 1833.

The children of Mr. and Mrs. McGonagle were four in number: 1. Joseph Sargent, born October 15, 1888, died in December, 1929; he married Grace O. Farmer, who survived with three children. 2. Robert Emerson, born August 16, 1892, who married Helene Trumble; they have two children. 3. Mary, born July 4, 1897, who became the wife of Dr. Mark Hopkins Tibbetts; they have four children. 4. William Albert, Jr., born April 8, 1902, died in December, 1920.

The death of William A. McGonagle occurred on August 2, 1930, and was a cause of widespread sorrow and regret among his fellow-men. For he had contributed extensively to the well-being of his community and its people, and had played his part in the development of the industrial system of which the railways of the country are so vital a part. Many were the tributes that were paid him by men and organizations and the press on the occasion of his passing. The Duluth "Herald" called him "a humble man who was a distinguished man, a man of wealth who had built his way to the top . . . among the first as pioneer and railway official, among the first as neighbor, father and husband."

Said the St. Paul "Pioneer Press" in its editorial columns of August 5, 1930:

The death of William A. McGonagle is a reminder that Minnesota has reached that age of a western Commonwealth, when it must accept with increasing frequency the passing of its pioneer builders.

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One by one the frontier visionaries and doers are being called from their handiwork.

The late president of the Duluth, Missabe and Northern Railroad was one of the many Easterners, who as a young man adopted the advice of Horace Greeley "to go West and grow up with the country." William McGonagle chose Minnesota for his future home and field for his particular genius as builder of new commonwealths. Accordingly, in the early 'eighties, when Minnesota was still well in the frontier stage of its economic development, this young civil engineer, fresh from the University of Pennsylvania, settled in the violent frontier town of Brainerd. From that time on young McGonagle began the serious and strenuous business of growing up with the country which was to lead him to the headship of the greatest ore-carrying railroad in the world, as well as the esteem of his fellow-citizens as the most public-spirited man in northeastern Minnesota. The world-famous ore docks in Duluth stand as a vermilion monument to his genius.

The life and work of William A. McGonagle perhaps more than that of any other man has given the lie to Proctor Knott's notorious extravaganza of seventy-five years ago on "Duluth the Zenith City of the Unsalted Seas," in which the Eastern Senator pooh-poohed the possibilities of any growth or material development in that supposedly frozen *Ultima Thule* at the western extremity of the Great Lakes. It was men like McGonagle who called the bluff and turned extravagant frontier ideas into realities.



Stowell and Allied Families

By MYRTLE M. LEWIS, GLEN ROCK, NEW JERSEY



SOMERSET and Gloucester counties seem to have been the original home of the Stowells, for there were parishes there called Stowell, and all records in the early days show the name and such variations as "de Stawell," "de Staweel," "Stowelle," mostly in Somerset and Gloucester. The old English from which the name is derived is spelled "Stanuelle" in the Domesday Book and means the Rock Spring.

Stowell Arms—Gules a cross lozengy argent.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Our ancestor, Samuel Stowell, is considered a member of the Stowell family of Somerset County, England. The founder of the family was Sir Adam Stowell, a Norman knight, who was granted the manor of Cothelstone in 1066. The manor home is one of the oldest in England and is still in the possession of his descendants. The church near this home contains tombs and monuments of the family dating back to the year 1300. Samuel was not a common name in the early generations of the English Stowells, its first appearance being in the baptismal register of Bath Abbey in 1581. Although the date of the birth of the founder of the Hingham family is not known, he is very probably the son of the Samuel recorded.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom." W. H. H. Stowell: "Stowell Genealogy," pp. 7-10.)

I. Samuel Stowell was an early inhabitant of Hingham, Massachusetts, where he is first mentioned in 1649, and where he died, November 9, 1683. He was a blacksmith, an occupation of great importance in a small pioneer community, and included not only horses, but the repair of wagons, farming tools and firearms. In 1656 he was granted a lot at Hingham, in 1670 one at Cohasset, and in 1677 one known as the 59th lot of the 4th Division at Hingham and Weymouth. His home was on Fort Hill Street, and was at first composed of logs with a thatched roof and oil paper windows. Another house was built later on the same spot and is still standing. It is one of the

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oldest houses in America. At least two hundred and fifty years have passed since it was constructed, and five generations of his descendants resided there. He married, October 25, 1649, Mary Farrow, born at Hingham, County Norfolk, England, September 22, 1633, and died at Hingham, Massachusetts, October 24, 1708. She married (second), October 10, 1689, Joshua Beal. Her parents, John and Frances Farrow, sailed from England in 1635, and located at Hingham, where John Farrow died July 7, 1687, and Frances, January 28, 1688. Children: 1. Mary, born August 15, 1653, died at Hingham, October 22, 1714; married, February 25, 1682-83, John Garnet. 2. Samuel, born May 18, 1655, died at Hingham, September 21, 1695; married, January 13, 1684-85, Rachel Gill. 3. John, born March 15, 1657-58, died at Hingham, November 10, 1689; married, September 3, 1683, Mary Beal. 4. David, of whom further. 5. Remember, born April 22, 1662, died November 5, 1694; married, March 16, 1687, Thomas Remington. 6. An infant, born September 5, 1664, died September 21, 1664. 7. William, born January 23, 1665-66, died September 28, 1693; married Sarah. 8. Israel, born April 27, 1668, died November 15, 1669. 9. Israel, born August 10, 1670, died in Newton, August 7, 1725; married Abigail Fuller. 10. Elizabeth, born June 7, 1673, died September 25, 1746; married, December 14, 1699, George Lane. 11. Benjamin, born June 8, 1676, died at Hingham, August 5, 1730; married, February 21, 1722-23, Mrs. Ruth (Ward) Bate.

(W. H. H. Stowell: "Stowell Genealogy," pp. 17-20.)

II. *David Stowell*, son of Samuel and Mary (Farrow) Stowell, was born at Hingham, Massachusetts, was baptized there April 8, 1660, and died at Newton, September 9, 1724. He lived for a while at Cambridge, and in 1698 sold property at Wolwin, Massachusetts. In 1708 he purchased land at Watertown, but later removed to Newton, where he was known as "Old Stowell." His occupation was that of a weaver. On March 5, 1715, he was made surveyor of highways. He married (first), December 4, 1685, Mary Champney, born May 12, 1662, at Billerica, and died at Watertown, September 9, 1690, daughter of Samuel and Sarah (Hubbard) Champney. He married (second), at Cambridge, April 7, 1692, Mary Stedman, who died at Newton, September 27, 1724, daughter of Nathaniel and Temperance Stedman. Children of first marriage: 1. Samuel, born about 1687,

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died at Waltham, Massachusetts, March 12, 1748. He lived at Newton, where he engaged in business as a clothier, and later at Watertown, where he operated a fulling mill. He married, November 5, 1714, Sarah Cooper. 2. Ruth, married, August 30, 1715, John Osborn, of Boston. Children of second marriage: 3. David, born at Newton, Massachusetts, about 1693, died at Willington, Connecticut, before September 5, 1763, when his will was probated; married (first), May 2, 1716, Patience Herrington; married (second), December 1, 1725, Mary Dillaway; married (third) Mary Foster, of Andover, Massachusetts. 4. Mary, born at Watertown, baptized November 20, 1709, died March 7, 1770; married, at Boston, John King. 5. Jonathan, born at Newton about 1697, baptized at Watertown, November 20, 1709, died at Ashford, Connecticut, between January 31 and August 17, 1776; married (first), October 8, 1719, Margaret Hammond, who died May 15, 1722; married (second), March 6, 1723, Margaret Hewett. 6. John, of whom further. 7. Nathaniel, born about 1703, baptized at Watertown, November 20, 1709, died at Pomfret, Connecticut, March 11, 1757; married, October 22, 1731, Margaret Trowbridge. 8. Josiah, baptized at Watertown, November 20, 1709, died young. 9. Benjamin, baptized at Watertown, November 20, 1709, died at Newton, November 29, 1729, estate probated December 22, 1729; he was unmarried. 10. Elizabeth, baptized at Watertown, July 15, 1711, probably died young.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.)

III. John Stowell, son of David and Mary (Stedman) Stowell, was born at Newton, Massachusetts, and baptized at Watertown, November 20, 1709. He died at Worcester, December 1, 1762, the inventory of his estate being dated December 3, 1762. His early life was spent in Newton, and on March 5, 1718-19 he purchased land on the Boston Road of Obadiah Coolidge. In 1725 he removed to Watertown, where he bought and sold real estate. There are about forty deeds recording his purchases and sales in Watertown, Newton and Worcester. While at Watertown he was frequently elected to the town offices, including fence-viewer, tything man, constable, June 28, 1737, and member of the Committee on Prudentials, May 1, 1724, April 23, 1731, and May 29, 1734. For a time he hesitated between

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Sturbridge and Worcester, but finally decided upon the latter. June 10, 1743, he purchased from Abaisha Rice, of Worcester, a house and one hundred acres of land. The home at No. 48 Granite Street is located on this property and is still occupied by his descendants. At Worcester he continued his operations in real estate. Mortgages to Elizabeth Dudley and John Chandler are found in the Worcester records dated 1746 and 1754, respectively. He was also granted property in 1736 in Paris, Maine, and a tract at Pomfret, Connecticut, near those of his brothers, David, Jonathan and Nathaniel. He married, at Weymouth, Massachusetts, Mrs. Sarah (Magoon) Ford, the intention being recorded November 1, 1722. She was born about 1703, baptized at Scituate, Massachusetts, September 18, 1709, daughter of James and Sarah Magoon. Her first marriage, December 8, 1720, was to Hezekiah Ford. Children: 1. Sarah, born at Newton, August 14, 1723; married, at Sturbridge, Massachusetts, the intention being dated June 16, 1743, David Curtis. They lived at Sturbridge, and later at Petersham, Massachusetts. 2. John, born probably at Watertown, in 1726, died April 5, 1791; lived at Petersham, where he was one of the leading patriots before and during the Revolution, member of the Committees of Safety and Correspondence in 1773, private in Captain Wheeler's company, Colonel Ephraim Doolittle's regiment; married Sarah Parmenter (or Mossman). 3. James, born at Watertown, July 4, 1728, died July 15, 1728. 4. Benjamin, of whom further. 5. Hezekiah, born at Watertown, December 25, 1732; moved to Guilford, Vermont, in 1766, and kept a tavern, which was the headquarters of the York party opposed to the formation of Vermont as a new State; during the Revolution he was captain of the Guilford Company, and held various town offices. He and his son, Asa, were granted two hundred and twenty acres of land at Bainbridge by the State of New York for this service; he married, November 24, 1758, Hepzibah Persis Rice. 6. Jerusha, born February 1, 1734-35, died unmarried, September 3, 1801. 7. Jemima, born March 6, 1736-37, died unmarried, after June 30, 1798. 8. David, born March 30, 1740, died June 3, 1816, moved to Guilford, Vermont, where he held many town offices and which he represented in the Legislature; during the Revolution he was commissioned a lieutenant and later a captain, in which capacity he commanded a company for the relief of Bennington; married, at Rutland, December

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6, 1770, Mary Larrabee. 9. Hugh, born about 1745, lived at Guilford, Vermont, and was active in his support of the York party. After the Revolution he went to Bainbridge, New York, and some of his descendants lived at Oswego.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 56-58, 93-96, 97, 99. Crane: "Genealogical and Personal Memoirs of Worcester County," Vol. II, pp. 389-90).

IV. Benjamin Stowell, son of John and Sarah (Magoon) Stowell, was born at Watertown, Massachusetts, May 4, 1730, and died at Worcester, August 6, 1803. Like his brothers, he was a pioneer in the settlement of Vermont, and in 1752 became one of the proprietors of Rockingham in that State. Two years later he was living there and had two acres of land. His father deeded him the homestead at Worcester on condition that he support him for the remainder of his life, and in a few weeks he disposed of his holdings in Rockingham to Michael Lovell. Most of his life was spent at Worcester, and he became a leader in the civic and military affairs of that town. He was deer reever from 1764-71, tything man from 1767-75, fence-viewer from 1769-70, surveyor of highways for a number of years, member of the school committee, constable in 1773, and selectman in 1777. His military record begins with his marching on an alarm to the defense of the western frontiers, December 20, 1748, under Major Daniel Heywood. August 27, 1757, he was made corporal in the company of Captain Benjamin Flagg and from September 24 to October 14 of the same year he was in Colonel Chandler's regiment, which reinforced the troops stationed at Lake George. He is also mentioned in the forces sent to the relief of Fort William Henry in August, 1757. From the tenth to the seventeenth of that month he marched from Worcester to Sheffield. In 1758 he was first lieutenant in Captain James Johnson's company, Colonel Oliver Partridge's regiment, and in 1759 was with the same company in the campaign of General Amherst. From 1779 to 1781 he was a lieutenant at Worcester and was on a committee to raise funds for the soldiers. In addition to the homestead, he inherited from his father property at Paris, Maine, and received land for his services in the French and Indian War. The land at Paris was known as Township Number 4, and for a time the proprietors held meetings at Watertown. In 1774 he was a member of a committee of the proprietors who cleared a road from New Gloucester to the mill lot in the new township. The Revolution

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interfered with the settlement of that part of Maine, where their descendants are numerous. He married at Framingham, Massachusetts, October 23, 1755, Elizabeth Parker, who was born February 21, 1733, and died at Worcester, March 26, 1821, daughter of Moses and Elizabeth (Wait) Parker. Children. 1. William, born at Worcester, August 8, 1756, died at Paris, Maine, January 8, 1829. He was a pioneer in the settlement at Paris, where he built sawmills and woolen mills; during the Revolution he was in Captain Gates' company, Colonel Holman's regiment, in 1776, and in Captain Hubbard's company, Colonel Job Cushing's regiment, from August 18 to November 29, 1777. He married, in January, 1781, Kate Nixon. 2. Daniel, born at Worcester, December 8, 1757, died at Paris, Maine, where he had held many offices; he served in the same companies as his brother, William, during the Revolution, besides taking part in the campaign in Rhode Island in the summer of 1778, under Captain Joshua Whitney and Colonel Josiah Whitney; he lived successively in Worcester, Massachusetts; Guilford, Vermont; Norway, Bethel and Paris, Maine. He married, at Guilford, Vermont, September 12, 1782, Lucretia Houghton. 3. Sarah, born May 20, 1760, died at Paris, Maine, March 25, 1829. She married Thomas Stearns Stevens. 4. Elias, born at Worcester, April 5, 1762, died at Paris, Maine, October 26, 1839; he was a private in Captain Daniel Grant's company, Colonel Hallett's regiment, from August 1 to October 30, 1780; he was a member of the Maine Legislature for seven successive terms and for two years was one of the governor's council. He built the first dam across the Androscoggin River; married, at Charlestown, Massachusetts, November 7, 1790, Mary Bernard. 5. Betsey, born July 6, 1764, died April 15, 1852; married, April 30, 1782, Reuben Hubbard. 6. Paul, born July 2, 1766, died November 2, 1766. 7. Paul, born January 31, 1769, died March 31, 1769. 8. Nathaniel, born April 19, 1770, died April 27, 1860, lived at Granite Street, Worcester, and held many positions of honor in that city, and was a member of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1830; married, April 17, 1792, Catherine Bixby. 9. David, of whom further. 10. Benjamin, born March 6, 1776, a graduate of Williams College, practiced law in Mississippi; died, unmarried, April 22, 1834.

(W. H. H. Stowell: "Stowell Genealogy," pp. 71, 90-93, 196.
W. B. Lapham: "Paris, Maine," p. 38.)

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V. David Stowell, son of Benjamin and Elizabeth (Parker) Stowell, was born at Worcester, Massachusetts, April 14, 1773, and died there October 3, 1802. He was engaged in cabinet making. The administration of his estate was granted to his brother, Nathaniel, October 30, 1802. He married, in 1795, Eunice Taft, born at Athol, Massachusetts, August 13, 1776, daughter of Josiah and Hannah Taft. She married (second) (intention dated April 24, 1806), Captain Samuel Curtis, Jr., a manufacturer and philanthropist of Worcester, Massachusetts. Children: 1. Alexander, born April 16, 1797, died April 13, 1882, a soldier of the War of 1812; lived at Caroline, Binghamton and Elmira, New York; married, December 21, 1820, Mary Goodloe Hyde. 2. Nancy, born May 22, 1798, died at Worcester in infancy. 3. Levi (changed to David), of whom further.

(W. H. H. Stowell: "Stowell Genealogy," p. 201.)

VI. David Stowell, son of David and Eunice (Taft) Stowell, was born at Worcester, Massachusetts, April 23, 1801, and died in Ithaca, New York, about 1837. Shortly after the death of his father, his name was changed to David. Since he was only a year old when his father died, he was placed under the guardianship of Moses Perry. He engaged in the grocery business at Worcester, and was one of the organizers of the Central Bank. He was a member of the State Legislature, March 12, 1828. About 1835 he removed to Ithaca, New York. He married, at Worcester, Mary Flagg. (Flagg VI.) Children: 1. Frederick Manning, of whom further. 2. Francis, born in 1831, died at Worcester, September 7, 1848. 3. Eunice Curtis, born at Ithaca, New York, February 1, 1835, died at Marlboro, Massachusetts, November 3, 1897; married, January 17, 1855, Daniel Bemis Johnson. 4. Mary, born at Ithaca, in 1838, died at Elmira, New York; married, November 27, 1856, Orlando Drury.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 373-74.)

VII. Frederick Manning Stowell, son of David and Mary (Flagg) Stowell, was born at Spencer, Massachusetts, December 19, 1829, and died at Newtonville, Massachusetts, August 1, 1876. He studied for the ministry and was ordained in the Methodist Episcopal Church, but his health becoming impaired, shortly after his marriage, he moved to Anoka, Minnesota, where he engaged in manufacturing. In 1864 he was a member of the Minnesota Legislature. Returning East, he

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lived at Holden, Massachusetts, and was superintendent of the Sunday School of the Congregational Church there. At Quinapoxet he established a woolen mill. He married, at Spencer, Massachusetts, September 22, 1859, Lucy Ann (Hubbard) Prouty. (Hubbard IV.) Children: 1. Frederick Hammond, born at Anoka, Minnesota, August 4, 1861, died November 3, 1861. 2. Adaline Frances, born at Anoka, October 29, 1863, died there in March, 1865. 3. Alice Lucy, born at Anoka, June 11, 1865; married, at Newtonville, December 23, 1891, George Berman McManamon. 4. Fannie Louise, born at Holden, Massachusetts, June 12, 1868. 5. Frederick Moody, of whom further. 6. Hammond Ward, born at Holden, May 20, 1873, lived at Newton and Auburndale, Massachusetts, and Cleveland, Ohio; married, July 14, 1897, Eleanor Florence Steele. Children: i. Robert Hammond, born August 18, 1898. ii. Philip Warren, born January 27, 1902.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 624-25.)

VIII. Frederick Moody Stowell, son of Frederick Manning and Lucy Ann (Hubbard) Stowell, was born at Holden, Massachusetts, August 1, 1870. He received his education in the public and high schools at Newton, Massachusetts, but did not evince any further desire for scholastic training, showing at an unusually early age an aptitude for business pursuits. When but nine years old he decided to start to earn money and delivered newspapers over a route which he industriously covered every morning and evening. He did not display the very usual waning of enthusiasm in such mercantile enterprises as small boys not pressed by necessity so frequently manifest, but with persistence born of youthful but strong-willed determination, he continued his self-chosen occupation until he became fifteen years of age, at the same time attending school.

In April, 1886, Mr. Stowell's actual life career started and he began his climb up the ladder of business success. He became an errand boy for the Dana Hardware Company, on Pearl Street, until October, 1889. Then at the age of nineteen, he decided to try the West, with its wider opportunities in which to seek his fortune. He chose, as had his father before him, Minnesota as the place to start. His first position was with the Graves and Vinton Company, of St. Paul, Minnesota, an organization for placing farm loans for Eastern banking concerns, these loans being made over a territory covering not

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only Minnesota, but other Northwestern States. The work here, however, made no appeal to the young man, and he decided on a change after a very few months. He next entered the knitting mills of the Northwestern Knitting Company at Minneapolis, Minnesota, later the well-known Munsingwear Corporation. Mr. Stowell started his work with this concern, which owes so much to his executive ability, as stockroom boy on February 3, 1890. The characteristics which had so early been the keynotes of his personality, when as a small boy he had patiently delivered his newspapers with unswerving industry, more and more developed. The small boy grew into the man, determined to give his best to each task, and to achieve. He assuredly performed every duty with such intensive application that promotion came promptly and as a well-deserved reward. Positions, increasingly important, were given to him, and every advance proved him worthy of the trust his superiors placed in him. The young man was ready for every opportunity and every problem. Advancement became his watchword. From trusted holder of difficult position, he became officer. When the Northwestern Knitting Company was succeeded by the Munsingwear Corporation, he was already serving as secretary of the former concern. His executive ability, the result of native powers carefully cultivated, has done much to make the Munsingwear Corporation of Minneapolis the nationally famed institution it has become. He has been now (1931) for a considerable period, the president of that organization. He is likewise chairman of the board of directors of the Vassar Swiss Underwear Company, of Chicago, Illinois; president of the Wayne Knitting Mills of Fort Wayne, Indiana; and president of Munsingwear, Incorporated, of Delaware.

A student of business conditions in their practical bearing on human affairs, his reputation as one who has a profound grasp of economic principles is well founded. Mr. Stowell in his relation with his associates in the work of the vast plants under his control, displays the master hand and the master mind attained only by one who has acquired understanding of every detail of the actual workings of the whole, and who possesses the ability to manage men and affairs with equal facility. This very unusual skill which combined understanding of difficult business problems and knotty questions of industrial management with keen understanding of human nature, is awarded in great measure only to those who themselves have overcome the dif-

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difficulties which present themselves along the way of progress. Difficulties in the business life of Frederick Moody Stowell have been many, from the days when he trudged the Massachusetts streets with his bundle of papers, to the present, when he holds honored place in the commercial and industrial circles of America. Many centuries ago an ancient Greek philosopher said, "Difficulties are things that show what men are," and the saying has gained with the passing ages. Frederick Moody Stowell is an exponent and an example of one who created opportunities out of obstacles, and points of vantage out of seemingly mountainous difficulties.

However, Mr. Stowell has not devoted himself exclusively to the round and routine of daily business details. Recreation and social interests play their part in his life as well. He finds his most pleasing relaxation in golf, but is interested in athletics of all sorts in a general way. He is a member of the Annandale Golf Club, the Overland Club, and the Midwick Country Club, all of Pasadena, California, to which far western State he, from time to time, travels for his recreation. He belongs as well to the Minikahda Club, the Minneapolis Club, the Lafayette Club, and the Minneapolis Athletic Club, all of Minneapolis, and to the Chicago Athletic Club. His religious affiliation is with the denomination of his father, the Methodist Episcopal.

Frederick Moody Stowell married, December 12, 1893, Sarah Morris. (Morris III.) Of this union there are two children: 1. Frederick Morris, born December 7, 1894; married, in Chicago, Illinois, June 5, 1929, Helen Stair Moore. Issue: i. Virginia, born August 27, 1931. 2. Eleanor, born September 25, 1896; married (first) Howard Hervey Hibbard, and they had one child, Marietta June, born May 31, 1917; married (second), in Minneapolis, Minnesota, February 28, 1931, William R. Oates, Jr.

(The Morris Line).

I. Robert Morris and his wife lived in Holywell, "St. Winifred's Well," Wales. He married Hannah. Children: 1. Mary. 2. James Robert, of whom further. 3. Sarah, died in Eccles, and left four children. 4. Ebenezer, lived in Manchester, and went to sea. 5. William, married and had five children, only one girl surviving. His wife died later, but he lived until his daughter Nellie was seven years old, and then he died and was buried in Pendleton. Nellie, his daughter, then went to live with her Aunt Mary.

(Family data.)

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II. James Robert Morris, son of Robert and Hannah Morris, was born in Wales, May 31, 1831, and came to America with some friends or relatives. The rest of his family went to Manchester. He settled in Racine, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and became a wholesale coal dealer in Racine. He married Sarah L. Price. (Price II.) He died February 19, 1909, in Racine, Wisconsin, and is buried at Forest Home Cemetery, Milwaukee. Children: 1. Mary Ann, born in 1865, died August 17, 1866. 2. Ella Jane, born in 1867, died November 19, 1894. 3. Sarah, of whom further.

(*Ibid.* Burial Records, Forest Home Cemetery, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. "Vital Records, Wisconsin.")

III. Sarah Morris, daughter of James Robert and Sarah L. (Price) Morris, married Frederick Moody Stowell (Stowell VIII), December 12, 1893. Mrs. Stowell, gifted with great personal charm and magnetism, is deeply loved and respected. Endowed with riches of character, her shrewd discerning mind, her keen sense of justice and her tenacious loyalty—loyalty to her loved ones, to her duty and to her faith in the right—has made her a beneficent influence in guiding and shaping the lives of those who have been fortunate in contact with her. Mrs. Stowell's heart, capable of unfathomable depths of love, sympathy and understanding make her an inspiring mother and a lovable companion. Had this dynamic personality whose strength of will is so complemented with Celtic sensitiveness and intuition been embodied in a man the world would have known a great and just leader.

(The Price Line).

Price, as a surname, is from the Welsh, *Ap Rhys*, the son of Rhys. As in the case of most other Welsh families, the settled surname is of recent adoption, even amongst the gentry, and it is hard to distinguish differing families of the name.

(Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

I. David T. Price was born in North Wales, possibly near Cemaes in Montgomeryshire, November 25, 1807, and died in Green Lake County, Wisconsin, November 23, 1891. He was as a youth instilled with a very proper pride of family, for his father showed evidence of family independence when a landlord made a special offer which was refused on the grounds of favoritism. The Prices held to

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the theory that they had nothing to thank Wales or England for, that their gratitude to America was entirely for their opportunities and the freedom they enjoyed, and that their descendants should consider the future and not the present. The elder Price was a freeholder in Wales, which in those days was considered very important, and he was accordingly held in high esteem. He was also supervisor of a very large estate.

David T. Price married in Wales, and after ten children were born, the entire family sailed for America in 1843. They left Liverpool, April 27, and came to New York, May 18 or 19, 1843, on the ship "Patrick Henry," Delano, master. They arrived in Racine, Wisconsin, June 1, where there was a large and prosperous Welsh settlement and here they outfitted, buying oxen, wagons, farm implements and household necessities. They were then ready to proceed on their trek of about one hundred miles to Fox Lake County, Wisconsin. In this pioneer community David T. Price was a very broad-minded, independent character, and soon recognized as a leader. His views were pronounced and he frequently contributed his opinion to the Welsh thought in America through articles written for "Y. Dryck," a widely circulated and one of the dominating Welsh publications of the times (1870-90), published in Utica, New York. He made many trips throughout the surrounding country, keeping records of all. They remained four years in Racine County, moving to Green Lake County in June, 1847.

David T. Price married, in Wales, before 1828, Sarah Pugh, born in 1807, in the same county as her husband, and died January 30, 1869. All her life she had been surrounded by more than ordinary comforts of her time, being accustomed to the care of several servants, and pioneer life was truly a difficult step for her. Children, first ten born in Wales: 1. David, born January 21, 1828; married, in 1862, Margaret Davis, daughter of William and Ellen Davis, of Columbia County, Wisconsin. He came from Wales to America when he was seventeen and supplemented the education received in the Welsh schools by attending the schools in this country. After working in Racine and Chicago, he finally settled in Green Lake County in 1860. 2. Robert, born July 30, 1829, was a commission merchant in Chicago. 3. Elizabeth, born September 14, 1830; married William Jones, of Chicago. 4. William, born February 19, 1832, lived in Chicago. 5.

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Ann, born September 7, 1833; married Robert Owen, and lived in Chicago. 6. Jane, born June 28, 1835; married John Owens, and lived in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. 7. Margaret, born in Cemmaes, County Llanegryn, Wales, September 23, 1836; married William Bebb, a real estate dealer of Minneapolis, Minnesota; had a daughter Rose. 8. Sarah L., of whom further. 9. Gwen, born September 15, 1840. 10. Bennet, born January 17, 1842; was a merchant of Helena, Montana. 11. Hugh, born in Wisconsin, October 28, 1843. 12. John, born January 22, 1846; was a furniture dealer of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, a member of the firm of Clement, Williams and Company. 13. Isaac, born May 4, 1847, not listed in the census of 1850. 14. Mary, born June 3, 1848; married Benjamin Evans, of Ceres County, Iowa.

("1850 Census, Marquette County, Wisconsin," p. 202. "Portrait and Biographical Album of Green Lake, Marquette and Wau-shara Counties, Wisconsin," p. 527. "1890 Census, Marquette County, Wisconsin." Family data.)

II. Sarah L. Price, daughter of David T. and Sarah (Pugh) Price, was born in Wales, November 17, 1837. She died at her home in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, February 7, 1870. She married James Robert Morris. (Morris II.)

(*Ibid.* Gravestone Records, Forest Home Cemetery, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Family data.)

(The Hubbard Line).

Arms—Quarterly, argent and sable on a bend gules three lions rampant or.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Hubert, Hubbard, Hubbert, Hubberd, and Hobart, as an English surname, is among the interesting names derived from baptismal, "The son of Hubert." (St. Hubert was the patron saint of hunters.) Hubertus de Vall, Hubertus Montarius, and Hubert Bakewhit, are on the Pipe Roll in the reign of Henry II; Hubert le Priur in the reign of Henry III; Osbert Houbard was in Somerset County, England, in the time of Edward III; Petrus and Alicia Hubbarde, of Hubbert, were married in London in 1559.

Many of the name of Hubbard have been assigned by different authorities, variously, to counties of Essex, Surrey, Lincoln, York, Somerset, Devon and Kent. The name is old in England, going back to the ninth century, traditionally, when Hubba the Dane was one of

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the invaders of Yorkshire and Devon, and other Saxon holdings. The followers of Hubba were said to be the progenitors of the Hubbards. Many Hubbards have borne titles and served in the English Parliament, and intermarried with noble families. In the three centuries, covering the residence of the family in America, those bearing the name Hubbard have served the country in Congress, the law, State and national offices, as well as in science, and the arts, and have been prominent in church affairs.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." E. W. Day: "Hubbard Family," pp. 85-86.)

I. Ephraim Hubbard and his wife, Ruth, came from Concord, Massachusetts, to Rutland, Massachusetts, locating on Grass Hill. He is the first Hubbard we are able to locate, for the migratory spirit which prevailed among so many settlers of early times prevents us from complete records. He served in the Revolutionary War under Captain Phineas Walker, 7th Worcester County Regiment, enlisting October 3, 1779, and discharged at Rutland, October 20, 1779. Ephraim Hubbard's first wife died December 19, 1742. He married (second), in Concord, June 6, 1744, Sarah Billings. Children of first marriage: 1. Lois, born December 8, 1740. 2. Ruth, born November 11, 1741. 3. Ephraim, Jr., born November 20, 1742. Children of second marriage: 4. Amos, born September 30, 1745. 5. Oliver, born October 19, 1747. 6. Jonathan, born April 27, 1750, died August 11, 1835. 7. James, of whom further. 8. Mary, born July 21, 1754. 9. Joel, born December 10, 1758, died October 11, 1832.

(J. Reed: "History of Rutland," p. 109. "Rutland Vital Records," pp. 57-58, 158. "Monumental Inscriptions, Rutland, Massachusetts," pp. 16-17. Edward Warren Day: "One Thousand Years of Hubbard History," p. 135.)

II. James Hubbard, son of Ephraim and Sarah (Billings) Hubbard, was born May 8, 1752. He married in Hinsdale, intention dated March 17, 1788, Sarah Browning. Child (others unknown): 1. Browning, of whom further.

("Rutland Vital Records," pp. 57-58.)

III. Browning Hubbard, son of James and Sarah (Browning) Hubbard, was born April 16, 1796. He lived at Rutland and Paxton, Massachusetts, and died November 19, 1852. At the time of his

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marriage he lived in Rutland. He married (intentions declared November 6, 1821), Sarah Harris. (Harris VI.) Children: 1. Hammond Ward, born August 16, 1826, lived at Worcester, Massachusetts, where he died January 21, 1902; married, October 30, 1860, Sarah E. Ladd. 2. Lucy Ann, of whom further. 3. Frances Adeline, born October 17, 1835, of Radcliffe, England. 4. Eliza Martena, born October 17, 1841; she lived in New York City, died at Boothbay, Maine, August 23, 1898; married, June 7, 1871, Samuel George McFarland. They had one child, Florence, born April 13, 1872, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; married, February 25, 1902, Samuel Stevenson, born September 12, 1860, son of Gervase and Ann (Horsley) Stevenson. They reside in Radcliffe on Trent, Nottingham, England.

("Fulham Genealogy," pp. 178-79. L. Bill: "History of Paxton, Massachusetts," p. 89.)

IV. Lucy Ann Hubbard, daughter of Browning and Sarah (Harris) Hubbard, was born January 20, 1829, and died at Newtonville, Massachusetts, May 30, 1912. She married (first), at Paxton, May 19, 1853, John Goodell Prouty, who died at Spencer, Massachusetts, September 10, 1854. She married (second) Frederick Manning Stowell. (Stowell VII.)

(*Ibid.*, p. 179. W. H. H. Stowell: "Stowell Genealogy," p. 624.)

(The Flegg (Flagg) Line).

Arms—Per pale or and sable a chevron counterchanged.

Crest—Two lions' gambes in saltire sable enfiled with laurel in orle vert.

(N. G. and L. C. S. Flagg: "Flagg Family Records." Burke: "General Armory.")

On the coast of England in the county of Norfolk, we find the first traces of the Flegg family. They located there in the latter part of the twelfth century and were probably of either Dane or Norman descent. They held grants of land in the hundreds of East and West Flagg during the reign of Henry II, and it is from these hundreds that they took their name. The earliest record of the name is a mention of two brothers, Henry de Flegg, Prior of Norwich in 1168, and Alger de Flegg, who was living in 1160. Although his parentage is not known it is believed that among the members of the Norfolk County family was William Flegg.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." N. G. and L. C. S. Flagg: "Flagg Family Records," pp. 9-13.)

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I. William Flegg, died in 1426. Children: 1. William, who died in 1467. 2. Thomas, of whom further.

(N. G. and L. C. S. Flagg: "Flagg Family Records," p. 13.)

II. Thomas Flegg, son of William Flegg, of Norfolk, died in 1471. Child: 1. William.

(*Ibid.*)

III. William Flegg, son of Thomas Flegg, lived at Swafeld in 1521, in the reign of Henry VIII. Children: 1. William, lived at Saint Germans, Wiggshall, in Norfolk; his will was dated April 8, 1552, and mentions his brothers; married Margaret. 2. Richard, of whom further. 3. Thomas, lived at Swafeld; his will was dated November 7, 1558; married Dionisia Both. 4. John, lived at Shipdham, County Norfolk, and his will was proved March 16, 1581; married Margaret Idel. 5. James, lived at Shipdham; married Agnes.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.)

IV. Richard Flegg, son of William Flegg, resided at Shipdham, County Norfolk, and his will was proved May 28, 1587. He married Margaret. Children: 1. William, died in infancy. 2. Richard, lived at Shipdham; his will was proved March 22, 1618; married Alice. 3. John, of whom further. 4. Alice, married Walter Rawlinge. 5. Ralph.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.)

V. John Flegg, son of Richard and Margaret Flegg, lived at Whinbergh and Edlings Close, in Yaxham, County Norfolk. His will is dated September 3, 1613, and was proved in Norwich, February 16, 1617. He married Aveline (Bennington) Robinson, widow of J. Robinson. Children: 1. Allan, lived in Shipdham; married Alicia. 2. Bartholomew, of whom further. 3. Rebecca.

(*Ibid.*, p. 15.)

VI. Bartholomew Flegg, son of John and Aveline (Bennington) Flegg, lived at Whinbergh and Shipdham. He married Alicia. Children: 1. Samuel, baptized at Whinbergh, 1613. 2. Thomas, of whom further. 3. Francis, baptized at Whinbergh, 1617. 4. John, baptized at Whinbergh, 1620.

(*Ibid.*, p. 15.)

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(The Family in America).

I. Thomas Flegg, son of Bartholomew and Alicia Flegg, was baptized at Whinbergh in 1615. He was the founder of the family in America, where, about 1700, his descendants changed the spelling of the name to Flagg. According to traditions his marriage was opposed by his family on the grounds that the girl of his choice was not of the same station in life as he was. He therefore worked for Richard Carver, of Scratby, in the Hundred of East Flegg, and accompanied him to New England in 1637. The ship was either the "Rose" or the "John and Dorothy," which made the voyage together. As early as 1641 he was located at Watertown, Massachusetts. His property there consisted of two lots, one of twenty acres and the other of six. The latter was probably his permanent residence, and was located in the southwest part of the town, half a mile north of the Charles River, and not far from the boundary of the town of Waltham. He served as selectman several times and was lieutenant of the local militia company. About 1659 he lost his left eye by a gunshot accident. He died February 6, 1698, and was probably buried in the "Old Graveyard of Watertown," situated on the corner of Mount Auburn and Grove streets. His will was dated March 5, 1697, and was proved February 16, 1698. He married Mary, who died December 20, 1702, aged eighty-two years. Children: 1. Gershom, born April 16, 1641; lived at Woburn, Massachusetts; was a lieutenant in the military company of the town; was slain by the Indians at Lamprey River, New Hampshire, July 6, 1690, on an expedition against Port Royal, Arcadia; married, April 15, 1668, Hannah Leppingwell. 2. John, born June 14, 1643, died February 6, 1696-97; lived at Watertown, where he was constable and tax collector; married, March 30, 1670, Mary Gale. 3. Bartholomew, born February 23, 1645; member of Captain Samuel Moseley's company, in December, 1675. 4. Thomas, born April 28, 1646; married, February 18, 1668, Rebecca Dix. 5. William, born in 1648; killed by the Indians at Lancaster, Massachusetts, August 22, 1675. 6. Michael, born March 23, 1651, died October 16, 1711; removed to Worcester, Massachusetts, where he was a proprietor in 1675; married (first), June 3, 1674, Mary Bigelow; married (second), December 27, 1704, Mary Earle. 7. Eleazer, born May 14, 1653, died May 21, 1722; lived at Concord, Massachusetts, where he engaged in business as a tanner, and held various

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town offices; in 1675 he participated in the Narragansett Expedition; married, October 10, 1676, Deborah Barnes, of Concord. 8. Elizabeth, born March 22, 1655, died August 9, 1729; married, October 20, 1676, Joshua Bigelow, of Watertown. 9. Mary, born June 14, 1657, died September 7, 1720; married, June 3, 1674, Samuel Bigelow, of Watertown. 10. Rebecca, born September 5, 1660, died June 20, 1721; married, November 19, 1679, Stephen Cook, of Cambridge. 11. Benjamin, of whom further. 12. Allen, born May 16, 1665, died in November, 1711; married, March 12, 1685, Sarah Ball.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 18-20-21, 131-32. Crane: "Genealogical and Personal Memoir of Worcester County, Massachusetts," Vol. I, p. 531.)

II. *Benjamin Flagg* (as he spelled the name), son of Thomas and Mary Flegg, was born at Watertown, Massachusetts, June 25, 1662, and died at Worcester, Massachusetts, May 3, 1741. He removed to Worcester, and became a freeman there on April 19, 1690. He was the first of five generations of Benjamin Flaggs prominent in the history of Worcester, and one of the early proprietors of the town. He married, September 26, 1690, Experience Child, born at Worcester, February 26, 1669-70, and died at Worcester in 1747. She was a daughter of Richard Child, who was born in 1631, died November 11, 1694, and married, March 30, 1662, Mehitabel Dimmick. Children: 1. Benjamin (2), of whom further. 2. Experience, born May 5, 1693; married, October 26, 1713, Caleb Ball, of Concord. 3. Abigail, born April 16, 1694-95; married Judge William Jennison, of Worcester. 4. Bartholomew, born November 16, 1697; was a sea captain; died in Bristol in 1743. 5. Elizabeth, born December 28, 1699; married, at Weston, February 15, 1719-20, Peter King, *alias* Rice. 6. Gershom, born July 11, 1702; lived at Worcester, but later moved to Salisbury, Massachusetts; married, January 6, 1725, Hannah Keyes. 7. Mary, baptized April 9, 1704. 8. Ebenezer, born January 21, 1705-06. 9. Richard, born May 30, 1708, died November 12, 1799; was a lieutenant in the company from Worcester, and served in the French and Indian war in 1757; located in that part of Worcester which later became Holden, which he represented in the State Convention of 1779; married Grace.

(Wall: "Reminiscences of Worcester," pp. 106-07. Bond: "Genealogies of Watertown, Massachusetts," pp. 153, 221. Crane: "Genealogical and Personal Memoirs of Worcester," Vol. I, p. 532; Vol. IV, p. 368.)

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III. Captain Benjamin Flagg, Jr., son of Benjamin and Experience (Child) Flagg, was born August 25, 1691. He lived in Worcester, Massachusetts. When hostilities were renewed with the Indians in 1722, he had the rank of sergeant and was placed in charge of a small garrison for the protection of the town. Three years later there is record of his commanding a detachment which guarded the men who gathered their hay in the meadow. The barking of a dog while they were seated on a knoll eating, gave warning of the enemy hiding in the bush. According to his letter written to a superior officer: "We ran so fast upon them that the grass rose up under their tracks, but could not see them, the bush being so thick. We pursued them when we heard them whistle to one another in the thicket, but they scattered and scampered so we could not find them. It is as easy to find a needle in a wood as to find them when they are scattered." Constant watchfulness against such attacks was necessary in frontier settlements like Worcester until the ratification of peace the following winter. Benjamin Flagg became a captain of the Worcester troops in such warfare as was described. In 1728 he was employed as schoolmaster at the annual salary of £14. Besides holding the office of selectman, he was the second sheriff of the county, and held this position at the time of his death in 1751. His will was dated June 8 of that year, the inventory of the estate being £259 7s. 3d. He married, January 25, 1715-16, Elizabeth Fiske. (Fiske III.) Children: 1. Elizabeth, born at Waltham, May 24, 1717; married Absalom Rice. 2. Lydia, born August 17, 1719. 3. Abigail, born September 6, 1721; married Samuel Hubbard. 4. Benjamin (3), of whom further. 5. William, born February 5-6, 1726-27. 6. Asa, born March 3, 1728-29, died in infancy. 7. Asa, born June 14, 1730; he was an ensign in 1757. 8. Mary, born November 27, 1732, unmarried, in 1751.

(Bond: "Genealogies of Watertown, Massachusetts," pp. 214-215, 223. Wall: "Reminiscences of Worcester, Massachusetts," p. 107. Lincoln: "History of Worcester," pp. 56, 249. "Worcester, Massachusetts, Vital Records," pp. 90-94.)

IV. Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Flagg, 3d, son of Captain Benjamin and Elizabeth (Fiske) Flagg, was born at Worcester, Massachusetts, February 1, 1724, and died there, October 8, 1818. He was captain of a company of minute men who served under Colonel Timothy Bigelow, and marched for Lexington on the alarm of April 19,

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1775. On February 2, 1776, he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the First Worcester County Regiment of Massachusetts Militia. This regiment marched in August, 1777, to reinforce the Northern Army in the campaign against Burgoyne. He subsequently filled important positions as town officer in Worcester. He left forty-two grandchildren and eighty-three great-grandchildren when he died. He married Abigail Chadwick, daughter of John Chadwick, born in 1725, and died in 1797. Children: 1. Benjamin, born March 10, 1746. 2. Abigail, born January 21, 1747-48. 3. John, born October 6, 1749. 4. Phinehas, born October 9, 1751; married, May 25, 1777, Rhoda Stone. 5. Abel, born October 12, 1753. 6. Lydia, born December 21, 1755. 7. Isaac, born April 21, 1758. 8. Eunice, born July 16, 1762; married, August 20, 1785, Samuel Curtis, Jr. 9. Hannah, born July 18, 1764; married, November 7, 1782, Joseph Patch. 10. Mary, born December 9, 1765-66. 11. Aaron, of whom further.

(Wall: "Reminiscences of Worcester," pp. 107-08. "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution," Vol. V, p. 748. "Worcester Vital Records: Births," pp. 90-94; "Marriages," pp. 338-40.)

V. Aaron Flagg, son of Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin and Abigail (Chadwick) Flagg, was born at Worcester, Massachusetts, March 2, 1769. He lived there until his death, December 12, 1836. He married, January 1, 1800, Lecretia Curtis. (Curtis VI.) Children: 1. Benjamin, born January 7, 1801. 2. Eunice, born September 20, 1802. 3. Mary, of whom further. 4. Leonard, born February 17, 1807. 5. Samuel Curtis, born October 19, 1813.

("Worcester Vital Records: Births," pp. 67, 90-94; "Marriages," pp. 325, 338; "Deaths," pp. 474-75.)

VI. Mary Flagg, daughter of Aaron and Lecretia (Curtis) Flagg, was born at Worcester, Massachusetts, September 27, 1804, and died at Southboro, Massachusetts, October 2, 1878. She married David Stowell. (Stowell VI.)

(W. H. H. Stowell: "Stowell Genealogy," p. 624. "Worcester Vital Records: Births," p. 93.)

(The Fiske Line).

Arms—Chequy argent and gules, on a pale sable three mullets pierced or.

Crest—On a triangle argent, an estoile or.

Motto—*Macte virtute, sic itur ad astra.*

(Crozier: "General Armory.")

The English family name Fisk, Fiske, is the northern English corresponding to the southern English name Fish, originating as a nick-

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name. Old English fiske, a fish; Philip le Fissh and Robert le Fissh are in Kirby's Quest, Somersetshire, A. D. 1327.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. Symond Fiske, grandson of Daniel Fiske, was Lord of the Manor of Stadhaugh, in Laxfield Parish, County Suffolk, England, in the reigns of Henry IV and Henry VI (1399-1422); died in February, 1464. His will, dated December 22, 1463, was proved at Norwich, February 26, 1463-64. He married (first) Susannah Smyth, and (second) Katherine. Children: 1. William, of whom further. 2. Jeffrey. 3. John. 4. Edmund. 5. Margaret.

(F. C. Pierce: "Fiske and Fisk Family," p. 36.)

II. William Fiske, son of Symond and Susannah (Smyth) Fiske, lived through the reigns of Henry VI, Edward IV, Richard III, and most of the reign of Henry VII, dying about 1503. He married Joan Lynne, who survived him, her will being proved February 28, 1505. Children: 1. Thomas. 2. William. 3. Augustine. 4. Simon, of whom further. 5. Robert. 6. John. 7. Margery. 8. Margaret.

(*Ibid.*, p. 36.)

III. Simon Fiske, son of William and Joan (Lynne) Fiske, was born at Laxfield, County Suffolk, and died in June, 1538. He married Elizabeth, who died in Halesworth, in June, 1558. Children: 1. Simon, Jr., of whom further. 2. William. 3. Robert. 4. Joan. 5. Jeffrey. 6. Gelyne. 7. Agnes. 8. Thomas. 9. Elizabeth. 10. John.

(*Ibid.*, p. 37.)

IV. Simon Fiske, Jr., son of Simon and Elizabeth Fiske, died at Laxfield, after January 25, 1505, the date of his will. Children: 1. Robert, of whom further. 2. John. 3. George. 4. Nicholas. 5. Jeffrey. 6. Jeremy. 7. William. 8. Richard. 9. Joan. 10. Gelyne. 11. Agnes.

(*Ibid.*, p. 38.)

V. Robert Fiske, son of Simon Fiske, Jr., was born at Stadhaugh, England, about 1525. For some time he was of the parish of St. James, South Elmham, England. Sybil, the wife of Robert Fiske, was in great danger in the time of the religious persecution of 1553-58, as was her sister, Isabella, who was confined in the castle of Norwich, and escaped death only by the power of her brothers, who were men of

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great influence in the country. Robert Fiske fled for religion's sake in the days of Queen Mary to Geneva, but returned later and died at St. James' Parish, South Elmham, County Suffolk; will proved July 28, 1600. He married Mrs. Sybil (Gould) Barber. Children: 1. William, of whom further. 2. Jeffrey, married Sarah Cook. 3. Thomas, married Margery. 4. Eleazer, married Elizabeth. 5. Elizabeth, married Robert Bernard.

(*Ibid.*, p. 39.)

VI. William Fiske, son of Robert and Sybil (Gould-Barber) Fiske, was born in Laxfield, England, in 1566, and had his will proved May 17, 1623, in Ditchingham, Norfolk. He married (first) Anna Anstye, daughter of Walter Anstye, of Tibbenham, Long Row, Norfolk. He married (second) Alice. Children of first marriage, born at South Elmham: 1. John, married Anne Lantersee. 2. Nathaniel, of whom further. 3. Eleazer. 4. Eunice. 5. Hannah, married William Candler. 6. Hester, married John Chalke. Child of second marriage, born at South Elmham: 7. Mary, married Anthony Fisher.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.)

VII. Nathaniel Fiske, son of William and Anna (Anstye) Fiske, was born in England. He married Mrs. Alice (Henel) Leman, and lived in Weybred Parish, County Suffolk. Children: 1. Nathaniel, Jr., of whom further. 2. Sarah, married Robert Rogers.

(*Ibid.*, p. 50.)

VIII. Nathaniel Fiske, Jr., son of Nathaniel and Alice (Henel-Leman) Fiske, was born in Weybred, County Suffolk, England, and died there, or by tradition, on the passage to New England. He married Dorothy Symonds, daughter of John Symonds, of Wendham. Children: 1. Nathan, of whom further. 2. John, born about 1619, died at Watertown, Massachusetts; inventory November 28, 1684; married, December 11, 1651, Sarah Wyeth, only child of Nicholas Wyeth by his first wife. 3. Esther. 4. Martha, married Martin Underwood, and settled in Watertown, Massachusetts, where she died May 6, 1684, aged eighty-two.

(*Ibid.*, p. 57.)

(The Family in America).

I. Nathan Fiske, son of Nathaniel, Jr., and Dorothy (Symonds) Fiske, was born in Weybred, County Suffolk, England, about 1615,

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and died at Watertown, Massachusetts, June 21, 1676. He settled in Watertown as early as 1642; was admitted freeman May 10, 1643, and was selectman in 1673. He married Susanna. Children, born in Watertown, Massachusetts: 1. Nathan, born October 17, 1642, died May 15, 1696; married Elizabeth Fry. 2. John, born August 25, 1647; witness June 11, 1679. 3. David, born April 29, 1650, died in 1694; married, December 15, 1675, Elizabeth Reed, born July 26, 1653, died March 21, 1717, daughter of Deacon George Reed, of Woburn, Massachusetts. 4. Nathaniel, of whom further. 5. Sarah, born in 1656; married, September 3, 1673, Abraham Gale, son of Richard Gale, of Watertown, Massachusetts.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.)

II. Nathaniel Fiske, 3d, son of Nathan and Susanna Fiske, was born at Watertown, Massachusetts, July 12, 1653, and died there, in September, 1735, his will being proved October 3, 1735. He was a weaver. He married, April 13, 1677, Mary (Warren) Child, born November 29, 1651, died May 12, 1734, daughter of Daniel and Mary (Barrin) Warren, and widow of John Child, who died October 15, 1676, all of Watertown. Children, born in Watertown, Massachusetts: 1. Nathaniel, Jr., born June 9, 1678, died August 24, 1719; married Hannah Adams. 2. Hannah, born August 29, 1680; married, October 17, 1701, Joshua Bigelow, Jr. 3. John, born March 17, 1682, died at Sherburne, Massachusetts, May 8, 1730; married there Lydia Adams, born February 2, 1684, daughter of Moses and Lydia (Whitney) Adams, of Sherburne. 4. Sarah, born July 4, 1684; married, January 8, 1706, John Hastings, Jr. 5. Lydia, born December 2, 1687, died at Weston, Massachusetts, August 21, 1761; married (first), May 14, 1711, John Warren, Jr., who died July, 1726; married (second), June 17, 1730, Benjamin Harrington, of Weston. 6. Mary, baptized April 20, 1690; married, October 30, 1716, James Knapp, who died in Worcester, Massachusetts. 7. Elizabeth, of whom further. 8. Abigail, born August 28, 1698, died at Weston, Massachusetts, March, 1729; married, April 10, 1717, Allen Flagg, Jr., born February 9, 1690.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 94, 95. H. Bond: "Genealogies of Watertown, Massachusetts," p. 214.)

III. Elizabeth Fiske, daughter of Nathaniel and Mary (Warren-Child) Fiske, was born at Watertown, Massachusetts, June 24, 1692,

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and died at Worcester, Massachusetts, November 30, 1760. She married Benjamin Flagg, Jr. (Flagg III.)

(F. C. Pierce: "Fiske and Fisk Families," p. 95. H. Bond: "Genealogies of Watertown, Massachusetts," p. 221.)

(The Curtis Line).

Arms—Paly of six, or and azure, a fesse countercompony of the same.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

The Anglo-Norman family name Curtis arose from curteys, the courteous, and was popular from the thirteenth century downwards. William le Curtis is in the Hundred Rolls of County Cambridge, A. D. 1273; Osbert le Curteys in those of County Essex; Walter Curteys and Richard le Corteys in those of County Oxford.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I Henry Curtis, aged twenty-seven, is on the list of those to be transported to New England, and embarked in the ship "Elizabeth and Ann," Roger Cooper, master, May 6, 1635. He settled at Watertown, Massachusetts, a proprietor there in 1636-37, and in Sudbury, Massachusetts, in 1641, selling his house in Watertown, May 2, 1649. He died in Sudbury, May 8, 1678. He married Mary Guy, daughter of Nicholas and Jane Guy, who came from London in the ship "Confidence," sailing April 4, 1638. She died in Sudbury, December 3, 1682. Children, born in Sudbury, Massachusetts: 1. Lieutenant Ephraim, born March 31, 1642, died before May, 1684. He was active in King Philip's War; was a notable scout, hunter and trader. 2. John, born in 1644, died in Sudbury, unmarried, December 31, 1678. 3. Joseph, of whom further.

(J. C. Hotten: "Original Lists of Emigrants," p. 76. E. B. Crane: "Historic Homes and Institutions and Genealogical and Personal Memoirs of Worcester County, Massachusetts," Vol. II, pp. 25-26. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LXI, p. 258. G. M. Bodge: "Soldiers in King Philip's War," pp. 104-05.)

II. Joseph Curtis, son of Henry and Mary (Guy) Curtis, was born in Sudbury, Massachusetts, July 17, 1647, and died there November 26, 1700. In 1675 he served in the Mount Hope campaign in King Philip's War, under Captain Thomas Prentice. In his will, dated November 23, 1700, and probated December 16, 1700, he

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named his wife as executrix. He married, in Sudbury, February 5, 1677, Abigail Grout, born in Sudbury, October 14, 1655, died there April 28, 1745, daughter of Captain John and Sarah (Busby-Cakebread) Grout. Children: 1. Abigail, born March 2, 1678-79, died about 1765; married, about 1705, Captain John Goulding. 2. Ephraim, of whom further. 3. Mary, born December 25, 1686; married, December 14, 1710, Thomas Stone. 4. Joseph, born July 15, 1689, died in Medbury, Massachusetts, January 21, 1754; married (first), about 1716, Hannah, who died November 9, 1738; (second), March 12, 1739-40, Mary Bullen. 5. Sarah, died September 26, 1762; married, December 28, 1715, Jonathan Smith.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LXI, pp. 258-59. G. M. Bodge: "Soldiers in King Philip's War," p. 81.)

III. Ephraim Curtis, son of Joseph and Abigail (Grout) Curtis, was born September 4, 1680, and died in Sudbury, Massachusetts, November 17, 1759. His gravestone in East Sudbury states that he was a justice of the peace, major of a regiment, and for many years Representative in the General Court. In 1741 he was appointed a special justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He married, May 10, 1705, Mary Stone, born February 19, 1682, died in Sudbury, February 22, 1761, daughter of David and Susanna Stone. Children: 1. Ephraim, Jr., of whom further. 2. Captain John, born September 20, 1707, died in Worcester, Massachusetts, June 29, 1797; married (first), in Sudbury, June 4, 1729, Rebekah Wight, daughter of Benjamin and Elizabeth (Newell) Wight; married (second), November 13, 1755, Elizabeth Prentice, daughter of Rev. John and Mary Prentice. 3. Mary, born December 29, 1710, died December 1, 1770; married, December 20, 1732, Jason Gleason. 4. Susanna, born September 9, 1714, died February 1, 1756; married Lieutenant Jonathan Carter. 5. Major Joseph, born December 22, 1721, died October 6, 1791; married (first), September 11, 1744, Jane Plympton; (second), May 7, 1752, Abigail Baldwin. 6. Lieutenant Samuel, born June 1, 1724, died July 20, 1758; married (first), February 20, 1745-46, Jerusha Cutting; (second), August 25, 1749, Hannah Nichols.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LXI, pp. 259-61.)

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IV. Ephraim Curtis, Jr., son of Ephraim and Mary (Stone) Curtis, was born in Sudbury, Massachusetts, July 15, 1706, and died in Worcester, Massachusetts, January 1, 1747-48. He inherited a farm of two hundred and fifty acres near the present line between Auburn, Millbury, and Worcester. He married, in Sudbury, December 23, 1729, Mary Rice. (Rice IV.) Children, born in Worcester, Massachusetts: 1. Samuel (twin), of whom further. 2. Judith (twin), born September 26, 1730. 3. Mary, born March 5, 1732. 4. Abigail, born June 21, 1734. 5. Ephraim, Jr., born September 6, 1736. 6. Oliver, born January 29, 1740; lived near site of Holy Cross College.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 292; Vol II, p. 25. F. P. Rice: "Worcester, Massachusetts, Vital Records," Vol. XII, pp. 65-67.)

V. Samuel Curtis, son of Ephraim, Jr., and Mary (Rice) Curtis, was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, September 26, 1730, and died at Auburn, Massachusetts, October 18, 1814. He resided on the Auburn homestead of this branch of the family. During the Revolution he was one of the most prominent patriots of the town. He served on various committees. One who knew him wrote of him: "His patriotism and valuable qualities always insured the confidence and esteem of his townsmen. Gifted by nature with a strong mind, he cultivated and improved it by observation and reflection, and as a reward of his merit he was repeatedly promoted to the highest offices of the town. As selectman, representative to the General Court, his integrity was always conspicuous and his usefulness always apparent." He married, March 30, 1757, Mary Ward, born November 8, 1736, died June 3, 1830, daughter of Major Daniel Ward. Children, born in Worcester, Massachusetts: 1. Samuel, Jr., born January 21, 1759, died young. 2. Mary, born February 10, 1760. 3. Samuel, born October 11, 1761, died January 29, 1811; married (first), August 20, 1785, Eunice Flagg, of Uxbridge, Massachusetts; (second) Eunice (Taft) Stowell, daughter of Josiah Taft, and widow of a Mr. Stowell. 4. Ephraim, born April 3, 1763, died at homestead. No issue. 5. Sarah, baptized June 23, 1765. 6. Levi, born October 4, 1767. 7. Lecretia, of whom further. 8. Lydia, born July 26, 1772. 9. Azubah, baptized June 22, 1775. 10. Lydia, born August 13, 1780.

(*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 292. F. P. Rice: "Worcester, Massachusetts, Vital Records," Vol. XII, pp. 65-67, 325. E. B. Crane: "Historic Homes and Institutions," Vol. I, p. 292.)

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VI. Lecretia Curtis, daughter of Samuel and Mary (Ward) Curtis, was born at Worcester, Massachusetts, May 27, 1770, and died there November 8, 1836. She married Aaron Flagg. (Flagg V.)

(E. B. Crane: "Historic Homes and Institutions," Vol. I, p. 292.
F. P. Rice: "Worcester, Massachusetts, Vital Records," Vol. XII, p. 325.)

(The Rice Line).

I. Deacon Edmund Rice was modestly descended from Sir Griffith Rice, Knight of the Bath (1501), being his great-great-grandson, and therefore twenty-fourth in descent from the Duke of Cornwall, and twenty-third in the male line from Vryan Reged.

Edmund Rice was born in Buckinghamshire, England, in 1594; probably in the little town of Sudbury, which is only eight miles north of London, for he gave the name of Sudbury to his home town in Massachusetts in 1638. In 1627 the deacon and his wife, Tamazine, were living in the village of Berkhamstead, twenty-eight miles north of London, in Hertfordshire. Their first three children were doubtless born in Sudbury, Buckinghamshire; and the parish register at Berkhamstead contains records of five others who were baptized in that parish. The deacon and his wife, with seven of these children (one had died, and one was born during the voyage) landed in Massachusetts in 1638. He was always known as Edmund Rice, the Pilgrim. He was the father of twelve children, and was an honest man. He was intrusted with various important duties by the General Court, which he discharged with a fidelity that occasioned repeated calls for his services. The records of Sudbury and Marlboro contain ample evidence of his vigilant and fatherly care in promoting the welfare of those infant settlements. He was a selectman in 1644 and subsequent years; was made a deacon of the church in 1648; and, in 1656, was one of thirteen petitioners belonging to Sudbury who besought the General Court for a new plantation. Their petition was granted, and the plantation laid to them was incorporated by the name of Marlboro in 1660; and whereto he removed and had a house-lot of fifty acres granted to him. His wife, Tamazine, died in Sudbury, June 13, 1654. His second wife was "Mercie," widow of Thomas Brigham, of Cambridge. Edmund Rice and Mercy (Hurd) Brigham were married March 1, 1655. He died in Marlboro, May 3, 1663, and was buried in Sudbury. The inventory of his estate was £736. His widow, Mercy, married William Hunt, of Marlboro. She died December

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28, 1693. Children by first marriage: 1. Henry, born in 1617; married Elizabeth Moore. 2. Edward, born in 1619; married Anna. 3. Thomas, born in 1622 (?); married Mary. 4. Lydia, born in March, 1627; married Hugh Drury. The above were born in Buckinghamshire, England. 5. Mathew, of whom further. 6. Daniel, baptized November 1, 1632, died November 10, 1632. 7. Samuel, born in 1634; married Elizabeth King. 8. Joseph, born in 1637; married Mercy King. 9. Edmund, born in 1638. The above were born at Berkhamstead, Hertfordshire, England, except Edmund, who was born at sea. 10. Benjamin, born in Sudbury, May 31, 1640; married Mary Brown. Children by second marriage: 11. Ruth, born in Sudbury, September 29, 1659; married Samuel Welles. 12. Ann, born in Marlboro, November 19, 1661; married Nathaniel Gerry.

(Charles Elmer Rice: "By the Name of Rice," pp. 9-17. Andrew Henshaw Ward: "Genealogical History of the Rice Family," pp. 1-3, 5.)

II. Mathew Rice was baptized in Berkhamstead, Hertfordshire, England, February 28, 1629. Matthew, as it was afterwards spelled, lived to the patriarchal age of eighty-nine years and some months. He married, at Sudbury, July 7, 1654, Martha Lamson, and became the father of only nine children. By a very narrow margin he thus escaped being a deacon; a man with fewer than ten children apparently being utterly proscribed. Children: 1. Sarah, born September 15, 1655; married John Loker. 2. Martha, born August 17, 1657; married John Bent. 3. Deborah, born February 14, 1659-60; married Thomas Sawin. 4. Ruth, born April 2, 1662; married Joseph Hastings. 5. Elizabeth, born May 20, 1663; married Samuel Ware. 6. Dorothy, born February 14, 1664-65; married Samuel Ware, of Dedham. 7. Mary, died young. 8. Isaac, of whom further. 9. Patience, born March 5, 1671; married (first) a Holbrook; (second) Hopestill Leland.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 7, 60, 61.)

III. Isaac Rice was born May 1, 1668. He married, September 9, 1691, Sybil Collins. He died February 4, 1717-18, *ae. circa* 50. He died in Sudbury. Children: 1. Sibbilla, born September 9, 1691-1692; married, May 29, 1716, Phineas Brintnal, of Sudbury. 2. Martha, born October 17, 1693; married William Rice. 3. Ruth,

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born October 18, 1695; married, December 15, 1714, John Goodnow. 4. Mary, of whom further. 5. Abigail, born March 28, 1709; married Thomas Damon.

(Andrew Henshaw Ward: "Genealogical History of the Rice Family," pp. 32-33.)

IV. Mary Rice, born in 1706. She married, December 23, 1729, Ephraim Curtis, Jr. (Curtis IV.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Harris Line).

Arms—Argent a lion rampant gules over all a chevron or.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Harris originally signified the son of Harry. Authorities differ as to whether the family was Norman, French or Welsh. Family names of both nations were often taken from Christian names with the prefix ap in Welsh. The Harris family were numerous in Southern Wales, where a small town near Haverford West is called Harriston. James IV made Sir John Harries of Terreglee County, Wales, a lord about 1490. Traditions in the American family founded by Robert Harris, at Brookline, Massachusetts, give Gloucestershire, England, as his home before coming to America, yet we cannot prove the accuracy of this.

(N. H. Morgan: "Harris Genealogy," p. 14. V. S. Fulham: "Fulham Genealogy," p. 171.)

I. Robert Harris is first mentioned at Roxbury, Massachusetts, in 1642. In a list of emigrants to Virginia, copied by H. O. Somerby, Robert Harris, aged twenty, is on record as having embarked in the "Primrose," at Gravesend, in 1635, but it is not known whether he was the one later living in Roxbury. At first he was in the employ of William Hibbins, but about 1655 he began purchasing land in Brookline, then a part of Boston, called Muddy River. The deeds of those purchases were in the possession of Dr. Luther M. Harris in 1861. His first home was quite a small building, though soon replaced by a larger one used as a garrison house during its construction. It remained in the family for several generations, and was not torn down until 1796, when a new building was erected on the same location. The site is in the town of Brookline, on the right hand of the Putterham Road between Jamaica Plain and Newton, a few rods from the present West Roxbury line. He was admitted a free-

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man May 22, 1650, and in 1676 he was constable. He died about 1701. The first record of him is that of his marriage at Roxbury, January 24, 1642-43, to Elizabeth Boughey. While her parentage is not known, letters are in existence which she received from her brother, Bold Boughey, Keeper of Fleet Prison, and a sister, Katherine Thorp, also of London. They mention two brothers, Timothy, chaplain of the King's Regiment of Guards in Dunkirk, and Bold Boughey; and four sisters, Hannah Wilding, of Shrewsbury; Mary Roe, Priscilla Bruce, and Katherine Thorp. Children: 1. Elizabeth, born November 9, 1644; married John Whitney, of Brookline. 2. John, baptized at Roxbury, August 8, 1647; he was lost on the expedition to Canada in 1690; married, September 20, 1670, Mary Sanger. 3. Timothy, born July 9, 1650, died September 21, 1730; married, April 2, 1697, Abigail Morey. 4. Daniel, of whom further. 5. Priscilla, born October 7, 1653; died unmarried, January 2, 1717-18.

(L. N. Harris: "Robert Harris and His Descendants," pp. 5, 7-9, 14, 15.)

II. Daniel Harris, son of Robert and Elizabeth (Boughey) Harris, was born May 24, 1652. His father deeded him a house with three-quarters of an acre of land and eighteen acres elsewhere, May 19, 1698. He became a member of the church at Roxbury, April 23, 1689. In 1698 he was appointed constable of Muddy River. He died at Brookline, December 15, 1733. He married, January 14, 1682, Joanna Brown. Children: 1. Daniel, Jr., born November 24, 1682, died before May 2, 1704. 2. Priscilla, born January 14, 1684-85; married Ephraim Child, of Woodstock, Connecticut. 3. Thomas, born September 22, 1686. 4. Joanna, born May 28, 1690; married Abraham Woodward, of Brookline. 5. Nathaniel, of whom further. 6. Elizabeth, born March 5, 1693-94; married, April 29, 1724, Joshua Warren, of Watertown. 7. Timothy, born June 20, 1696, lived at Watertown until 1735; moved to Oxford, Massachusetts; died February 25, 1777; married, November 5, 1724, Mary Stearns. 8. Sarah, born June 8, 1698; married, March 4, 1731, John Hooper, of Roxbury. 9. Robert, born August 1, 1700; lived at Springfield, Massachusetts, and was a lieutenant; died in 1780; married Bathusa Pyncheon. 10. Mehitabel, born October 14, 1702; married, July 20, 1738, Stephen Walker, of Rehoboth. 11. Daniel, born May 2, 1704,

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died in 1789; married, June 20, 1743, Elizabeth Bridge. 12. Benjamin, born January 19, 1707, died June 15, 1707.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 16-17. V. S. Fulham: "Fulham Genealogy," p. 173. "Vital Records of Roxbury," p. 168.)

III. Nathaniel Harris, son of Daniel and Joanna (Brown) Harris, was born at Brookline, Massachusetts, May 2, 1692, and died May 31, 1761. He removed to Needham, Massachusetts, and from there to Watertown. From 1733 to 1747 he was selectman and for many years he was justice of the peace. In 1735 he was elected to the General Court as a representative of Watertown, and was reëlected the two following years. In 1754 he gave to the parish the lot upon which the church was built. He was one of the original proprietors of Turkey Hill, Fitchburg, by acquiring lot 71, and later lot 31, first owned by his brother Timothy. He was a merchant and from 1740 to 1749 held a license as a retail dealer. He married, January 30, 1717-18, Hannah Fulham. (Fulham II-a.) Children: 1. Thomas, of whom further. 2. Francis, born October 3, 1721, lived in what is now Shirley, Massachusetts, where he became captain, clerk, treasurer, selectman, and represented that town in the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, held at Boston in 1774, 1775; he died in 1792; married Susannah Benjamin. 3. Sarah, born December 6, 1723; married William White, Jr. 4. Priscilla, born September 29, 1725, died May 2, 1728. 5. Nathaniel, Jr., born in 1727, lived at Shirley, later returning to Watertown, and thence to Medford; in 1755 he took part in the expedition against Crown Point; married, June 13, 1748, Anna Mead. 6. Priscilla, born February 4, 1729; married, December 17, 1751, Nathaniel Smith, of Groton, Massachusetts. 7. Benjamin, born April 24, 1731; married, December 28, 1751, Mary Oddleton, of Watertown. 8. Hannah, born April 13, 1733; married, February 20, 1755, Joseph Hay. 9. Stephen, born June 23, 1735, was a clothier of Watertown; married, January 16, 1755, Sarah Brown. 10. Fulham, born May 27, 1737, died November 6, 1738.

(V. S. Fulham: "Fulham Genealogy," pp. 173, 174, 175. Bond: "Genealogies and Histories of Watertown," pp. 227, 284.)

IV. Thomas Harris, son of Nathaniel and Hannah (Fulham) Harris, was born at Needham, Massachusetts, November 11, 1718. He moved to Dorchester, Massachusetts, where he engaged in busi-

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ness as a clothier and miller. His mill was on the Neponset River at Dorchester Lower Mills. He was constable of the town and from November 3, 1758, to April 19, 1759, was a member of Captain Jonathan Blan's company. While at Dorchester he acquired several tracts of land in Lunenburg, now Fitchburg, Massachusetts, consisting of three hundred acres purchased by John Whitney, in 1752, for £150, two hundred acres of his father's holdings in 1758, and seventy-five acres of his mother's in 1766. After his mill in Dorchester was destroyed by fire about 1763, he moved to Fitchburg, and in addition to his holdings purchased a corn mill on the Nashua River, a sawmill, and a blacksmith shop. He served in Captain Ebenezer Woods' company at the Lexington Alarms, April 19, 1775, and in Captain James Burt's company at the siege of Boston, the same year. Shortly after the close of the war he died. He married (first) Jerusha, who died November 1, 1744. He married (second), September 2, 1745, Lucy Peirce. (Peirce V.) Children of first marriage. 1. Jerusha, born March 15, 1743; married Mr. Patrick, of Fitchburg. 2. Hannah, born October 1, 1744, died at about the age of thirteen. Children of second marriage: 3. Thomas, Jr., born July 13, 1746, a soldier in the Revolution; died in the Revolutionary War; married Eleanor Lane. 4. Samuel, of whom further. 5. Josiah, born February 13, 1749; marched at the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775, and later enlisted in Captain Sorrell's company, of Colonel Gill's regiment; resided at Stoughton, Massachusetts, until he removed to Fitchburg, where he remained until 1805; died at Reading, August 28, 1811. 6. Daniel, born July 31, 1752, participated in the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, later served at West Point in Captain Nathaniel Wright's company, Colonel Drury's regiment, and was among the reinforcements to the Continental Army in 1778, under Captain Ephraim Stearns in Colonel Wood's regiment; he lived at Bolton and Fitchburg, Massachusetts; died December 16, 1820; married, June 15, 1780, Judith Goodale. 7. Lucy; married, December 12, 1776, Solomon Gilbert.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 174-75, 179, 180. Bond: "Watertown," pp. 393-94. "Proceedings of the Fitchburg Historical Society," Vol. IV, p. 195. "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors," Vol. VII, p. 359.)

V. Samuel Harris, son of Thomas and Lucy (Peirce) Harris, was born at Dorchester, Massachusetts, May 7, 1747. He learned the

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trade of clothier from his father and later practiced it at Fitchburg. When he first arrived in that town there were but fifteen houses. Bears and other wild animals troubled the inhabitants and life was rendered so unattractive that he returned to Dorchester. Prior to 1773 he returned to Fitchburg and was followed there by his brother and later by his parents. In 1773 he received land there which had once belonged to his grandfather, Nathaniel Harris, an original proprietor of the town. With a body of neighbors he went to Boston in the spring of 1775, and took part in the battle of Bunker Hill. After the evacuation of the city he returned home, and his next service for the cause of independence was in the campaign of 1777, taking part in the battles of Bennington and Saratoga, as well as the surrender of Burgoyne. At that time he was a corporal in Captain William Thurlow's company, under Major Bridge. For many years a comrade from Groton, Massachusetts, made an annual visit to Fitchburg to spend the anniversary of the battle of Saratoga with him. Samuel Harris died, at Fitchburg, January 3, 1841, and is buried in the Laurel Hill Cemetery. He married, October 17, 1778, Lucy Fulham. (Fulham IV.) Children: 1. Samuel, Jr., born in 1779, and lived at Petersham, Massachusetts; he married, November 13, 1802, Jane Robens. 2. Lucy, born February 25, 1781, died December 2, 1865; married David Whittemore. 3. Thomas, born April 18, 1785, died December 20, 1865. 4. Sophia, born March 15, 1787, died in 1881; married Amos Whitmore, of Athol. 5. Samuel Ward, born December 31, 1791, died December 24, 1863; married, December 2, 1820, Submit Hodgeman, of Ashby. 6. Sarah, of whom further. 7. Milton, born April 29, 1800, died July 30, 1891; married, August 17, 1826, Priscilla Leeds Seaver.

(V. S. Fulham: "Fulham Genealogy," pp. 30, 177, 179. "Proceedings of the Fitchburg Historical Society," Vol. IV, p. 194. "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors," Vol. VII, p. 356.)

VI. Sarah Harris, daughter of Samuel and Lucy (Fulham) Harris, was born at Fitchburg, Massachusetts, June 7, 1796. She was described as a very tall, large framed woman, with black eyes and black hair. She died at Newtonville, Massachusetts, April 14, 1886. She married Browning Hubbard. (Hubbard III.)

(V. S. Fulham: "Fulham Genealogy," p. 178.)

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(The Fulham Line).

Arms—Argent a chevron sable between three teazles stalked and leaved proper.

Crest—A greyhound's head proper. (Burke: "General Armory.")

On the Thames in England there is a village called Fulham, and it is from this place that the surname Fulham was derived. In turn, the town took its name from the Saxon Fullen, fowl, and ham, that is, the house or village of fowl. This could mean either from the house noted for its good living, or from the neighborhood producing good poultry. A John Fulham was buried in 1651 at St. Michael's, Cornhill, London.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom.")

I. Judge Francis Fulham was born, it is said, at Fulham's Palace, son of Edward Fulham, surveyor of Westminster Abbey, and to have been sent by his older brothers to Massachusetts at the age of fourteen. He died January 15, 1758, in the eighty-eighth year of his life. He came to Watertown Farms, near Sudbury, Massachusetts, where he joined the church in 1706. Watertown Farms later became the town of Weston, where he purchased numerous lots of land, chiefly in the southwestern part, and became the most influential man there. He was selectman of Watertown in 1710-11, and the records of Natick were in his keeping as early as 1719. He was a colonel in the militia, and was active in Indian affairs. He was also chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Middlesex County.

Francis Fulham married (first) Sarah Livermore, daughter of Lieutenant John and Hannah Livermore, of Watertown Farms, born February 18, 1672 (O. S.), died March 21, 1724. He married (second), October 12, 1724, Mary (Woolson) Jones, daughter of Thomas Woolson, and widow of Samuel Jones. She was born December 8, 1673, died December 2, 1757. Children of first marriage, born in Watertown: 1. Jacob, of whom further. 2. Sarah, born March 2, 1695; married, March 3, 1721-22, Deacon William Trowbridge, of Newton, Massachusetts, as his second wife. 3. Hannah, of whom further. 4. Mary, born April 4, 1702; married (first), March 30, 1722, Jonathan Moore, of Worcester; married (second), March 11, 1733-34, Mr. Dana.

(V. S. Fulham: "Fulham Genealogy," pp. 10, 12, 24.)

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II-a. Hannah Fulham, daughter of Francis and Sarah (Livermore) Fulham, was born at Weston, Massachusetts, June 20, 1697. She married Nathaniel Harris. (Harris III.)

II-b. Jacob Fulham, son of Francis and Sarah (Livermore) Fulham, was born at Weston, Massachusetts, November 29, 1692, and was killed in "Lovewell's Fight," Fryeburg, Maine, with the Indians, May 8, 1725. He was a sergeant. He married, February 28, 1716, Tabitha Whitney. (Whitney IV.) (Stowell Royal Descent from William the Conqueror XXV.) Children, born in Weston, Massachusetts: 1. Francis, of whom further. 2. Jacob, born December 22, 1718, died before 1758; published his marriage intentions August 27, 1743, to Hannah Ware, of Needham. 3. Tabitha, born May 12, 1722; married, March 31, 1742, Ebenezer Allen, Jr., of Weston, Massachusetts. 4. Elisha, born June 26, 1725, died September 22, 1801; married, January 21, 1744-45, Sarah Hagar, daughter of William Hagar.

(*Ibid.*, p. 29.)

III. Francis Fulham, son of Jacob and Tabitha (Whitney) Fulham, was born at Weston, Massachusetts, March 31, 1717, and died in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, February 8, 1807. After the death of his father he lived with his grandfather until his marriage, and from this association with Judge Francis Fulham, he received the sobriquet of "Young Judge," which clung to him through life. In the distribution of his father's property, April 7, 1740, the Probate Court assigned to him all his father's real estate in Weston, and after his marriage he went to live at his father's homestead, adjoining that of his grandfather, Judge Fulham. He lived there until after the birth of his second child, and then moved to Fitchburg, selling his house, barn and homestead in Weston, March 27, 1747, and his last real estate there May 18, 1748. The records indicate that his last two children were born in Lancaster, Massachusetts, but in January, 1749, and in the muster roll he is described as of the adjoining town, Bolton. He was a soldier in the French and Indian War, in Captain Samuel Hunt's company, in the expedition against Crown Point in 1755, serving from August 26 to December, 1755, in Colonel Willard's regiment. He enlisted also in the Revolution, as Francis Fullum, at Westminster, June 26, 1778, private in Captain Benjamin Edgell's

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company, Colonel John Jacob's regiment, and served until September 30, 1778. The muster roll of September 13, 1778, reports him unfit for duty, and the Middletown, Rhode Island, muster roll, August 27, 1778, reports him as detached to Captain Elisha Jackson's company. He was therein credited to the town of Fitchburg.

Francis Fulham married, December 15, 1740, Susanna Hammond. (Hammond IV.) Children: 1. Timothy, born in Weston, December 3, 1741, died September 10, 1829. 2. Francis, Jr., born in Weston, October 15, 1744, died February 12, 1823. 3. Phineas, born in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, March 9, 1747, died August 4, 1823. 4. Lydia, born in Fitchburg; married, January 21, 1788, Peleg Battles, of Leominster, Massachusetts. 5. Lucy, of whom further. 6. Jacob, born in Sterling, September 13, 1757, died February 8, 1846. 7. Oliver, born in Lancaster, November 29, 1761, died November 17, 1836. 8. Eunice, born in Lancaster, August 25, 1764, died October 21, 1770.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 30, 31, 32. "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors," Vol. VI, p. 199.)

IV. Lucy Fulham, daughter of Francis and Susanna (Hammond) Fulham, was born in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, March 19, 1755. She died there January 30, 1833. Lucy Fulham married Samuel Harris. (Harris V.)

(*Ibid.*, p. 177.)

(The Hammond Line).

Arms—Or, on a chevron sable three Cornish choughs, argent.

Crest—An elephant's head, argent ducally gorged and eared, or.

(F. S. Hammond: "History and Genealogies of the Hammond Families in America," Vol. I, p. 14.)

Hamon was an Anglo-Norman Christian name which was popular in the thirteenth century. A Hamon Brunde was sheriff of London in 1203. The name Hammund le Mester is listed in the Hundred Rolls of Huntingtonshire in 1273. There was a John Hammond of Melford Parish, County Suffolk, from which locality comes the line of our particular interest. He was of the ancient family of Lawshall in the same vicinity.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. John Hamonde, of Melford, England, made a will, August 4, 1517, which was proved at Sudbury, April 22, 1528, in which he gives

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bequests to "my wife, Johanna my douter, Maryone King, my dowter," and makes executors "Johne my wyfe, and John Hamond, the fuller." The latter may have been his son, though not so named in the will. John Hamonde married Johanna (or Johne) whose will was dated September 22, 1542, and was proved October 16, 1542, naming John Hamond the fuller, and William King as her attorneys. Children: 1. Johanna, named in her father's will. 2. Maryone, named in her father's will. 3. John, Jr., of whom further.

(F. S. Hammond: "History and Genealogies of the Hammond Families in America," 1902, Vol. I, pp. 45-46.)

II. John Hamond, Jr., son of John and Johanna Hamonde, of Melford, was born at Melford about 1500. He was a clothier and settled at Lavenham, County Suffolk, at that time a center of the cloth industry. His will was proved June 5, 1551. He married Agnes, who died in Lavenham, January 6, 1577. Children: 1. William, of whom further. 2. Thomas, born about 1545, died November 24, 1589; married in Lavenham, May 14, 1573, Rose Trippe. 3. Elizabeth. 4. Margaret, married a Jollye. 5. Johane (Joan).

(*Ibid.*, pp. 47, 49-50.)

III. William Hammond (note the various spellings), son of John, Jr., and Agnes Hamond, was born in Lavenham, England, but removed to Melford, where he was supervisor in 1587. A William Hamonde was buried at Melford, April 27, 1610, the only one of that name at that period. He married, before 1586, Mary. Children, baptized at Melford: 1. William, Jr., born December 3, 1586. 2. Ann, born February 2, 1588. 3. Francis, born March 11, 1591. 4. Marie, born October 6, 1594. 5. Elizabeth, born March 6, 1597. 6. Grace, born August 3, 1600. 7. Thomas, of whom further. 8. John (twin), born September 2, 1603, settled at Hingham, Massachusetts, where land was granted to him in 1636.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 19-20, 50; Vol. II, p. 1. F. R. Holmes: "Descent of the Ancestral Heads of New England Families," p. cvii.)

(The Family in America).

I. Thomas Hammond, son of William and Mary Hammond, was born at Melford, County Suffolk, England, and baptized there September 2, 1603, twin of John, and died at Newton, Massachusetts,

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September 30, 1675. He was a planter and a farmer, and was first a proprietor at Hingham, where lands were granted him in 1636. He took freeman's oath, March 9, 1636, and served on the Grand Jury. Thomas Hammond moved to Newton in 1640, then to Cambridge Village, although he held lands in Hingham for some years after this, selling them as late as 1656. His estate was appraised at £1,139-16-2. By the undated and unfinished will of Thomas Hammond, two hundred acres of his lands in Brookline, Massachusetts, were divided between his daughters, the remaining lands going to his sons. He was one of the wealthiest men of his day in this town, and the sheet of water near his homestead has since been called "Hammond Pond." He married Elizabeth Cason, also of Lavenham, England. When his wife was a young woman the master of the mint allowed her, so tradition goes, to stamp "a fair impression" upon a coin about the size of half a crown. He presented it to her and it has passed through her hands to those of her descendants, and in 1854 this coin was possessed by Stephen Hammond, of Roxbury, and presumably went to his son, William, of the eighth generation. Children: 1. Thomas, Jr., of whom further. 2. Elizabeth, born about 1633-34; married (first) George Woodward; married (second) Samuel Truesdale. 3. Sarah, baptized at Hingham, September 13, 1640; married Nathaniel Stedman. 4. Nathaniel, baptized at Hingham, March 12, 1643, died at Newton, May 29, 1691; married, about 1670, Mary Griffen.

("American Ancestry," Vol. V, pp. 42, 50; Vol. IX, pp. 210-11. James Savage: "Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England," Vol. III, pp. 346-47. "Proceedings of the Brookline Historical Society," p. 14. C. H. Pope: "Pioneers of Massachusetts," p. 210. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XXX, pp. 28-33. F. S. Hammond: "History and Genealogies of the Hammond Family in America," Vol. II, pp. 1-9.)

II. Thomas Hammond, Jr., son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Cason) Hammond, was born in England about 1630, and died in Newton, Massachusetts, October 20, 1678, of smallpox. He was a farmer on the estate left him by his father, an inventory of which was attested by his widow, "1-2-79," showing it to total £468-8-0. She was the administratrix. He married, December 17, 1662, Elizabeth Stedman, probably the daughter of Isaac and Elizabeth Stedman. She was born November 26, 1637, and died October 29, 1715. Children: 1. Elizabeth, born November 3, 1664, and died at Newton,

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February 1, 1733; married, April 18, 1682, Thomas Chamberlain. 2. Thomas, born December 16, 1666, died in 1720; married (first), at Boston, June 15, 1693, Mehitable Very; (second), August 8, 1705, Mary Bacon. 3. Isaac (twin), born at Newton, December 20, 1668, died there January 1, 1715; married, December 7, 1692, Ann Hendrick. 4. Sarah (twin), born at Newton, December 20, 1668. 5. Nathaniel, born February 3, 1671, died young. 6. John, born April 30, 1674. 7. Eleazer, of whom further.

("American Ancestry," Vol. V, p. 50; Vol. IX, pp. 210-11. F. S. Hammond: "History and Genealogies of the Hammond Family in America," Vol. II, pp. 5-12.)

III. Eleazer Hammond, son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Stedman) Hammond, was born at Newton, Massachusetts, November 13, 1677, and died November 16, 1760, at the age of eighty-three. He was a town selectman in Newton in 1741. He married, April 29, 1703, Hannah Harrington, daughter of John and Hannah (Winter) Harrington, born August 9, 1682, died February 14, 1775. Children: 1. Hannah, born in 1704; married Bartholomew Green. 2. Eleazer, born October 1, 1705, died young. 3. Elizabeth, born January 12, 1707; married Mr. Roberts. 4. Eleazer, Jr., born May 26, 1711; settled in Connecticut. 5. Abigail, born January 31, 1712; married Richard Harrington. 6. Patience, born September 8, 1717; married Eleazer Chamberlain. 7. Ephraim, born March 15, 1720. 8. Susanna, of whom further. 9. Lydia, born February 5, 1726; married John Hammond.

(Francis Jackson: "History of Early Settlement of Newton, from 1639 to 1800," pp. 298-99. "Vital Records, Newton," pp. 84-86, 298-300, 456.)

IV. Susanna Hammond, daughter of Eleazer and Hannah (Harrington) Hammond, was born June 29, 1724. She married Francis Fulham. (Fulham III.) (Stowell Royal Descent from William the Conqueror XXVI.)

(The Whitney Line).

Arms—Azure a cross chequy, or and sable.

Crest—A bull's head couped sable armed argent, the points gules.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

Whitney as a surname was originally a place name. The parish from which the family took its name is located in County Hereford,

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England, upon the extreme western border, adjoining Wales, and is traversed by the lovely Wye River. The name of the place doubtless comes from the appearance of the river, meaning in Saxon, white water, from *hwit* white and *ey* water. The English ancestry of John Whitney, the immigrant, who settled at Watertown, Massachusetts, has been established by Henry Melville. Few American families have their English ancestry in such well authenticated and satisfactory form. An abstract of the English ancestry is given below.

Turstin, "the Fleming," otherwise known as Turstin de Wigmore, probably also as Turstin, son of Rolf, and Turstin "the White," was a follower of William the Conqueror. He was mentioned in the Domesday Book as an extensive landholder in Herefordshire and the Marches of Wales. He married Agnes de Merleberge, daughter of Alured de Merleberge, a Norman baron of Ewias Castle, in the Marches of Wales.

Eustace, son of Turstin, was a benefactor of the monastery of St. Peter in Gloucester. He or one of his immediate descendants took the surname De Whitney from Whitney of the Wye, in the Marches of Wales, where his principal castle was located. The estate comprised over two thousand acres, and remained in the family until 1893, when it was sold, there being no member of the family to hold it. The castle has entirely disappeared, but it is believed to be in the ruins under the Wye, which has in the course of years changed its path. The castle was probably built on an artificial mound, surrounded by a moat fed by the river, which gradually undermined the castle, which was at last disintegrated.

I. Sir Robert de Whitney, a direct descendant of Eustace, was living in 1242, and was mentioned in the "Testa de Nevill." Three or four intervening generations cannot be stated with certainty.

II. Sir Eustace de Whitney, son of Sir Robert de Whitney, gave deed to the monastery of St. Peter in 1280, referring to and confirming the deed of his ancestors above mentioned. He was Lord of Pencombe, Little Cowarn and Whitney, in 1281; was granted free warren by Edward I in 1284; summoned to wars beyond the seas in 1297; tenant of part of the manor of Huntington in 1299; in Scotch War in 1301. He was possibly grandson instead of son of Sir Robert.

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III. Sir Eustace (2) de Whitney, son of Sir Eustace de Whitney, was knighted by Edward I in 1306, and was a member of Parliament for Herefordshire in 1313 and 1352.

(Henry Melville: "Ancestry of John Whitney.")

IV. Sir Robert (2) de Whitney, son of Sir Eustace de Whitney, was one of two hundred gentlemen who went to Milan in the retinue of the Duke of Clarence on the occasion of the latter's marriage in 1368. He was a member of Parliament for Herefordshire in 1377, 1379, and 1380, and sheriff in 1377.

V. Sir Robert (3) Whitney, son of Sir Robert de Whitney, was sent abroad to negotiate treaty with the Count of Flanders in 1388; member of Parliament for Herefordshire in 1391. He was sent to France to deliver the castle and town of Cherbourg to the King of Navarre in 1393; was knight marshal in the court of Richard II; sent on King's business to Ireland in 1394. He was killed, together with his brother and most of his relatives at the battle of Pilleth, 1402.

VI. Sir Robert (4) Whitney, son of Sir Robert Whitney, was granted the castle of Clifford and lordships of Clifford and Glasbury by Henry IV in 1404, on account of the services of his father. He was sheriff of Herefordshire in 1413-28-33-37; member of Parliament, 1416-22. He fought in the French war under Henry V, and was captain of the castle and town of Vire in 1420. He was named as one of the five knights in Herefordshire in 1433, and died March 12, 1441.

(*Ibid.*)

VII. Sir Eustace (3) Whitney, son of Sir Robert Whitney, was born in 1411. He was head of a commission sent to Wales by Henry VI in 1455, and was a member of Parliament for Herefordshire in 1468. He married (first) Jenett Russell; (second) Jane Clifford.

VIII. Robert (4) Whitney, son of Sir Eustace Whitney, was probably a knight, and was an active participant in the Wars of the Roses, and was attainted as a Yorkist in 1459. He was probably at the battle of Mortimer's Cross in 1461. He was the subject of a poem by Lewis Blyn Cothi, on the occasion of his marriage to Alice, the great-granddaughter of Sir David Gam. He married (first)

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Alice Vaughan, daughter of Thomas Vaughan; (second) Constance Touchett, who was the mother of his sons. She was descended from William the Conqueror and his second wife, Margaret of France. (Second Stowell Descent from William the Conqueror XIII.)

("Harleian Society MSS.," Nos. 1159-1442. *Ibid.*)

IX. James Whitney, son of Robert Whitney, was appointed receiver of Newport, part of the estate of the Duke of Buckingham, confiscated by Henry VII in 1522. He married Blanche Milbourne, daughter and an heiress of Simon Milbourne. Children: 1. Robert, of whom further. 2. James. 3. Watkins. 4. Elizabeth.

X. Robert (5) Whitney, son of James and Blanche (Milbourne) Whitney, was of Icomb, and in charge of other confiscated estates. He was sheriff of Gloucestershire, 1527-28-29-30. He was nominated Knight of the Bath by Henry VIII at the coronation of Anne Boleyn in 1531; was granted part of income of monastery of Brewern in 1535; furnished forty men to put down rebellion in 1536. He was named to attend upon the King's person. He died in 1541, and his will was proved June 11, 1541. He married Margaret Wye, daughter of Robert Wye. Children: 1. Robert, of whom further. 2. John. 3. Charles. 4. George. 5. William. 6. James. 7. Richard. 8. Blanche. 9. Mary.

XI. Sir Robert (6) Whitney, son of Robert and Margaret (Wye) Whitney, was knighted the day after Queen Mary's coronation in October, 1553. He was summoned before the privy council in 1555 and 1559. He was member of Parliament for Herefordshire in 1559, and died August 5, 1567. He married Sybil Baskerville, a descendant of William the Conqueror through Edward I and his first wife, Eleanor of Castile. (First Stowell Descent from William the Conqueror XIX.) Children: 1. James. 2. Eustace. 3. Robert, of whom further.

(F. C. Pierce: "Descendants of John Whitney," p. 16.)

XII. Robert (7) Whitney, son of Sir Robert and Sybil (Baskerville) Whitney, was mentioned in the will of his father, and also in an inquisition taken after the latter's death. He married Elizabeth Guillims, daughter of Morgan Guillims, or Duglim. Children: 1.

STOWELL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

William. 2. Thomas, of whom further. 3. Richard. 4. Nicholas. 5. Margaret. 6. Annie.

("Harleian MSS.," No. 1041, Visitation of London, Vol. XV, p. 157.)

XIII. Thomas Whitney, son of Robert and Elizabeth (Guillims) Whitney, was of Westminster, Gentleman, and lived at Lambert Marsh, London. He was buried at St. Margaret's, April 14, 1637. He married, May 12, 1583, Mary Bray, daughter of John Bray, of Westminster; she was buried at St. Margaret's, September 25, 1629. Children: 1. Margaret. 2. Thomas. 3. Henry. 4. Arnwaye. 5. John, of whom further. 6. Nowell. 7. Frances. 8. Mary. 9. Robert.

(Henry Melville: "Ancestry of John Whitney." Whitney: "Genealogy of William W. Rice," pp. 52-53.)

(The Family in America).

I. John Whitney, son of Thomas and Mary (Bray) Whitney, was born in 1589, and baptized at St. Margaret's in Westminster, July 20, 1592, and died at Watertown, Massachusetts, June 1, 1673. He probably received a good education for those days in the famous "Westminster School," now St. Peter's College; and on February 22, 1607, was apprenticed to William Pring, of Old Bailey, London, of the Merchant Tailors' Company, and on March 13, 1614, at the age of twenty-one, became a full-fledged member. Marrying soon after, he took up his residence at Islesworth-on-the-Thames, opposite Richmond, nine miles from London, where he lived from May, 1619, to January, 1623-24. In the record of persons permitted to embark at the port of London after Christmas, in 1634, in the Rolls Office, Chauncery Lane, we find John Whitney 25, Elinor Whitney 30, John 11, Richard 9, Nathaniel 8, Thomas 6, Jonathan 1. These ages are all too young as may be seen by the birth dates given below. They embarked in the ship "Elizabeth and Ann," in April, 1635, and arrived at Watertown, Massachusetts, in June, 1635, where John Whitney purchased a home lot of sixteen acres; but before 1642, the town had granted him nine other lots, amounting to one hundred ninety-eight acres of land. He was admitted freeman, March 3, 1635-36, and appointed constable by the General Court, June 1, 1641, selectman in 1638 and 1655, inclusive, and town clerk in 1655.

STOWELL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

John Whitney married, in England, Elinor, born in 1599, died May 11, 1659. He married (second), September 29, 1659, Judith Clement, who died before April 3, 1673. He portioned his sons before he died. Children, first six born in England, the rest in Watertown: 1. Mary, baptized May 23, 1619, died young. 2. John, born in 1620; married, in 1642, Ruth Reynolds, daughter of Robert Reynolds. 3. Richard, born in 1626; married, March 19, 1650, Martha Coldam. 4. Nathaniel, born in 1627, nothing further known. 5. Thomas, born in 1629; married, January 11, 1654, Mary Kedall (Kettle). 6. Jonathan, of whom further. 7. Joshua, born July 5, 1635, died August 7, 1719; married (first) Lydia; (second) Mary; (third) Abigail Tarball. 8. Caleb, born and died July 12, 1640, in Watertown. 9. Benjamin, born June 6, 1643; married (first) Jane; (second), in 1695, Mary Poor.

(*Ibid.* Frederic Clifton Pierce: "Whitney Genealogy," p. 22.)

II. Jonathan Whitney, son of John and Elinor Whitney, was born in England in 1634, and died in Sherborn, Massachusetts, in 1702. He was admitted an inhabitant of Sherborn in 1679, when he signed the Social Compact entered into by all the inhabitants. In 1681 he was one of a committee about the division of common lands, and signed an agreement about building a Church. He was an early settler in Sherborn in 1679, and settled near Chestnut Brook. He took the oath of fidelity in 1652. His will is dated January 12, 1702, and the agreement of his heirs is dated Charlestown, January 21, 1714.

Jonathan Whitney married, in Watertown, Massachusetts, October 30, 1656, Lydia Jones, daughter of Lewis Jones. Children: 1. Lydia, born July 3, 1657; married Moses Adams, Jr. 2. Jonathan, of whom further. 3. Anna, born April 28, 1660; married Cornelius Fisher. 4. John, born June 27, 1662; married (first) Mary Hapgood; married (second) Sarah Haven; married (third) Martha (How) Walker. 5. Josiah, born May 19, 1664; married (first) Abigail; married (second) Mary. 6. Elinor, born October 12, 1666, died November 23, 1678. 7. James, born November 25, 1668, died November 30, 1690. 8. Isaac, born January 12, 1670, died December 2, 1690. 9. Joseph, born March 10, 1672; married Rebecca Barge. 10. Abigail, born August 18, 1675, died unmarried in 1702. 11. Benjamin, born January 6, 1678; married Mercy Travis.

(Frederic Clifton Pierce. "Whitney Genealogy," pp. 23-24.)



William the Conqueror Duke of Normandy
 after he had in Battaille slaine Harold Godwinson
 bypon him the Crowne of England He raigned
 19 yeares 11 months died at the age of 74 yeares
 And lieth buried at Caen in Normandy.
 Are to be sold by Comptrol Holland overagainst the Exchange.

WILLIAM T. OF RINCELAND
from an inscription in the British Museum

WILLIAM I OF ENGLAND
From an Impression in the British Museum

STOWELL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

III. Jonathan Whitney, Jr., son of Jonathan and Lydia (Jones) Whitney, was born October 20, 1658. He had a lot and built a house near Chestnut Brook in Sherborn about 1691. He, however, did not remain long in Sherborn, for his eldest seven children were born in Watertown. He afterwards went to Concord, where he died, his will dated March 14, and proved March 18, 1735. He served in King Philip's War in 1676.

Jonathan Whitney, Jr., married Sarah Hapgood, born in 1667. Children, first seven born in Watertown, last three in Concord: 1. Sarah, born March 2, 1692; married Jonathan Warren. 2. Jonathan (3), born September 27, 1694, died young. 3. Tabitha, of whom further. 4. Shadrach, born October 12, 1698; married Mrs. Prudence Lawrence. 5. Jonathan, born November 25, 1700. 6. Anne, born May 22, 1702; married Captain Ebenezer Cutter. 7. Amos, born May 1, 1705. 8. Zaccheus, born in Sherborn, November 16, 1707; married Mary Wheeler. 9. Isaac. 10. Timothy, born February 20, 1709; married Submit Parker. 11. Daniel, born in 1710; married Thankful Allen.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.)

IV. Tabitha Whitney, daughter of Jonathan and Sarah (Hapgood) Whitney, was born in Watertown, August 22, 1696. She married (first) Jacob Fulham. (Fulham II.) She married (second), April 19, 1726, George Parkhurst; (third), August 10, 1736, Samuel Hunt.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.)

(Stowell Royal Descent from William the Conqueror).

I. William I, of England, known as the Conqueror, married Matilda, daughter of Baldwin V, of Flanders.

II. Henry I, son of William I, married Matilda, of Scotland.

III. Matilda (Maud), daughter of Henry I, was left all the possessions of her father, Henry I, but the throne was usurped by her cousin, Stephen. Upon his death it reverted to Henry II, son of Matilda and Geoffrey Plantagenet. Matilda married Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou.

(George: "Genealogical Tables, Illustrative of Modern History," No. III.)

STOWELL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

IV. King Henry II (Henry Plantagenet) reigned from 1154 to 1189. He married, in 1152, Eleanor, Countess of Poitou and Aquitaine, daughter of William of Aquitaine.

V. King Henry (Lackland), son of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, reigned from 1199 to 1216. He married, as second wife, Isabella Taillefer, of Angoulême.

VI. King Henry III, son of King John and Isabella Taillefer, reigned from 1216 to 1272. He married Eleanor, daughter of Raymond Berenger IV, of Provence.

(*Ibid.*)

VII. Edward I, King of England, son of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence, married (first) Eleanor of Castile.

VIII. Princess Joan, daughter of Edward I and Eleanor of Castile, married Gilbert de Clare.

(*Ibid.*)

IX. Eleanor de Clare, oldest daughter of Gilbert de Clare and Princess Joan, married Hugh Despencer. She was committed to the Tower in 1326.

X. Sir Edward le Despencer, son of Hugh and Eleanor (de Clare) le Despencer, married Anne de Ferrers, daughter of Sir William de Ferrers, of Groby.

(Cokayne: "Complete Peerage," Vol. IV, pp. 271-72.)

XI. Sir Edward le Despencer, Jr., son of Sir Edward and Anne (de Ferrers) le Despencer, was summoned to Parliament as Baron Despencer, December 15, 1357, to October 6, 1372, and was made Knight of the Garter. He married Elizabeth Burghersh.

(*Ibid.*, p. 276.)

XII. Margaret le Despencer, daughter of Sir Edward and Elizabeth (Burghersh) le Despencer, married Robert, Lord de Ferrers, of Chartley.

XIII. Edmund le Ferrers, son of Robert and Margaret (le Despencer) de Ferrers, married Eleanor (or Ellen) de la Roche, daughter and coheir of Thomas de la Roche, of Castle Bromwich.

(Banks: "Baronies in Fee," Vol. II, p. 121.)

MATILDA OF FLANDERS

The portraits of both William the Conqueror and his Queen-consort, Matilda, were carefully preserved on the walls of St. Stephen's Chapel at Caen, until the middle of the seventeenth century. These portraits were painted by order of the Queen, when this magnificent endowment, upon which she bestowed so much of wealth and interest, was founded. We are indebted to the antiquarian Montfaucon, for the present-day knowledge of this portrait, a copy being found in his invaluable work, "Les Monumens de la Monarchie Française."

(Agnes Strickland: "Lives of the Queens of England.")

NATIVITY OF HAZARD

The portraits of both William the Conqueror and his Queen consort, Matilda, were carefully preserved on the walls of St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster in the middle of the seventeenth century. These portraits were painted by order of the Queen, when this magnificent endowment upon which she bestowed so much of her wealth and in great was founded. It is not indeed to the antiquarian alone, but for the present-day knowledge of the portrait, a copy being found in his valuable work, "Les Monnaies de la Monarchie Française."

(*Great Britain: Lives of the Queens of England.*)



Matilda of Flanders.

STOWELL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

XIV. William de Ferrers, son of Edmund, Lord Ferrers, of Chartley, and Eleanor (de la Roche) de Ferrers, married Elizabeth Belknap, daughter of Sir Hamon Belknap.

("Visitations of County Warwick, 1619," p. 279, "Harleian Society Publications," Vol. XII.)

XV. Anne de Ferrers, daughter of William and Elizabeth (Belknap) de Ferrers, married Walter Devereaux.

(Collins: "Peerage," Vol. VI, p. 5.)

XVI. Katherine Devereaux, daughter of Walter and Anne (de Ferrers) Devereaux, married Sir James Baskerville.

XVII. Sir Walter Baskerville, oldest son and heir of Sir James and Katherine (Devereaux) Baskerville, married Anne, daughter of Morgan ap Jenkins.

(Burke: "History of the Commoners," p. 91.)

XVIII. Sir James Baskerville, oldest son of Sir Walter and Anne (Morgan ap Jenkins) Baskerville, married Elizabeth Breynton, daughter of John Breynton, of County Hereford.

XIX. Sybil Baskerville, daughter of Sir James and Elizabeth (Breynton) Baskerville, married Sir Robert Whitney. (Whitney-XI.)
(*Ibid.*)

XX. Robert Whitney, son of Sir Robert and Sybil (Baskerville) Whitney, married Elizabeth Cuillims or Duglim.

XXI. Thomas Whitney, son of Robert and Elizabeth (Cuillims or Duglim) Whitney, married Mary Bray.

XXII. John Whitney, son of Thomas and Mary (Bray) Whitney, married (first) Elinor; (second) Judith Clement.

XXIII. Jonathan Whitney, son of John and Elinor Whitney, married Lydia Jones.

XXIV. Jonathan Whitney, son of Jonathan and Lydia (Jones) Whitney, married Sarah Hapgood.

XXV. Tabitha Whitney, daughter of Jonathan and Sarah (Hapgood) Whitney, married Jacob Fulham. (Fulham II-b.)

STOWELL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

XXVI. *Francis Fulham*, son of Jacob and Tabitha (Whitney) Fulham, married Susanna Hammond. (Hammond IV.)

XXVII. *Lucy Fulham*, daughter of Francis and Susanna (Hammond) Fulham, married Samuel Harris. (Harris V.)

XXVIII. *Sarah Harris*, daughter of Samuel and Lucy (Fulham) Harris, married Browning Hubbard. (Hubbard III.)

XXIX. *Lucy Ann Hubbard*, daughter of Browning and Sarah (Harris) Hubbard, married Frederick Manning Stowell. (Stowell VII.)

(Second Stowell Royal Descent from William the Conqueror).

First six generations same as Stowell Royal Descent from William the Conqueror.

VII. *Edward I*, King of England, son of Henry III and Eleanor of Provence, married (second) Margaret, daughter of Philip III of France.

(George: "Genealogical Tables, Illustrative of Modern History," No. IV.)

VIII. *Edmund* of Woodstock, son of Edward I and Margaret of France, married Margaret Wake, daughter of John, Baron Wake.

IX. *Joan*, daughter of Edmund of Woodstock and Margaret Wake, married Thomas Holland, Knight of the Garter, Captain-General of Brittany, France, and Normandy. He died in 1360.

(*Ibid.*)

X. *Thomas Holland*, Earl of Kent, Baron Holland, married Alice Fitz-Alan, daughter of Richard, Earl of Arundel.

(Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. III, p. 417. Burke: "Royal Families," Vol. I, p. xxxvi.)

XI. *Thomas (2) Holland*, Earl of Kent, Duke of Surrey, had by Constance Langley, daughter of Prince Edmund de Langley, granddaughter of the Duke of York, a natural daughter, Eleanor, of whom further.

XII. *Eleanor*, natural child of Thomas (2) Holland, married James Touchett. He was at battle of Blore Heath in 1459.

THE CASTLE OF FALAISE

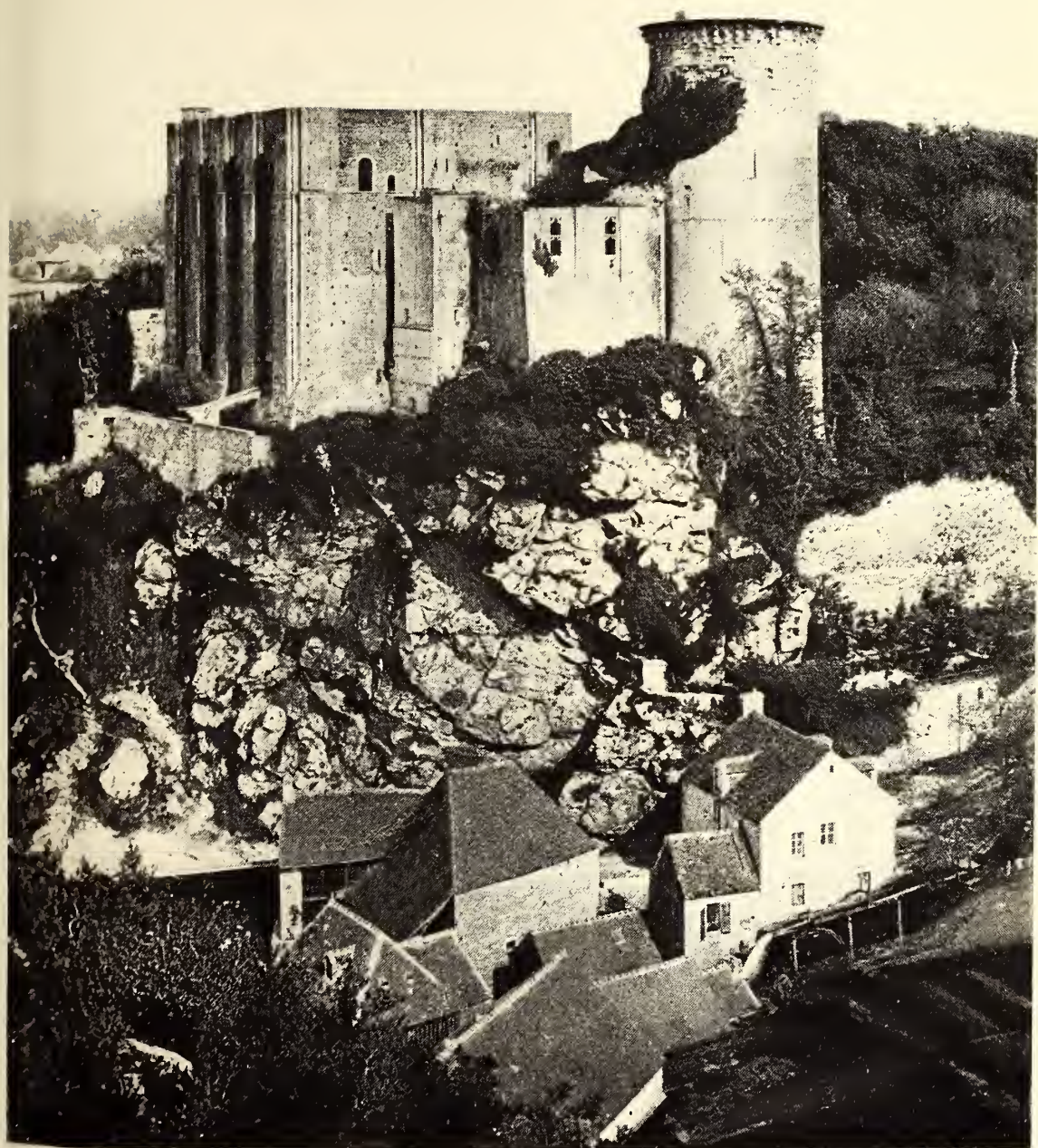
The picturesque castle of Falaise will always be known best as the birthplace of William the Conqueror, son of Duke Robert of Normandy, and Arlette, daughter of a tanner. The castle, one of the most interesting of the Norman castles of France, was most strongly fortified, a place indeed constructed for war; the ease and comfort of civilization had no part in its building. In a room a little better than a cell or a cave in a vast mountain of masonry, William the Conqueror of England was born.

(Walter Cranston Larned: "Churches and Castles of Medieval France.")

THE CASTLE OF TALAISE

The picturesque castle of Talaise will always be known as the birthplace of William the Conqueror, son of Duke Robert of Normandy and Adeline, daughter of a tanner. The castle, one of the most interesting of the Norman castles of France, was most strongly fortified, a place indeed considered for war, the ease and comfort of civilization had no part in its building. In a room a little better than a cellar, he gave in a vast mountain of masonry, William the Conqueror of England was born.

(Was the Conqueror named: "Clintches and Castles of Al-ah-dal" (Talaise))



THE CASTLE OF FALAISE

STOWELL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

(Banks: "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," Vol. III, pp. 768-69.)

XIII. Constance Touchett, daughter of James and Eleanor Touchett, married Robert Whitney. (Whitney VIII.)

(Collins: "Peerage," Vol. VI, p. 551.)

(The Pierce Line).

Peirce and its variants, Pears, Piers, Pierce, were first applied to a son of Peter, from the old French Pierre. The name was extremely familiar in all parts of England but lost much of its popularity after the Reformation. Tradition has it that the remote ancestors of this family were among the population of weavers who were induced by Edward III to remove from Flanders into the eastern counties of England.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames.")

I. John Pers (or *Peirce*), of Norwich, Norfolk County, England, was born about 1588, and died in New England, August 19, 1661. He was a weaver and in 1637 immigrated to New England with his wife and four children, and one servant, John Gedney, aged nineteen years. They came on either the ship "John and Dorothy," of Norwich, or the "Rose" of Yarmouth. John Peirce was at that time forty-nine. Their five eldest children are believed to have preceded their parents to America. They settled at Watertown, Massachusetts, where John Pers was grantee of one lot and purchaser before 1644 of three lots, one of which was his homestead of twelve acres. After his death his inventory amounted to two hundred and seventy-one pounds and seven shillings.

John Pers married, in England, Elizabeth, born about 1588, and died in Watertown, Massachusetts, March 12, 1666-67, "aged about 79." Children: 1. Anthony, of whom further. 2. Esther, married, in 1636, Joseph Morse. 3. Mary, married Clement Coldam. 4. Robert, born about 1620; married Mary Knight. 5. John, married Elizabeth. 6. Barbre. 7. Elizabeth, married, in 1643, John Ball, Jr. 8. Judith, married, January 30, 1644-45, Francis Wyman.

(F. C. Peirce: "Peirce Genealogy," pp. 17-18. Hurd: "Representative Citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," p. 602.)

II. Anthony Peirce, son of John and Elizabeth Pers, or Peirce, was born in England, in 1609, and died in Watertown, Massachusetts,

STOWELL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

May 9, 1678. In an English record, entitled "Plymouth Febr. 1633. Passengers in the Robert Bonaventure for St. Christophers," and endorsed on the outside of the cover: "The names of such as passed out of the poart of Plimworth Ano Dme 1634," appears this entry: "Anth: Pearse of St. Breage, 16." The list is followed by: "Recd for these: All Husbandman bound to serve here, some 3 and some 4 yeares." It is believed that Anthony preceded his father to America, and the foregoing entry seems to bear proof of it, the age 16 probably an error for "26."

Anthony Peirce settled in Watertown, Massachusetts, and owned land in that portion of the town near the Cambridge line. His homestead was on the north side of the road from Cambridge, and was later the residence of his sons, Joseph and Benjamin. He also owned a farm of eighty-six acres. On September 3, 1634, he was admitted a freeman. The inventory of his estate included one hundred and twenty-five acres of land, dwelling house, barn and out buildings, orchard, three cows and an old horse, of which the value was given as £303 11s. 1d.

Anthony Peirce married (first), in England, Mary, who died in 1633, and the same year he married (second) Ann, who died January 20, 1682-83. Children: 1. John, "eldest son," married, April 15, 1656, Ruth Bishop. 2. Mary, born December 28, 1633, probably died young. 3. Mary, born 1636; married Ralph Read. 4. Jacob (or Jared), born September 15, 1637; was living in 1683. 5. Daniel, born January 1, 1639-40, died in 1723; married Elizabeth. 6. Martha, born April 24, 1641. 7. Joseph, married (first) Martha; (second) Elizabeth Winship. 8. Benjamin, of whom further. 9. Judith, born July 18, 1650, died June 20, 1723; married, February 16, 1666-1667, John Sawin.

("New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XIV, p. 340. F. C. Peirce: "Peirce Genealogy," p. 21.)

III. Benjamin Peirce, son of Anthony and Ann Peirce, was born in 1649. He was admitted freeman April 18, 1690. He married, in Watertown, Massachusetts, January 15, 1677-78, Hannah Brooks, daughter of Joshua and Hannah (Mason) Brooks. Her father came from London and was a Representative of Concord, Massachusetts, for seven years. Hugh Mason, the father of Hannah Mason, was

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one of the very first settlers of Watertown, and was an active man there, being a town representative for many years, and a captain. Children: 1. Hannah, born December 25, 1679. 2. Benjamin, born April 29, 1682, died in November, 1683. 3. Grace, born January 4, 1685. 4. Sarah, born January 1, 1687. 5. Daniel, of whom further. 6. Lydia, born October 3, 1692; married Thomas Eaton. 7. Hannah, born January 2, 1700.

(F. C. Peirce: "Peirce Genealogy," p. 28.)

IV. Daniel Peirce, son of Benjamin and Hannah (Brooks) Peirce, was born August 22, 1689, and died in Watertown, Massachusetts, November 7, 1737. He was a selectman in the town in 1731-32-34-37. The inventory of his estate showed him to be a man of well-to-do circumstances, as it amounted to £3,113-04-8. He married Rebecca Converse. (Converse IV.) Children: 1. Esther, born June 22, 1714; married John Hoar. 2. Benjamin, born February 10, 1716, died November 19, 1737. 3. Sarah, born June 5, 1721, died November 21, 1737. 4. Lucy, of whom further. 5. Hannah, born November 1, 1724. 6. Ruth, born November 21, 1728; married James Thomas. 7. Samuel, born February 12, 1730, died young. 8. Mary, born November 6, 1736-37, died young.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.)

V. Lucy Peirce, daughter of Daniel and Rebecca (Converse) Peirce, was born March 6, 1722. She married Thomas Harris. (Harris IV.)

(*Ibid.*)

(The Conyers (Converse) Line).

Arms—Azure a maunch or.

Crest—A trefoil slipped and erect vert.

(Burke: "General Armory.")

One origin of the name Converse is from a nickname "the convert," meaning one who had become an adherent of the church, and submitted to church ordinances. This was doubtless derived from the Latin *conversus*, "turned about." It was also spelled *Conversus* and *Convers*, and is in records of the counties of Gloucester, York, Norfolk, and Cambridge in 1273.

The Converse family of America, however, springs from the old English armorial family of Conyers. The original seat of this family was in Navarre, France, from whence Roger de Coigniers, who was

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born about 1170, emigrated to England toward the end of the reign of William the Conqueror. Roger de Coigniers received from the Bishop of Durham the constablership of Durham, and it was his family which gave the suffix to Howton Coigniers, County York.

A descendant of Roger de Coigniers, Conyers of Harden, Durham, was created a baronet July 14, 1628. Sir Humphrey, the eighth generation, wrote the name Coigniers, and Sir Christopher, the twentieth generation, adopted the orthography of Conyers. After the emigration of the family to America the name underwent the natural change to Conyers, and some still retain that form, while others have changed the y to v, giving the familiar form of Convers and Converse.

The following pedigree of Edward Convers, founder of the American family, is given by J. J. Putnam, in his "Family History in the Line of Joseph Convers of Bedford, Massachusetts":

I. Roger de Coignerries, Coignerries, France, and Durham, England, born about 1010.

II. Rober de Coignerries, Durham, England.

III. Roger de Coniers, Durham and Sockburn, England.

IV. Galfrid Conyers, Sockburn, England.

V. John Conyers, Sockburn, England.

VI. Sir Humphrey Conyers, Sockburn, England.

VII. Sir John Conyers, Sockburn, England.

VIII. Roger Conyers, Sockburn, England.

IX. Sir John Conyers, Sockburn, England, died in 1395.

X. Robert Conyers, Sockburn, England, was born in 1371, and died in 1433.

XI. John Conyers, Hornby, England.

XII. Sir Christopher Conyers, Hornby, England.

XIII. Sir John Conyers, Hornby, England.

XIV. Sir John Conyers, Hornby, England.

XV. Reginald Conyers, Wakerly, England, died in 1514.

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XVI. Richard Conyers, Wakerly, England.

XVII. Christopher Conyers, Wakerly, England, baptized in 1552.

XVIII. Edward Convers, Wakerly, England. Generation I in America.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames," p. 201. C. A. Converse: "Some of the Ancestors and Descendants of Samuel Converse, Jr.," Vol. II, pp. 857-58. J. J. Putnam: "Family History in the Line of Joseph Convers of Bedford, Massachusetts," pp. 9-11.)

(The Family in America).

I. Deacon Edward Convers, the oldest of eight children of Christopher and Mary (Halford) Conyers, was born in Wakerly, Northampton County, England, January 30, 1590, and died in Woburn, Massachusetts, August 10, 1663. Early in July, 1630, he landed with his family at Charlestown, Massachusetts, where his name is fourth on the list of thirteen original inhabitants. Together with his wife he united with the First Church in Boston; they were dismissed two years later, when, with thirty-three others, they founded the historic First Church in Charlestown, in 1632. Edward Convers was admitted freeman in 1631, and the same year obtained from Legislature a grant and lease for the first ferry from Charlestown to Boston, which was under his control for several years, until he surrendered his legal rights for the benefit of Harvard College. When "Charlestown Village" was incorporated as the town of Woburn, in 1642, Edward Convers was the head of several commissioners who were appointed to settle its affairs. Previous to this he had been chosen one of the deacons of "Charlestown Village," and he was elected on the first board of selectmen in the new town, continuing to serve for nineteen successive years. In 1660 he was commissioned to act as deputy to the General Court. He built the first house in the new town, now on Main Street in the town of Winchester, the house-warming when he first moved into it taking place January 4, 1640. The dimensions of the house were thirty-five by thirty feet; it was two stories high in front and one in the rear, and its valuation was six hundred and fifty dollars. Edward Convers probably married (first) Jane Clark, of Theckenham, England, who is supposed to have died before 1617; (second), in England, Sarah, who died January 14, 1662; (third), September 19,

STOWELL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

1662, Joanna Sprague, who died February 24, 1680. Children of second marriage: 1. Josiah, of whom further. 2. James, born in England in 1620, died May 10, 1715; married (first) Anna Long; (second) Anna (Sparhawk) Cooper. 3. Mary, born in England in 1622; married (first) Simon Thompson; (second) John Sheldon, of Billerica. 4. Samuel, baptized January 12, 1637, died February 20, 1669; married, June 8, 1660, Judith Carter.

(J. J. Putnam: "Family History in the Line of Joseph Convers, of Bedford, Massachusetts," pp. 12-14. "Woburn Vital Records.")

II. Deacon Josiah Convers, son of Deacon Edward and Sarah Convers, was born in England in 1617, and died in Woburn, Massachusetts, February 3, 1689, aged seventy-two. He died intestate, and the inventory of his estate was £646-8-6. He married, March 26, 1651, Esther Champany, daughter of Richard Champany, of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Child: 1. Josiah, of whom further.

(William G. Hill: "Genealogy of One Branch of the Converse, Wheaton and Coolidge Families," p. 115.)

III. Captain Josiah Convers, Jr., son of Deacon Josiah and Esther (Champany) Convers, was born March 15, 1660, at Woburn, Massachusetts, died July 15, 1717, aged fifty-eight, the inventory of his estate being £1,444-9-1. In his will he mentions all of his children, most of whom were married at that time. He married, October 8, 1685, Ruth Marshall, of Woburn. Children: 1. Ruth, born May 28, 1686; married William Symmes. 2. Hester, born October 3, 1688, died November 7, 1703. 3. Josiah, born February 8, 1691, died December 30, 1693. 4. Timothy, born July 6, 1693, died September 14, 1693. 5. Rebecca, of whom further. 6. Josiah, born April 14, 1697, died April 30, 1697. 7. Kesiah, born March 27, 1699; married Henry Spring. 8. Mary, born January 12, 1702; married John Fowle, Jr. 9. Josiah, born April 25, 1704, died in 1774.

(*Ibid.*, p. 116. C. A. Converse: "The Converse Family and Allied Families," Vol. I, p. 17.)

IV. Rebecca Convers, daughter of Captain Josiah and Ruth (Marshall) Convers, was born November 2, 1694, and died March 4, 1737. She married Daniel Peirce. (Peirce IV.)

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.

REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF AMERICANA, published quarterly at Somerville, New Jersey, for October 1, 1933.

State of New York, }
County of New York, } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared M. L. Lewis, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the Americana, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

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MARION L. LEWIS, President.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of September, 1933.

(Seal.)

FREDA M. KELLER,
Notary Public, Bronx County, No. 35,
Certificate filed in N. Y. Co., No. 298,
(Commission Expires March 30, 1934.)







CADWALADER COLDEN, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE COLONY OF NEW
YORK, 1761-1775.

VOL. XXVIII

APRIL, 1934

NUMBER 2

AMERICANA

ILLUSTRATED



THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.

SOMERVILLE, NEW JERSEY, AND NEW YORK CITY

Entered at the Post Office in Somerville, N. J., as Second Class Matter, under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

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The American Historical Society, Inc.

AMERICANA

Published by THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC., formerly published by the National Americana Society. Issued in quarterly numbers at \$4 per annum; single copies \$1. Publication Office, the C. P. Hoagland Company Building, 16 Union Street, Somerville, N. J.

AMERICANA is a Quarterly Magazine of History, Genealogy, Heraldry, and Literature. Manuscripts upon these subjects are invited, and will be given early and careful consideration. It is desirable that contributions should contain not less than two thousand nor more than ten thousand words. Contributors should attach to their manuscript their full names, with academic or other titles, and memorandum of number of words written.

All correspondence relating to contributions should be addressed to the Editor.
All communications should be addressed:

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Somerville, N. J., or 80-90 Eighth Avenue, New York City

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AMERICANA

April, 1934

The Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York

BY L. ELSA LOEBER, LIBRARIAN, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE
STATE OF NEW YORK, NEW YORK CITY



HEREAS, mercantile societies have been found very useful in trading cities for promoting and encouraging commerce, supporting industry, adjusting disputes relative to trade and navigation, and procuring such laws and regulations as may be found necessary for the benefit of trade in general;

For which purpose, and to establish such a society in the City of New York, the following persons convened on the first Tuesday in, and being the 5th day of April, 1768:

John Cruger,
Elias Desbrosses,
James Jauncey,
Jacob Walton,
Robert Murray,
Hugh Wallace,
George Folliot,
William Walton,
Samuel Verplank,
Theophylact Bache,

Thomas White,
Miles Sherbrooke,
Walter Franklin,
Robert Ross Waddle,
Acheson Thompson,
Lawrence Kortright,
Thomas Randal,
William McAdam,
Isaac Low,
Anthony Van Dam.

The following gentlemen, who are of the Society, not being present, assented to same:

John Alsop,
Henry White,

Philip Livingston,
James McEvers.¹

1. "Colonial Records of the Chamber of Commerce," p. 3.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, STATE OF NEW YORK

These are the words with which the records of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York are opened. The "mercantile societies" mentioned in the resolution undoubtedly refer to those which had for almost three centuries been operating in France. An organization known as "La Chambre de Commerce de Marseilles" was established by an act of the Conseil de Ville August 5, 1599, and associations bearing that title had been "several times suppressed and regularly restored"² in Marseilles since early in 1400. Organizations of similar name followed at later dates and in other cities due to the gradual dismemberment of the ancient trade guilds. These associations flourished on the continent of Europe, but did not find their way into Great Britain; they were composed of merchants elected to membership by the commercial community; they became semi-official bodies and were granted powers which included the issuing of money and the making of commercial laws. Continental chambers today still retain many of these powers and are still very definitely official groups subsidized by the government and drawing their financial support from a tax on merchants.

The Chamber of Commerce of the City of New York in America was the first organization to be formed differing radically in its administration from the European groups, although the two had a common purpose—the protection and advancement of trade. The New York Chamber, founded April 5, 1768, was unique in being entirely free from government affiliation, maintained solely by membership dues, and composed of members who voluntarily associated themselves with the declared purposes of the body. It is this type of organization which has gradually developed in the United States and Great Britain and which has taken such an important part in the commercial life of both countries. Chambers of Commerce occupy such a permanent place in the scheme of business that they are now taken for granted, but it is not so many years ago that they were to be found only in large commercial and industrial centers. They have an interesting history, the basis for which is to be found in the records of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York.

The twenty gentlemen who, on April 5, 1768, met in the Long Room of Fraunces Tavern and, with four not-present colleagues, formed the unique commercial body, were the recognized leaders of

2. Joseph B. Bishop: "Chronicle of 150 Years," p. 1.



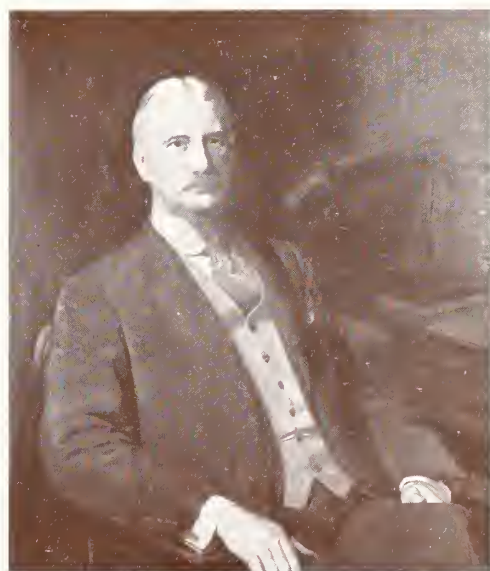
ABIEL ABBOT LOW
President of the Chamber, 1863-1867



CHARLES L. BERNHEIMER
Chairman, Committee on Arbitration, 1911-



ALEXANDER E. ORR
President of the Chamber 1894-1899
President of First Transit Commission



EUGENIUS H. OUTERBRIDGE
President of the Chamber of Commerce
1916-1918
First Chairman, Port of New York Authority

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, STATE OF NEW YORK

the business, social and political life of New York City. Their names reveal Dutch, French, and British ancestry, but they themselves were all loyal British subjects. Many became historic personages, and their names endure to the present day in descendants, and in the nomenclature of New York City streets. They were opposed to England's high-handed measures, but had no thought of breaking with her, and, through the Acting Lieutenant Governor of the Colony, Cadwallader Colden, they petitioned for and received a charter from King George III, in 1770.

They were intensely devoted to the Colony and its best interests. In 1765, John Cruger, who two years later was elected the first president of the Chamber of Commerce, drew up the famous "Declaration of Rights and Grievances of the Colonists of America," adopted by the Stamp Act Congress of the Colonies assembled in New York. On November 1 of that same year the people of the city hung the effigy of Lieutenant Governor Colden, and on the following day were preparing to march on Fort George, opposite the Bowling Green, intent upon destroying the "stamps" recently arrived from England, and the fort with them if needs be. John Cruger, Mayor of New York, accompanied by the aldermen and the "Merchants of this City and Colony," persuaded the Governor to give them the revenue stamps and thus avert bloodshed.³ At the Colonial General Assembly, begun April 4, 1769, it was moved "That the Thanks of this House be given to the Merchants of this City and Colony for their repeated disinterested public-spirited and patriotic conduct in declining the importation or receiving of goods from Great Britain, until such Acts of Parliament as the General Assembly have declared unconstitutional and subversive of the rights and liberties of the people of this colony should be repealed. . . ."⁴ These "thanks" were duly acknowledged on May 2, 1769, by the Chamber of Commerce, which also "flatter themselves that their endeavors to promote the Trade of the Colony will always merit and receive the protection of the Legislature in general and this Honorable House in particular."⁵ Unfortunately it was the last Colonial Assembly held in New York. The organizers of the Chamber of Commerce who were so valiant in their opposition of unjust oppression by the Mother Country, and who in the founding of

3. "Colonial New York," p. 10.

4. "Journal of the General Assembly, 1769."

5. "Records of the Chamber of Commerce," p. 42.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, STATE OF NEW YORK

that body unconsciously assisted in the founding of a free and independent republic, declined, for the most part, to carry opposition to the point of revolution.

We are, however, somewhat ahead of our story chronologically. The successful opposition to the Stamp Act gave impetus to the idea of a permanent organization for the protection and promotion of business interests. If the unorganized coöperation of the merchants of the city could produce such important results it was evident that a formal and close-knitted body could produce even greater results in the promotion of the peaceful pursuits of commerce. And the very nature of the grievances which first had united them, probably made the founders realize that a body entirely separated from, and independent of, government control would be distinctly advantageous. Hence the formation of a Chamber of Commerce which differed so greatly from the kind already functioning in other cities of the world.

In spite of the fact that tax problems were partly responsible for its origin, the Chamber seems not to have concerned itself very much with them in the pre-Revolutionary period. Instead, it concentrated its energies and attention on matters closely affecting business and commerce. It recognized the tremendous natural endowment of the port and foresaw the possibilities of its future greatness. The work that was done in these years laid the foundations on which New York's present supremacy is built. Laxity in business methods and lack of leadership in New York had made Philadelphia and Boston the more important ports. The members of the Chamber, therefore, felt that to establish principles of fair dealing, to improve the quality of exported articles, and to eliminate fraud in the handling of goods at the port must be their first concern if they would surpass their rivals.

Wheat and flour were the main exports of the Colony. Many complaints had arisen over the quality and price of these commodities and charges of fraud in the making of casks and the weighing of flour had been made. To remedy this situation the Chamber demanded a more rigid inspection system. Millers and flour dealers combined to oppose the Chamber's action, but when an agent was sent to Philadelphia to purchase a large quantity of flour to be disposed of on the account of the Chamber under the proposed new rules, they surrendered unconditionally. In 1769 an amendment to the Inspection Act of Flour was endorsed by the Chamber and adopted by the Legis-

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, STATE OF NEW YORK

lature. In 1770 the matter was again considered in connection with recommendations made before the Chamber by Isaac Low, who said: "But experience has evinced that a due regard has not been paid to these particulars, . . . whence I infer that our present Inspectors are either from their great Age become too dim sighted, and want the sense of feeling to distinguish properly, or that they do not sufficiently understand their Duty. I therefore propose, that if Younger Men and better Judges can be found, they be recommended to the Legislature as Inspectors of Flour; which, as we confessedly have better Wheat ought to have the preference, rather than be in disgrace, as is notoriously the present case at all Markets."⁶

This is only one of the instances of the public service rendered by the Chamber during the period, but it was along such lines and with such insistence that the members were led, as Mr. Low writes: "Cheerfully to embrace the means which shall appear to them most likely to promote the great object of their steady pursuit, The Good of Their Country."⁷

The Revolutionary War presented an interlude in the activities of the Chamber, during which meetings were held irregularly and few members were added to the lists. With the close of the war and the resumption of trade the organization took up its interrupted existence. It welcomed back to its membership those who, either from necessity or choice, had left the city for the duration of the war, and it reincorporated under the laws of the newly formed State of New York as the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, which is the name it has used ever since.

The powers conferred by the new charter were somewhat broader than they had been under the royal charter and the Chamber's sphere of influence was somewhat widened. It is not surprising that the "town meeting" plan of organization should have been used by the founders, for that was the favorite method of conducting assemblies during the colonial period, and it is the most democratic government in the world, but to have continued this form through all the years has made the New York Chamber unique. It is the only one which is so governed. Every member has the right to attend meetings, to voice his opinion, and to vote. Every officer and committee is required to report directly to the body itself. While action under this plan is slow

6. "Colonial Records of the Chamber," p. 111.

7. *Ibid.*

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, STATE OF NEW YORK

and comparatively few subjects may be considered in a given time, it is correspondingly more conservative and representative. This method of procedure necessitates a limited membership, which naturally becomes a selected one, to which attaches a certain amount of prestige. In contrast to this, other commercial bodies, as a rule, are organized on the corporation plan. Policies are decided upon and opinions voiced by a group of directors elected by as large a membership as it may be possible to obtain. This kind of organization makes for quick action, but, obviously, opinions arrived at by a comparatively small group cannot represent the thought of the community with the same force as they do under the town meeting plan of government.

Its form of government is practically the only one of its early traditions which the Chamber has retained. A student of manners and customs of the colonial and revolutionary periods will find in the records numerous illuminating details. To members of the present day these are amusing by reason of their contrast with current customs. The meetings were held monthly at six o'clock in a "Proper room—provided at the expense of the members so that it doth not exceed one shilling per man, which each person is to pay to the Treasurer at their respective meetings."⁸ The members talked over and debated the subjects before them as they sat around a table and smoked their pipes, ate bread and cheese, and drank beer, all of which items, including the pipes and tobacco, the Treasurer was empowered to provide. Today the Chamber owns its own building, which it occupies exclusively, holds its meetings at noon in the Great Hall, lined with a famous collection of portraits of its members and officers, and the Treasurer no longer supplies either bread and cheese or beer.

In order to secure regular attendance at the meetings a system of fines was inaugurated and maintained for many years. These underwent numerous changes and were at times quite complicated, but the original resolution says: "Every member not attending the monthly meeting, to forfeit and pay to the Treasurer two shillings, and such who do not attend the quarterly meeting, to pay four shillings for non-attendance, unless some cause, judged reasonable by the Society, is admitted by them as sufficient. Sickness, and being absent at least six miles from the city, to be always allowed sufficient reason for non-attendance."⁹ It was the custom of the Secretary to list in the minutes

8. "Colonial Records of the Chamber," p. 5.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 7.



BUILDING OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, STATE OF NEW YORK

of each meeting those members who were absent. Frequently he has indicated beside the name the excuse for such absence. We find "in the Jerseys," "In Bloomingdale" (the present site of which is Broadway and 96th Street), "in the gout," and other similar phrases.

Banqueting seems to have been as honored a custom in 1769 as it is today, for as soon as the Chamber found a good excuse, which happened to be the completion of their first year of existence, they proclaimed a "Publick dinner at the expense of each member, absent members to pay five shillings."¹⁰ A bill for a banquet given during the hilarious celebrations of the evacuation of the British is certified by a Committee of Chamber of Commerce members and itemizes, among other things: "120 dinners, 135 bottles Madira, 36 bottles Port, 60 bottles English Beer, 30 Boulders Punch, 60 Wine Glasses Broken, 8 Cutt decanters Broken, Coffee for 8 Gentlemen." These records at least show that a change has come over certain aspects of our public life since that time which some one has called "the earlier and better days of the Republic."

The Chamber has made it a practice never to seek applause from the public nor to claim credit for its attainments. To estimate fully the results of its efforts is often impossible and sometimes, indeed, quite futile. There are, however, certain achievements in which the Chamber has been recognized as the prime mover. Three illustrations of the many which might be chosen will serve to show the character of the matters with which the Chamber concerns itself and will at the same time establish the fact that the position which it proudly claims as the leading commercial organization of the country is not claimed undeservedly.

One subject which has occupied the attention of the Chamber continuously through its entire history is that of commercial arbitration. At its second meeting on May 3, 1768, there was appointed a committee "for adjusting any differences between parties agreeing to leave such disputes to this Chamber."¹¹ Facilities for arbitration have always been available but the methods used have changed and been perfected. The earliest method of appointing a monthly committee to handle the disputes was replaced in 1874 by a Court of Arbitration in connection with the Chamber created by State legislation. For a

10. "Colonial Records of the Chamber," p. 44.

11. "Colonial Records of the Chamber," p. 8.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, STATE OF NEW YORK

number of years Judge Enoch L. Fancher functioned as its arbitrator and, as referee, rendered his decisions on the briefs submitted to him. In 1911 the present system was adopted. A formal arbitration is now conducted under rules established by an elected standing committee of the Chamber and before arbitrators who are chosen by the parties to the dispute from a "List of Official Arbitrators" selected from the members of the Chamber who have signified their willingness to serve in such a capacity.

As the work of this committee grew it found that there were certain injustices involved in the practice of arbitration in this country, notably that an arbitration clause in a contract was not irrevocable. In England the courts had decided many years ago that such a clause must be enforced. Believing that our practice did not work creditably to our merchants the Chamber, through its Committee on Arbitration, undertook to have the laws of the State of New York changed to remedy this defect. After a campaign lasting seven years the New York Legislature in 1920 passed the desired law, and in 1925 a Federal law, similar to that passed in New York, was achieved through the further efforts of the same committee, of which Mr. Charles L. Bernheimer has been chairman since 1911.

The present system has met with most gratifying success. It is not limited to the Chamber's members nor confined to persons or firms resident in New York. In several instances one of the parties has been the representative of a foreign government. In the few exceptional instances when the arbitration has been appealed to the Supreme Court of the State, the awards made by the Chamber's arbitrators have been upheld by the court. At present many trade and other commercial institutions have established some system for dealing with commercial disputes, but the Chamber points with pride to its clear title as the first organization to provide merchants of New York with the means for settling disputes out of court and of saving them the expense and tedium of legal procedure.

In any commercial community transportation is a subject of great interest. New York City has had to concern itself not alone with the handling of freight and passengers to and from distant points, but has had, as well, the tremendous problem of local transit. The New York Chamber has played an important rôle in the solution of both of these problems. It has given its best efforts and large sums of money in making and in maintaining New York's supremacy. The inaugura-

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, STATE OF NEW YORK

tion and development of canals and railroads have always claimed its interest. The Erie Canal and the Erie Railroad were projects which had its enthusiastic support. Later, when the first transcontinental railroad was proposed, the Chamber bent every effort to aid in the realization of the scheme. Again, through all the intricacies of an always intricate freight rate situation it has staunchly stood for New York's rights and has materially aided in the establishment and maintenance of an equitable freight rate structure. Local and selfish interests have many times been attributed to projects which the Chamber has approved in this connection, but the Chamber itself has always emphasized the broader application and pointed out that any scheme which aided New York's commercial facilities and importance must inevitably be followed by benefit to the entire country.

The local problem has been of equal importance. The rapid growth of the city beyond the confines of Manhattan Island and the long distances which resulted between business and residential centers created a situation of which leaders had been conscious for many years, but which between 1890 and 1900 became intolerable. Between the years 1868 and 1900 many plans for providing rapid transit by means of subways had been proposed. Members of the Chamber were interested in all of them and when in 1875 the mayor of the city was authorized by the State Legislature to appoint a Transit Commission to decide whether the city really needed rapid transit, two of the five members were from the Chamber of Commerce. For almost twenty years this problem of subways was discussed by the several commissions which held office. It had been definitely decided at last that adequate transit facilities could be obtained only by the construction of an underground railroad, but no plans could be agreed upon and none were brought to fruition. In 1894 the situation became so acute that something had to be done at once. The Chamber prepared to make a special study of the problem and appointed a notable committee headed by Mr. Alexander E. Orr. In a report made by that committee the Chamber proposed a new departure "without precedent in the history of the United States or the State of New York or the City of New York. They propose that the credit of the City of New York shall be loaned to a private company for the construction of a work of a public nature but to be owned and administered by private individuals."¹²

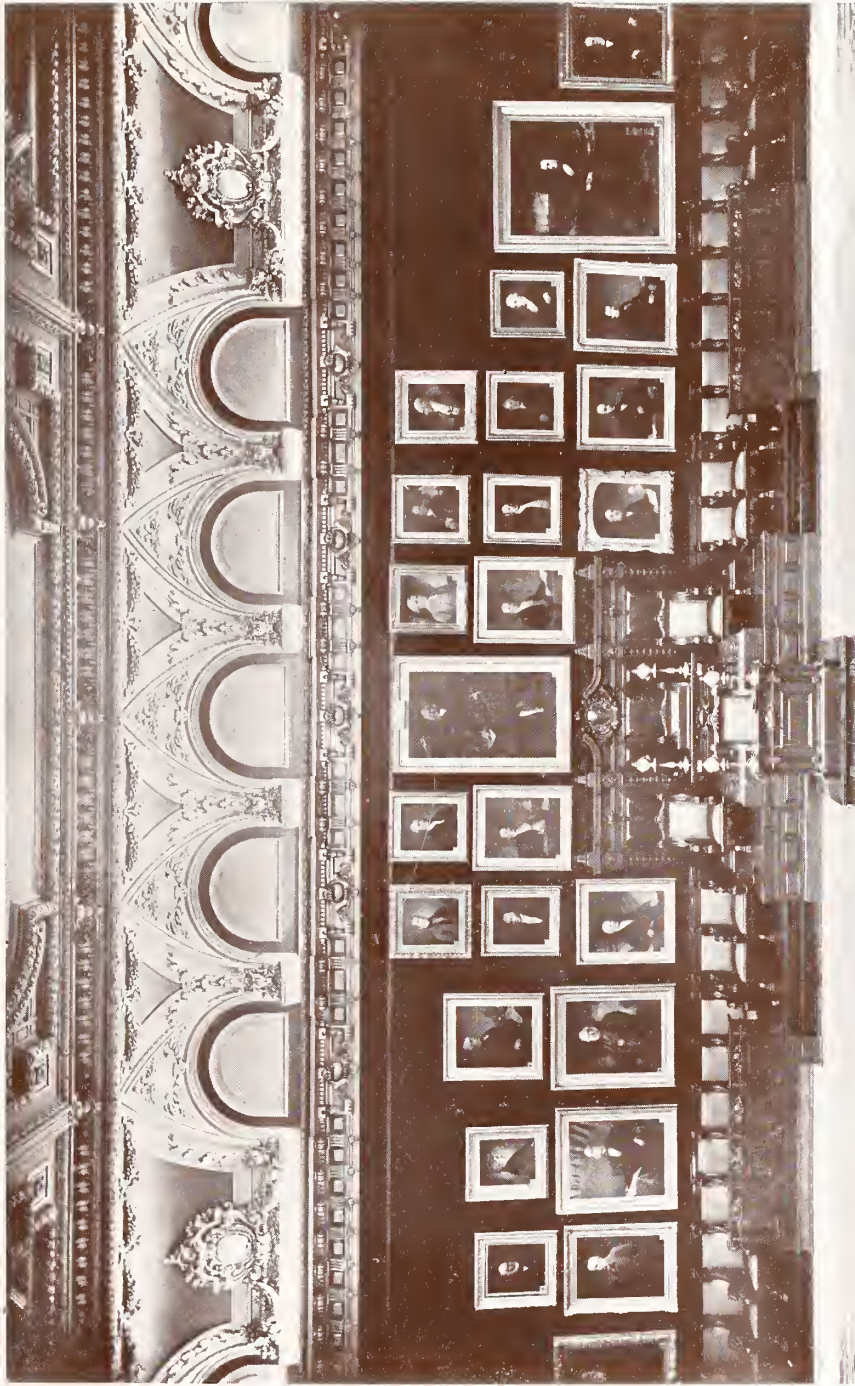
12. "Annual Report of the Chamber," Vol. XXXVI, p. 96.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, STATE OF NEW YORK

A bill was drawn up by the Chamber embodying the principles and proposals expressed in the report, and was introduced into the Legislature. It was passed and signed by the Governor May 22, 1894. The Chamber of Commerce had worked two months on a problem that had engaged the earnest attention of the city for over a quarter of a century and had found the correct solution. The principle of private operation under municipal ownership was introduced into our economic system. The Transit Commission, appointed as a result of the new legislation, was headed by Mr. Orr, then president of the Chamber, and was composed entirely of members of the Chamber. Under their leadership the first subway was built and opened to the public in October, 1904. A tablet in City Hall Station testifies to the part played by the New York Chamber of Commerce and the rapid transit facilities of the city stand as a lasting memorial. In the whole history of its accomplishments the Chamber has had no greater achievement than to prove that a great public work can be "conceived, organized and carried out freed from those political entanglements which so often prove a source of waste and extravagance."¹³

A third monument of last credit to the New York Chamber is the Port of New York Authority. The Port of New York is indisputably one of the finest in the world. Its supremacy has been jealously guarded and the Chamber has done its part in maintaining that supremacy and in combatting the forces which have endeavored to undermine it. There have been three points of attack—the enterprise of rival ports in building up their own facilities; their attempts at securing discriminating freight rates; and the attempt to create an unnatural division of the port itself by developing the New York and New Jersey sides separately. The most recent and most vital of these is the last. As a result of the efforts on the part of the Chamber in 1916 to preserve the unity of the port came the recognition of the fact that the time had come for New York and New Jersey to coöperate in this great project. The Chamber took the initial steps which brought the Governors of the two states together; the appointment of a bi-State commission followed. This commission recommended the creation of a port body in which both states should share the responsibility equally. By treaty signed in the Great Hall of the Chamber in 1920 the Port of New York Authority was created. Its

13. "Chamber of Commerce, Report on Rapid Transit," p. 287.



GREAT HALL OF THE CHAMBER, SHOWING THE PRESIDENT'S DESK

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, STATE OF NEW YORK

first chairman was a former president of the Chamber, Mr. Eugenius H. Outerbridge, who had been a leader in the movement from the beginning. The work which the Port Authority has done in the comparatively few years of its existence has proved again the value of the Chamber's disinterested service.

No other organization has survived continuously over a period of one hundred and sixty-five years as has the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York. It has never deviated from the fundamental purpose for which it was formed; its field of action has varied and matters have been approached from whatever angles the exigencies of the times and the particular situation demanded; it has strictly adhered to a policy which was first voiced in a report made in 1851: "If we speak upon every topic we shall soon cease to be heard upon any. The Chamber cannot step out of its true path without lessening its dignity, impairing its usefulness and detracting from the weight of its judgment."¹⁴ There has been a remarkable continuity of thought and agreement on principles of policy and procedure in spite of changes in personnel, in leadership, in conditions of living and doing business, and in the needs of the community through the course of more than a century and a half.

"No one can read the proceedings of the Chamber as they are recorded in the annual reports without being deeply impressed with the untiring zeal and keen intelligence with which its members sought month by month and year by year to aid and advance the interests of trade and commerce by securing improvements in the harbor; better wharves and docks; better lighting of the channels and approaches; desirable amendments in the revenue, quarantine, warehouse, custom house and similar laws; additional safeguards in ocean travel; better life-saving devices; improvement and enlargement of railway and canal transportation; in short, whatever was needed to enhance the welfare and strengthen the fame of the city as the first commercial metropolis of the world. Although not always immediately successful in these efforts, the records show that perseverance and determination almost invariably won in the end, with the general effect not only of widening the field of activity but placing the commercial interests of the city and Nation on a sounder and more creditable basis."¹⁵ The

14. "Manuscript Records, 1851."

15. Joseph B. Bishop: "Chronicle of 150 Years," p. 92.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, STATE OF NEW YORK

attributes which have secured this permanence and remarkable success to the New York Chamber of Commerce may be briefly summarized: It has met a real commercial need; it has adhered strictly to the sphere of duty assigned by its founders; within its sphere it has rendered essential service to the community and to public interests; it has maintained a high standard of business dealing; it has brought to bear enlightened judgment on all subjects which have been submitted to it; it has sought to gain its ends by appeal only to the best in the citizenry of the city and the Nation.

At a meeting of the Chamber May 1, 1783, Mr. Abiel A. Low, a former president, said: "It is by uniting many wires that the heavy cable is constructed, by means of which we bridge over the turbulent waters, and pass with convenience and safety from one city to another; so in like manner, it is, that when great exigencies arise, by an organization like this, we concentrate many voices into one, and that voice becomes potential, extending to and moving the remotest springs of human action." This in the final analysis, is the only means through which any chamber of commerce is able to function. In more recent times it has been called "forming public opinion."

In 1772 the Chamber took as its motto "*Non nobis nati solum.*" (We are not born to ourselves alone.) Only in so far as it has remembered and acted in accordance with this sentiment has the Chamber been really successful; only so long as it continues to do so will it prosper in the future.

NOTE: The illustrations for this article were made from paintings in the collection owned by the Chamber.



Archibald Stobo, of Carolina---Presbyterianism's Stormy-Petrel

BY MARY-ELIZABETH LYNNAH, CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA



IN September 3, 1700, two stormy-petrels were blown into Charles Town harbor. Alike in many other respects, in this they differed, the one was a man, the other a bird.

The Rev. Archibald Stobo, rigid Scotch Presbyterian that he was, unquestioningly attributed his sudden and unforeseen arrival on Carolina shores to his involuntary execution of a complicated life-programme, personally prearranged for him by an indefatigable Destiny.

Stobo's ornithological prototype, however, having enjoyed only a more or less limited education, and being a practical sort of creature, simply and whole-heartedly blamed the rapidly gathering hurricane for his enforced detention in this foreign port.

Whether it was Destiny, or the terrific convulsion of nature which drove the travelers into the haven of Charles Town, remains unproved. This much, however, is known. Both lives were saved, and after the violent hurricane had spent itself, the bird struck out for its home port, whereas the Scotch clergyman settled down in Charles Town with his good wife and little pocket Bible, his sole remaining possessions, thus entering upon a stormy but impressive ministerial career, which was to terminate only at his death, some forty years later.

So far as can be determined, there remains to us today no attempted word or brush portrait of the Rev. Archibald Stobo, as he appeared to his contemporaries. There is, of course, the possibility that a forgotten likeness of this distinguished churchman lies moulding in some dust-powdered Charleston attic, just as there is the added probability that ancient Edinburgh trunks may conceal, along with their faded eighteenth century love notes and creamy brocades, some correspondence relating to, if not actually penned by, the stern hand of this revered Colonial clergyman.

It seems natural, however, to picture Archibald Stobo in his prime as a man of average stature, somewhat thickly and soberly set, pos-

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sessed of an imposing brow surmounted by crisp black hair, and having the firmly drawn mouth and darkly burning eyes of the zealot. To all outward appearances, a typical Scotch Presbyterian minister, Stobo was, without a doubt, dyed in a far more potent solution of Presbyterian bigotry than the remainder of his fellow-clergymen.

This very fact went far toward establishing his reputation as a noted Dissentist divine. Archibald Stobo was literally immersed in church tradition from the very time of his birth, which, though unrecorded, may be said to have taken place in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, as Edinburgh University files show that he matriculated there on March 16, 1691, graduating on June 25, 1697.

His immediate forebears are unknown, although it is believed by some that he was the son of one John Stobie (Stobo), a merchant of Edinburgh, whose most noteworthy achievement appears to have been his marriage to one Anna Maxtoun on June 5, 1623, less than one month after he had become first the husband and then the widower of one Euphans Adamsone. The dates of these marriages, however, repudiate this otherwise plausible solution. This much may, nevertheless, be said for Archibald Stobo's antecedents. The Stobo family was held in great esteem in Scotland, and its members residing for the most part in the counties of Lanark, Peebles and Dumfries, were able to trace their lineage back some four hundred years, numbering among their ancestors large landowners and officials of the Crown and the Church.

The very name "Stobo" (also spelled Stubhoc, Stobhow, Stobhope, Stoboe, and Stobie) vouches for the family's antiquity, having been originally employed to designate a parish or mensal barony belonging, until the Reformation, to the Church of Glasgow. The people living on these church lands, and paying fealty to the Abbot or Bishop presiding over their respective barony, in time appropriated the name of the lands on which they lived, and became known as the Stobos.

In the year 1699, two events of momentous importance in the life of Archibald Stobo took place—his marriage, and subsequent debarcation on the Second Darien Expedition. On July 9, 1699, two years after his graduation from Edinburgh University, "Mr. Archibald Stobo, probationer," and Elizabeth Park, the daughter of James Park, writer, deceased, were united in the holy bonds of matrimony.

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As a young probationer Stobo had already completed his theological training, and had been appointed by his presbytery to preach the Gospel until, by his ordination to a charge, he should also be empowered to administer the Holy Sacrament. His marriage to the daughter of the "writer," or advocate, took place in the city of Edinburgh, and was, from all indications, the culmination of a very real romance, which outlived young love, and mature passion, bringing at the end contentment and a sense of fulfillment.

About two weeks later, Stobo, together with the Rev. Alex. Shields, Francis Borland, and Alexander Dalyliesh, were the recipients of a commission addressed to them as "the Presbytery of Caledonia," and dated July 21, 1699. Stobo, together with the other clergymen, was therein charged by the General Assembly, at the request of the Darien Company, a large stock company, to put himself in readiness to sail with the Second Darien Expedition.

In 1698, the Scotch had determined upon the foundation of a new Caledonia on the Isthmus of Darien, near the Panama Canal's present site. The first Expedition, which had sailed from Leith on July 25, 1698, had met with meagre success, due to the inexperience of their leader, a little-known man by the name of Patterson. With true Caledonian persistence, however, the Darien Company embarked on a follow-up campaign. The Rev. Archibald Stobo, now fully ordained to the Presbytery, accompanied by his young wife, was in September, 1699, assigned quarters on board the "Rising Sun," a sixty-gun vessel commanded by one Captain Gibson, and enjoying the distinction of being the largest of the flotilla of four comprising the main body of the Second Colony Expedition, and transporting about 1,200 men.

Disaster hovered around the Colonists from the time they put out to sea. One of their ministers, the Rev. Mr. Dalyliesh, died at sea between Montserrat and Darien, and gloom immediately encompassed those remaining. They could only look upon Dalyliesh's sudden death as a grim foreshadowing of the certain defeat in store for them. The crescent fears of the Colonists by slow degrees became realities, and the enterprise was acknowledged by all to be incapable of success.

Darien itself was reached after many horrifying days spent on the horizonless Atlantic, but disease, hostile Spaniards, Indians and the treacherous climate combined with the sorely diminished stores to make the Colonists forget their dreams and demand that their leaders

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turn back, in an effort to reach their old home, before starvation and slow death should utterly defeat them.

Even the zealous preachings and abundant admonitions of the Presbyterian ministers were of no avail, so far as raising the spirits of the forlorn expeditionists was concerned. In fact, they merely dampened them. Attendance upon the religious services was disconcertingly small. The clergymen wrote home that one-third of the Colonists were "wild Highlanders, that cannot speak Scotch, which are barbarians to us, and we to them."

As to the Indians of the Isthmus—they lamented sorely the fact that they could make no headway in converting them, as they lacked not only a personal understanding of their queer language, but also the necessary interpreter. It was for this reason that the Rev. Mr. Stobo and his fellows felt it their duty to concentrate their entire prayers and thought on their Scotch charges, whom they daily exhorted to ignore their present sufferings, which were, indeed, but their destined lot on earth. In severest terms, they complained to headquarters, moreover, of the rank obscenity, profanity, drunkenness and open contempt for the Gospel ordinances prevalent among the Darien expeditionists.

The Colonists, on the other hand, unreservedly denounced their religious leaders as sheer fanatics, refused to attend the protracted services, and actually became so hardened as to ignore the harrowing threats of a hereafter in which fire and brimstone would play major rôles. Everything considered, it must be admitted that the Rev. Mr. Stobo and his associates, in spite of their excellent intentions, did much to injure the colonial cause. By carrying the doctrine of Predestination to vast extremes, and declaring that the outcome of all acts depended not upon the doer of the deed, but rather upon the whim of Destiny, they stamped out all tentative ambition in the Colonists, and thus completely defeated their original purpose.

There soon remained no further excuse for lingering on in Darien. The leaders realized that unless the homeward trek was begun at once, there would be none left alive to recount the horrors of the Second Expedition. In seven vessels, therefore, they set sail for Scotland. Had it not been for the assistance rendered by the Spaniards, who were overjoyed at the Scots' withdrawal from the Isthmus, the Darien Colonists would have been forced to abandon their largest

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vessel, the "Rising Sun." Only with the greatest difficulty did they succeed in getting the ship out of Darien Harbor, and, had it not been for this hard-earned success, the Rev. Archibald Stobo would never have enjoyed the reputation of being the first Presbyterian minister to set foot on South Carolina's sands.

Of the seven vessels plowing northward up the Atlantic Coast, in a desperate effort to make Scotland, only Captain Campbell's ship and one other actually reached their home port, and scarcely more than thirty Colonists survived the ordeal. The "Rising Sun," with the Rev. Mr. Stobo and his brave young wife on board, was one of the five vessels lost. Heading northward up the stormy Atlantic seaboard, and buffeted by mountainous waves, the "Rising Sun" resembled nothing more closely than a floating hospital, wherein the advantages of scientific sanitation were quite unknown. The very fact that the ship bobbed about so freely on the heavy seas added greatly to the distress of the passengers, the vast majority of whom, weakened by the prolonged privations and unhealthy diet, were fast falling a prey to "malignant fevers and fluxes." The deaths among the Colonists reached an alarming figure, and, when the captain of the "Rising Sun" ran into a heavy gale off Florida, he put in closer to the coast, planning to seek a port should the weather conditions grow worse.

By the time the Carolina shoreline hove into view, it had become apparent that the storm in the making would prove nothing short of a hurricane when it broke. Captain Gibson immediately headed for Charles Town, South Carolina, under a jury-mast, reaching that port on the morning of September 3, 1700. For once, the ship appeared quite safe, and consternation was forgotten as she rested at anchor, in the unexpected calm, just outside the Charles Town Bar, waiting until her load could be sufficiently lightened to permit her entering the harbor proper.¹ During the lull in the storm, the Rev. Mr. Stobo and

1. "A tradition prevails, that about the year 1700 a large vessel, supposed to be the 'Rising Sun,' with 346 passengers on board, came without a pilot up Sampit creek to the place where Georgetown now stands; but finding no inhabitants there but Indians, the captain made for Charleston. On his arriving near the bar, he was boarded by a pilot, who told him that his vessel could not enter the Harbor without lightening. The captain being in distress, sent his long boat with the Rev. Mr. Stobo and some others to solicit assistance. Before the boat returned a hurricane took place, in which the vessel and every soul on board were lost. Tradition states further, that the same hurricane broke open the north inlet, and that previously there had been only one inlet from the sea to Winyaw bay. That a vessel came over Georgetown bar without a pilot which could not cross Charleston bar with one, if true, is very remarkable. It is rendered probable from the circumstance that the bar of Georgetown has from that time to the present been constantly growing worse." Ex.: "Statistical Account of Georgetown," appended to Ramsay's "History," Vol. II, 590, Charleston, 1809.

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a special committee went into town in the ship's long-boat, to arrange for a pilot and fresh provisions.

The presence of a Scotch Presbyterian minister in Charles Town being something of an event, Stobo's identity was immediately discovered by some members of the Congregational Church, whose minister, a Mr. Cotton, had died only a short while before. At once a deputation of three waited upon Stobo, insisting that he do them the honor of preaching to their Dissentist congregation.² Archibald Stobo, flattered by the invitation, and tempted by the opportunity to assist in the spread of the Gospel among the people of pleasure-loving Charles Town, went over to the Congregational meetinghouse, together with his wife, and Lieutenant Graham, James Byars, David Kennedy, Lieutenant Durham, Ensign John Murray, Ensign Robert Colquhoun, William Bready, John Spence, James Dick, Alexander Hendric, John Miker (a boy), and James Pickens.

That very night a terrific hurricane swept the Carolina Coast. The "Rising Sun" crumpled up like so much cardboard, sucking down to the sea-floor in its wreckage the captain and his three hundred and forty-six passengers. Only the Rev. Archibald Stobo, his wife, and the men that had accompanied him to Charles Town prior to the tempest, escaped the wholesale slaughter.

In this manner the minister found himself stranded in Charles Town, with only his faithful wife and little pocket Bible remaining to console him. Saturated as he was in the doctrine of Predestination, Stobo could only regard his remarkable escape in the light of an act of Divine Providence, signifying that Charles Town was henceforward to be his charge. How he reconciled the preservation of the other members of his party, excepting Mrs. Stobo, is not recorded. His attitude toward those who perished, however, was cold and unsympathetic. Like many of his faith back in Scotland, he sincerely believed that Captain Gibson, for one, had been visited by heavenly retribution for his terrible mistreatment of some unfortunate prisoners, whom he had transported to the Colony, back in 1684.

2. The story also goes that the Rev. Mr. Stobo came up to Charles Town at the request of a young couple desiring to be married by a Presbyterian minister. Although this is a more romantic version than the one given above, the existing records of the Congregational Church in Charleston bear out the first story, reading as follows: "Mr. Stobo, one of the passengers, was invited by a deputation of 3 members of this church to preach while the 'Rising Sun' dallied for supplies. He accepted the invitation and came up to Charlestown with the deputation on the day before the hurricane commenced. His life was thus providentially saved."

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And, as for his justification of the annihilation of the wretched Colonists, it is best to refer to his fanatical letter, addressed to the Rev. Mr. Borland, a minister of Glassford:³

I do not doubt [he wrote] but you have heard how narrowly I escaped the judgement that came upon the Rising Sun; I and my wife were scarce well gone from her, when wrath seized upon her; and after our departure the storm came so sudden, that none could find the way to her. It was the Lord's remarkable mercy that we were not consumed in the stroke with the rest. They were such a rude company, that I believe Sodom never declared such impudence in sinning as they; any observant eye might see that they were running the way they went; hell and judgement was to be seen upon them and in them before the time. You saw them bad, but I saw them worse; their cup was full, they could hold no more; they were ripe, they must be cut down with the sickle of his wrath. Here I lost my books and all, and have only my life for a prey, with my skin as it were in my teeth.

Mr. Stobo, however, was not to remain in this confusing condition for long. The members of the Congregational Church saw in his miraculous escape so closely related to the affairs of their meeting-house a sign that Stobo had indeed been sent by Providence to fill the pulpit so recently vacated by their deceased Mr. Cotton. Accordingly, the devout man was besought to become their fourth minister. Stobo immediately acceded to the request, and from September, 1700, to the year 1704, served the Congregational Church diligently.

"Not far off, by Cartarett Bastion, is the Presbyterian Meeting-house, of which Mr. Archibald Stobe (Stobo) is Minister," wrote Oldmixon, in his "Carolina"; and on Crisp's map of Charles Town, drawn in the year 1704, Stobo's residence is shown as being situated on King Street above Queen, and one of the largest houses in the growing community.

So far as any actual records of his labors and accomplishments as pastor of the Congregational Church are concerned, none are to be found. His worth and success must be inferred from his deeds themselves rather than from any written account. Absence of church records is explained in the Register of the Independent Congregational

3. The Rev. Mr. Borland, one of the few Darien colonists of the last expedition to reach home, included this letter in his "History of Darien," written in America in 1700.

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Church, dating from 1732-96, wherein the following notation is to be found in faded, yellowed ink:

MEMORANDUM,

There was a former Register kept, belonging to the Meeting-House & Congregation;—which by Misfortune of the Great-Hurricane that happened the 5th & 6th Sept^r: 1713; was lost; when the House where the late Rev^d: Mr. W^m: Livingston, minister, dec: then lived (and in whose possession it was) at White-Point, in Charles Town, in this Province, was washed & carried away, by the over-flowing of the Sea.

Informⁿ: of John Tipar—

Prest: clerk.

Feby: 8th 1733.

Although the Register for 1700-04, the years of Stobo's pastorate at the Charles Town church, was lost during the ministry of his successor, the Rev. Mr. Livingston, Dr. Hewatt, an early arrival in the province paid a glowing tribute of affection to Archibald Stobo:

"He possessed those talents which render a minister conspicuous and respected. To his treasures of knowledge and excellent capacity for instruction, he added uncommon activity and diligence in the discharge of the various duties of his sacred function. No minister of the colony ever engrossed so universally the public favor and esteem."

The knowledge, therefore, that Archibald Stobo, in spite of apparent success, was actually forced to resign from his position in the Congregational Church, in Charles Town, embodies a certain element of shock, but, upon examination can be readily understood.

Three factors were responsible for Stobo's enforced withdrawal, namely: his over-abundant zeal in spreading the Gospel, his own unbending will in adherence to principles of the church in Scotland, and the all important element of political pressure. No minister ever applied himself more unreservedly and selflessly to his charge. The fault lay in the fact that he overstepped the limitations of reason. The dissatisfaction among the members of his congregation was chiefly of a personal nature. For one thing, when deeply moved, Stobo's sermons were often prolonged throughout the better part of the day. At first hypnotized by the force of his vivid faith, the congregation gradually accustomed itself to his commanding presence, and with the passing of the sense of novelty, became rather querulous about the heavy demands made upon their time.

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In Mrs. Flud's MS. history of the Legare family, there is recounted the following anecdote of an open rebellion on the part of one Solomon Legare, "the first emigrant," and the Rev. Mr. Stobo. Although extremely amusing, the incident inclines one to sympathize with the unfortunate minister.

"Mr. Legare," writes Mrs. Flud, "was strict in the observance of regular hours, and to his great annoyance, the Rev. Mr. Stobo, who preached at one time in the Congregational Church, gave sermons of such unusual lengths that they often interfered with the dinner hour. At length Mr. Legare was determined to submit no longer to such irregularity and the next Sabbath he got up, with his family, in the midst of the discourse, and was about to leave the church, when the Rev. Scotch gentleman perceiving his intention, called out from the pulpit: 'Aye, aye, a little pitcher is soon fill!' Upon which irreverent address the Huguenot's French blood became excited, and turning himself about in the middle of the aisle, he still more irreverently, and not altogether to his credit, retorted, 'And you are an old fool!' He then quietly went home with his family, ate his dinner, returned with them to the church, and then listened to the balance of the discourse as gravely as if nothing unusual had occurred."

"What the failings of Mr. Stobo were, we are not informed," writes Howe in his history of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina. "We judge him to have been a man of most decided character, uncompromising in his assertion of what he believed to be right and in his denunciation of what he knew to be wrong. He was too earnest an adherent of Presbyterian government to please all parties in the church at Charleston."

"He had a natural aversion from the Episcopal jurisdiction. The governor and his adherents found it necessary," says Hewatt, "to sow the seeds of division among his fellows, and from maxims of policy, to magnify his failings, in order to ruin his great power and influence."

In this connection, it is interesting to note a letter written by Dr. LeJau, a contemporary of Stobo, holding the position of rector of St. James' Parish, Goose Creek, near Charleston. The letter, dated April 15, 1707, gives the Episcopal point of view and reads:

One Mr. Stobo has printed a covenant subscribed by 46 of his Presbyterian Meeting (Meeting-house). . . . I read only the two first and two last leaves; my patience was sufficiently tried then; he

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binds them to a Presbyterian congregation forever in Church discipline, doctrine and government, as set down in the Old Testament. That christenings, marriages and burials shall be among themselves, that their ministers shall come from Scotland, such as he, Mr. Stobo can comply with, that upon Sabbath days they shan't go to other places but the Meeting (Meeting-house) in Charles Town or must meet among themselves rather than by gadding abroad for strengthening others vice and giving offence to one another. The conclusion is most horrid; the 46 men subscribe to those promises as the revealed truths of Jesus Christ. I would read no more; yet I am promised one of the printed papers and will send it to you: however the subscription was not 12 months old but they turned the man out to put in a young man lately come.

Dr. LeJau, in referring to Stobo's successor, neglected to state that the young Livingston surprised the congregation he inherited by possessing just those qualities for which Stobo was condemned.

Archibald Stobo's career, as might have been expected of such a man, did not come to a sudden conclusion, upon his ejection from the church in Charles Town, in the year 1704. From that year on his importance and influence steadily increased throughout the Colony. Under his supervision and leadership was established the first Presbyterian in South Carolina, and the third in America. According to the old Register of the present Circular Congregational Church of Charleston, "he lived nearly half a century afterwards and became the founder of a numerous family, and also of several churches on the Presbyterian plan in different parts of the Province."

Of Stobo's family life, practically nothing is known, with the exception of his undiminished devotion to his wife, Elizabeth. So far as can be learned, his "numerous family" consisted simply of two sons and two daughters, which appears rather diminutive, as families of Presbyterian ministers grew in those days.

Of his activity as an organizer of churches, however, there is much to be said. Six years after Stobo's resignation from the Congregational Church in Charles Town, a letter bearing the date June 1, 1710, mentions the fact that there were already "five churches of British Presbyterians" in South Carolina. As no churches of the Presbyterian denomination existed in South Carolina prior to Stobo's appearance, to him alone must go the credit for the foundation of these five churches at Wilton, James Island, Cainhoy, John's Island, and

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Edisto, as well as the foundation of the Bethel Presbyterian Church in 1728.

Whether or not Archibald Stobo actually removed his residence from Charles Town to Wiltown is not known. The church at Wiltown, however, became his particular charge after 1704, as well as his pet obsession. It was, in fact, Stobo's first brain-child, and as such he loved it. His choice of Wiltown, or Wilton as it is also called, was a natural one. Wiltown was probably the second town to be settled in South Carolina, Charles Town alone having the right to claim seniority, and as such its inhabitants must have early begun to feel the need for a local church, as the distant Charles Town often proved impractical as a place to worship because of the rigors of the climate, and the uncertain methods of transportation.

The little settlement seems never to have attained to any real size or distinction. Because of its proximity to the more flourishing Charles Town, its advantages as a trading port, if any, were sadly overlooked. The site, moreover, although most beautifully placed on a bluff overlooking fertile rice fields, was quite incapable of defense, should an invader put in an appearance; and the surrounding fresh waters of the lazy South Edisto were most conducive to the spread of malaria. Although Oldmixon speaks of the Wiltown of Stobo's time as boasting some eighty houses, such prosperity is difficult to believe. If the number of dwellings is correctly given, this must certainly have been Wiltown's Golden Age.

It is practically impossible to secure material evidence relating to the history of Wiltown Church, as whatever records existed in Stobo's time, were destroyed when the original meetinghouse perished. No sessional records are to be found, and the "Minutes of the Board of Trustees," are of no assistance to the historian, as they only go back a few years. Some interesting facts, however, are to be learned upon examination of the records of the church's financial affairs. It is to be inferred from these accounts that a very compact and efficient Presbyterian organization sprang into being shortly after Archibald Stobo's arrival at Wiltown.

The original meetinghouse was, in spite of the fact that four acres had been set aside to contain a church (on the plan of the town), erected high up on the bluff overlooking the river. There is extant, moreover, a list of subscribers for building a Presbyterian meeting-

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house in Wiltown, dated 1731. At this meetinghouse the Rev. Archibald Stobo was preaching on September 9, 1739, when news reached his congregation of a terrifying negro insurrection, in progress at Stono, a few miles distant.

The insurrection, an indirect result of secret workings of hostile Spaniards who were engaged in tampering with the negroes of Florida and the Creeks in Georgia in order to turn them against the English Colonists, was the only negro revolt to come to a head during the one hundred and ninety years since Governor Yeamans had brought the first slaves to South Carolina. It seems that the Stono negroes, having gotten wind of a similar insurrection down in St. Augustine, had determined to follow the example set by their fellow-Africans. Five negroes, servants of one Captain McPherson, opened hostilities on that eventful day in September by wounding their master's son, killing another man, and escaping unpunished. Shortly afterwards, a crowd of negroes gathered at Stono, and, after surprising two young men who were guarding a warehouse packed with arms and ammunition, killed the youths and appropriated the contents of the warehouse. Thus weaponed, they elected one black "Cato" captain, and with savage, rumbling drums and flags at their head, they marched southwest, killing the whites, looting and burning their houses, and compelling all slaves to follow them, thereby greatly strengthening their forces.

It happened that old Governor Bull, himself, was returning that day to Charles Town. He encountered the insurrectionists, and having caught sight of their armed condition, skillfully outrode them, and hastened *via* the John's Island route to warn Charles Town of the approaching hordes. A certain Mr. Golightly, moreover, also had the ill fortune to come upon the slaves, as they marched toward Wiltown. Remembering the gathering at Wiltown Presbyterian Church, Mr. Golightly had the presence of mind to make all possible speed in that direction. He rushed into the meetinghouse just as the Rev. Archibald Stobo was addressing a large and attentive congregation.

Formalities were waived, and immediately upon Mr. Golightly's transmittal of the alarming news, the clergyman, together with the men of the congregation, who as planters were required by law to go armed at all times, locked their frightened wives and bewildered children in the little meetinghouse, and set out in search of the negroes.

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By the time the Wiltown militia reached the raving slaves, the negroes had congregated in an open field, and were busy celebrating the havoc they had wrought over the 15 miles they had traversed uninterrupted. Among other objects which they had stolen from the houses of their white victims was a goodly quantity of old rum. It was, moreover, their enjoyment of this rum in their victory celebration that proved their undoing.

The Rev. Mr. Stobo and his militant congregation, under the capable leadership of a Captain Bee, easily surrounded the negroes, who were by this time, dancing and singing in a drunken frenzy in the glow from the burning plantation house which they had recently looted.⁴ The militia carefully closed in on the rebel negroes. "Cato," their captain, was killed just as he finished emptying one musket into the Presbyterians, and was in the act of unloading a second. A few of his "soldiers" also perished, but the vast majority hurried off to their respective plantations, hoping to take advantage of their masters' absence at church services, thereby escaping detection. A few guilty ones, no doubt, escaped their just punishment, but a substantial number of the insurgents were rounded up and executed. Only those slaves who had been compelled to join the rebels were pardoned.

When the whites counted heads, twenty in all had been lost forever, but it was universally agreed that, had it not been for the alacrity and efficiency of the Rev. Mr. Stobo's Wiltown congregation, matters would have been considerably worse. Archibald Stobo's participation in this subjugation of the maddened slaves may be pointed out as a final highlight in his adventurous and tempestuous career as a servant of the Presbyterian Church. His remarkable ministry must have ended soon after this, for in a document dated October 15, 1741, and located in the archives of the church at Wiltown, his death is referred to as a recent event, and his will, proved and recorded in Charles Town on November 28, 1741, read as follows:

In the name of God Amen. I, Archibald Stobo of Colleton Co. in the Province of S. C. Minister of the Gospel, being weak in the body but sound in mind and judgement do make and ordain this my last will and Testament, as follows:

In primis, I give grant and bequeath unto the Presbyterian congregation of Willtown the sum of one hundred pounds current money of

4. The plantation house in question once stood on a piece of ground known since the insurrection by no other name than "The Battlefield."

ARCHIBALD STOBO, OF CAROLINA

the said Province towards the future support of a Presbyterian minister in that congregation.

ITEM, I give grant and bequeath a mourning ring unto each of my two sons James and William Stobo.

ITEM, I give grant and bequeath a mourning ring unto each of my two daughters, Jean Bulloch and Elizabeth Stanyarne.

ITEM, I give grant and bequeath a mourning ring to each of my two sons in law James Bulloch and Joseph Stanyarne.

ITEM, I give grant and bequeath a mourning ring unto my daughter in law Elizabeth Stobo.

ITEM, I give grant and bequeath unto my loving wife Elizabeth, her heirs, Executors. Adms. and Assigns the whole and full remainder of my Personal Estate together with the whole and all of my Real Estate, Hereby constituting ordaining and appointing her, my Beloved Wife together with my two sons James and Wm. Stobo Executors. of this my last Will and Testament, and hereby revoking and annulling all other and former last Wills and Testaments by me made.

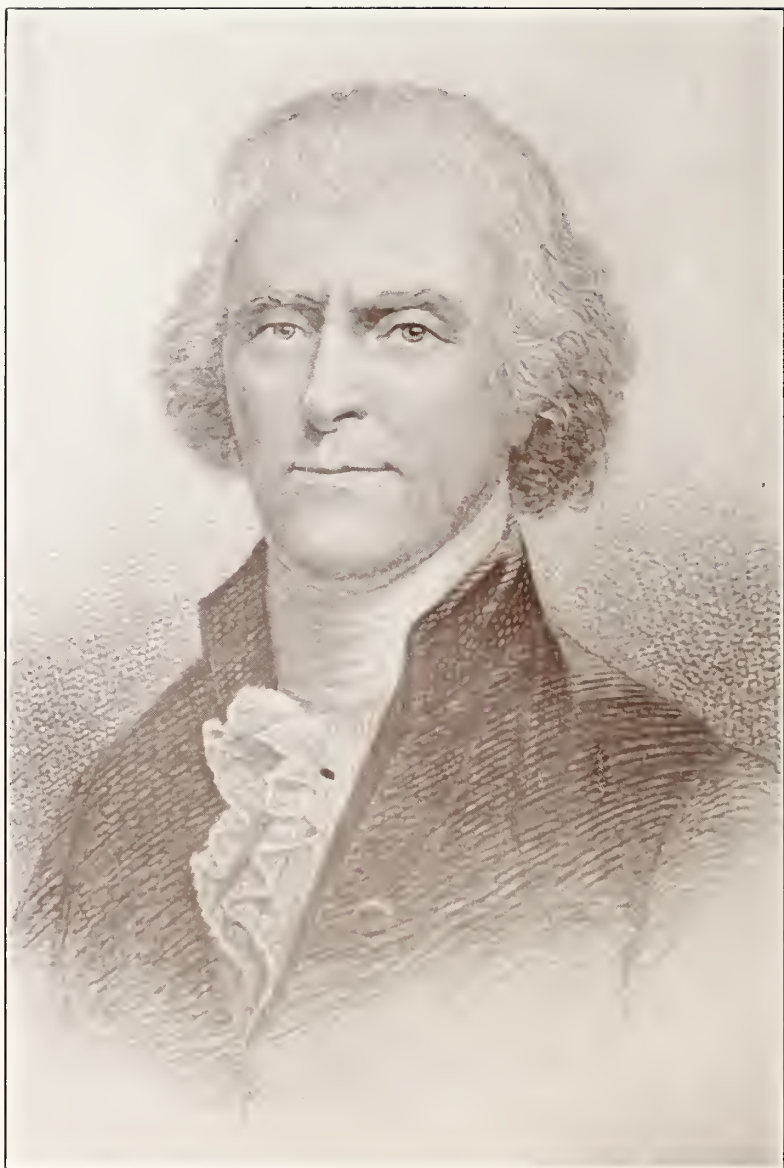
In witness whereof I here unto set my hand and seal this 25 Feb. 1735-6.

ARCH'D STOBO.

In presence of
Geo Mitchell
Eliza Didcott
Tabitha Peter

Stobo's will was drawn up several years before his death, the exact date of which, like many other facts of his life, remains a mystery. His burial place, if not unmarked, is yet unknown. The constant and unending growth, however, of the Presbyterian Church in the State of South Carolina stands out as an enduring and most worthy monument to his great memory.





THOMAS JEFFERSON, VIRGINIA, THE SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES, 1797-1801

The Vice-Presidency of the United States*

BY LOUIS CLINTON HATCH, PH. D., OF BANGOR, MAINE

*Revised and Edited by Professor Earl L. Shoup, Department of
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HE Vice-President is usually thought of as a shadowy creature only important as a possible successor of the President. But there is attached to the Vice-Presidency another office by nature wholly independent, that of President of the Senate; and because of this union the country had a Vice-President exercising his functions before it had a President; and, technically speaking, such has been the case until the present day. The members of the old Congress of the Confederation had been extremely dilatory in their attendance, and their successors at first followed the bad example. Although March 4, 1789, had been fixed for the meeting of the first Congress under the Constitution, yet a quorum of both houses did not appear at New York, the temporary capital, until April 6. The votes were then duly counted and George Washington and John Adams were declared elected President and Vice-President.

THE OATH AND THE INAUGURATION

The House of Representatives left it to the Senate to notify these gentlemen and the Senate did so in a ceremonious manner which, though respectful to both, yet marked the superiority of the President to the Vice-President in official rank, and also the special esteem in which the former was held personally. Letters of announcement were written by John Langdon, who had been chosen presiding officer of the Senate for the sole purpose of carrying out the count of the electoral vote, and dispatched by special messengers to Washington and to Adams at their residences at Mt. Vernon and Braintree (now Quincy), Massachusetts. To Washington, Langdon wrote: "I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency the information of your unanimous election to the office of President of the United States of

*This article is a reprint from advance sheets of the one-volume work, "A History of the Vice-Presidency of the United States," by Louis Clinton Hatch, Ph. D., revised and edited after Dr. Hatch's death by Professor Earl L. Shoup. The volume will be issued April 30 from the press of The American Historical Society, Inc.

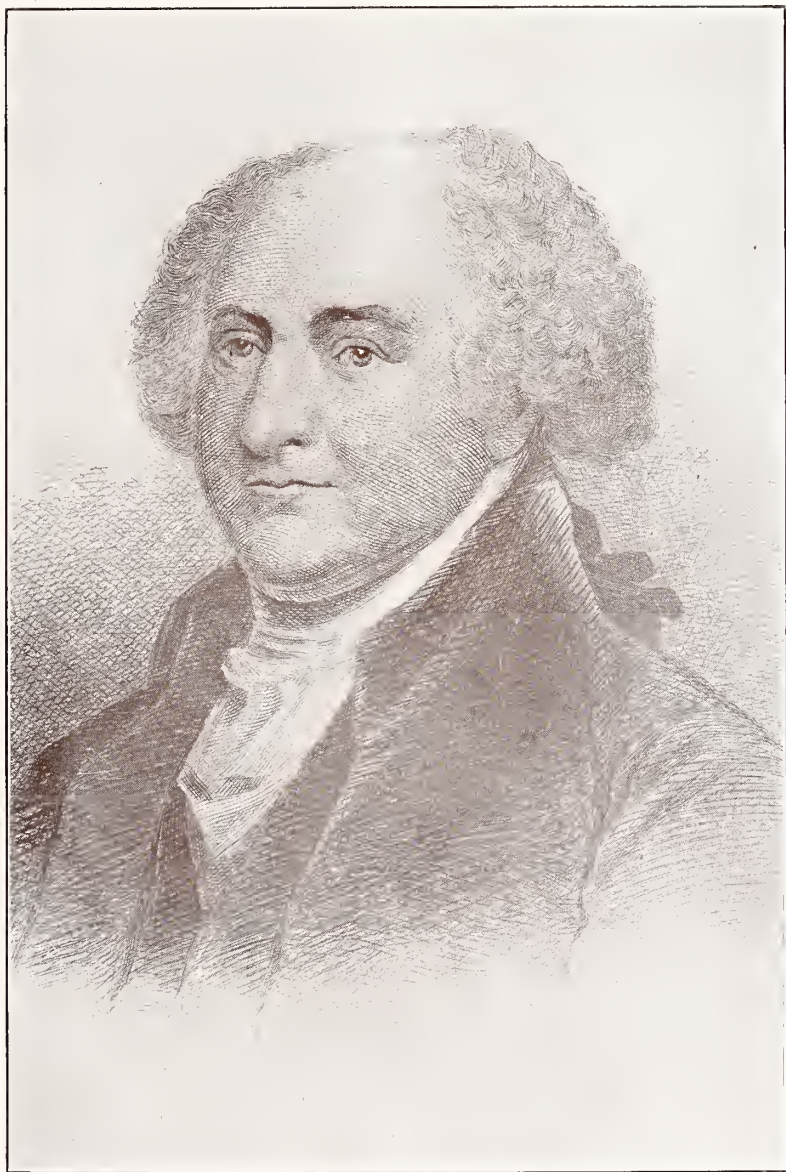
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America. Suffer me, Sir, to indulge in the hope that so auspicious a mark of public confidence will meet your approbation, and be considered as a sure pledge of the affection and support you are to expect from a free and an enlightened people." To Adams there was no intimation that he might possibly refuse the second place. Langdon followed the notice of election¹ with the words, "Permit me, Sir, to hope that you will soon safely arrive here, to take upon you the discharge of the important duties to which you are so honorably called by the voice of your country." The Secretary of the Senate, Mr. Charles Thompson, who had been Secretary to the Continental and Confederation Congresses, was chosen as the messenger to Washington; to Adams was sent Mr. Sylvanus Bourne.

The Senate voted that three Senators and five Representatives should meet the President when he embarked to cross from New Jersey to New York, and informally conduct him to the house previously occupied by the President of Congress; and that two Senators and three Representatives should wait on the Vice-President when he should come to the city, and in the name of Congress congratulate him on his arrival. The House in effect concurred. Major Bourne reached Braintree on April ninth. On the thirteenth, Adams left for New York, receiving various honors in places through which he passed. On April 18, 1789, he was met at the New York line by a troop of the Westchester Light Horse and conducted to the city, where lodgings had been prepared for him. On April 21, he was introduced into the Senate Chamber by a committee of two Senators, and was met on the middle of the floor by President Langdon, who said, "Sir, I have it in charge from the Senate to introduce you to the chair of this house and also to congratulate you on your appointment to the office of Vice-President of the United States of America," and conducted him to the chair. The Vice-President then made a formal and very complimentary address to the Senate.

The President-elect had not yet reached New York. Accordingly, Mr. Adams had the pleasure of being the chief figure at his own inauguration and of knowing that it was the event of the day. Later Vice-Presidents have been obliged to content themselves with the rôle of leading men in a curtain-raiser to the real play.

1. He kindly refrained from giving the number of votes, which would have shown that Adams had just failed of obtaining an absolute majority.



JOHN ADAMS, MASSACHUSETTS, THE FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT OF
THE UNITED STATES, 1789-1797

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Washington, who lived at a greater distance from New York, and who received more public attentions on his way than Adams, did not reach the capital until April 23. There were still some finishing touches to be given to "Federal Hall," the old City Hall, which, thanks to the generosity of private citizens, was being restored and remodelled for the use of Congress, under the direction of Major L'Enfant. Consequently, Washington was not sworn in until April 30. The Constitution provides a specific oath or affirmation for the President, but only requires one pledge to support the Constitution from other officers, and Congress could not establish a form nor authorize persons to administer oaths until there was a President legally qualified to approve a bill or resolution. The Senate would appear to have strained at a gnat and swallowed a camel; accordingly, neither Vice-President nor Senators took any oath until legal provision had been made.

Yet they proceeded to transact business without being sworn in at all.² On June 1, President Washington signed the first law passed under the Constitution, one for administering oaths. It provided that the then Vice-President should, within three days after its enactment, be sworn in by a member of the Senate and that his successors, if they had not previously taken an oath, should be sworn in in like manner. On June 2, in compliance with the law, Adams was sworn into the office whose duties he had performed for over a month, by President *pro tempore* John Langdon.

In 1793, it was felt that as the President and the Vice-President succeeded themselves, there was little need of an inauguration. Jefferson and Hamilton, agreeing for once, advised Washington to take the oath privately and send a certificate that he had done so to Congress; but the other members of the Cabinet differed from them, and on March 4 the President quietly entered the Senate Chamber and in the presence of some Senators, Representatives, and private citizens, took the oath and delivered an address. Vice-President Adams took his oath, when entering on his duties as President of the Senate, in the following December.

Jefferson sincerely disliked formality; he also knew the political value of displays of "Republican simplicity"; and on his election as

2. The House of Representatives held a different view of its duty. On April 6, it directed the bringing in of a bill providing an oath, and on April 8, at the request of the House, the Chief Justice of New York swore in the Speaker and the members in the manner provided by the bill.

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Vice-President, he took prompt measures to prevent his induction into the office from suggesting either monarchy or aristocracy. On January 22, 1797, he wrote to Henry Tazewell, a Republican Senator from Virginia, expressing the wish that he be notified of his election by mail; and on January 30 he wrote Madison: "I hope I shall be made a part of no ceremony whatever. I shall escape into the city as covertly as possible. If Governor Mifflin should show any symptoms of ceremony, pray contrive to parry them."

The House, as it had done eight years before, requested the Senate to take charge of the notification. The Senate might have preferred to follow the ceremony of 1789, but after some consideration directed its Secretary to sign a certificate of election in a prescribed form and requested the Secretary of the Senate to give by letter to the Vice-President-elect, a notification of his election, the President of the United States to cause the notification to be transmitted to Mr. Jefferson. On the second of March Jefferson quietly entered Philadelphia, and on the fourth appeared as unobtrusively in the Senate Chamber and took the oath of office, which was administered to him by the President *pro tempore*.

The example set by the inauguration of Jefferson has in the main been followed at those of subsequent Vice-Presidents. The most important variation from earlier custom is in the administering of the oath. Until 1861, this was usually done by the President *pro tempore* of the Senate, but there were many exceptions. In 1809, Vice-President Clinton and, in 1833, Vice-President Van Buren, were sworn into office by Chief Justice Marshall, immediately after he had administered the oath to the President. On March 4, 1825, the President *pro tempore*, Mr. Gaillard, had resigned; the retiring Vice-President, Mr. Tompkins, was absent from Washington; and Vice-President Calhoun was sworn in by the oldest Senator present, Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee. There is no record of either Clinton or Calhoun taking an oath on beginning their second terms. Possibly they believed that their first oath was sufficient. It will be remembered that Tyler was of the opinion that his oath as Vice-President rendered the taking of another oath, when he became President by succession, unnecessary.

Three Vice-Presidents have been sworn in away from Washington, one of them in a foreign country. The first two cases presented no difficulty, because the law relating to the Vice-Presidential oath had

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been changed so that it might be administered by any officer who was authorized either by laws of the United States or of his State or locality to administer oaths of their respective jurisdiction. In the winter of 1813, Vice-President-elect Gerry was at his home in Massachusetts; and, since a special session of Congress was called for the May following the beginning of the new administration, he avoided a second trip over the difficult roads of the time by taking the oath there before the United States District Attorney. Tompkins, at the beginning of his second term, probably took the oath at his home on Staten Island, and took it twice. In 1821, March fourth fell on Sunday. He therefore took the oath on March third; then, having heard that Monroe would be inaugurated on March fifth, was himself sworn in over again on that day.

The health of William R. King became so seriously impaired after his election as Vice-President in November, 1852, that in December he resigned his position as President *pro tempore* of the Senate, and in January, 1853, sailed for Cuba. On March 2, a law was passed allowing him on March 4, or on any subsequent day, to be sworn in in Cuba by the American consul, and a copy of the law was immediately sent to Havana by a United States war steamer. Mr. King was then at a plantation near Matanzas, called *La Cambre* because of its situation on the hills overlooking the city. There, in a setting unique among all Vice-Presidential inaugurations, the oath was administered to him by Consul Rodney of Matanzas, who had been deputed for the purpose by Consul-General Sharkey. The Vice-President was in the last stages of consumption and, unable to stand alone, was supported on either side by Representative George W. Jones, of Tennessee, and the American Consul. One of the American witnesses of the ceremony wrote of the beauty of the scene, "the clear sky of the tropics over our heads, the emerald carpet of Cuba beneath our feet, and the delicious sea breeze of these latitudes sprinkling its coolness over all of us." Even at the time of the taking of the oath the Vice-President knew that the end was not far off. He lingered in Cuba yet a few weeks, took ship for Mobile, and died at his plantation April 18, only a day after arriving.

In 1861, the oath was administered by the retiring Vice-President, and this has been done at subsequent inaugurations except the nine when the Vice-Presidency has been vacant because of the death of its

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holder or his succession to the Presidency, or when he has succeeded himself.

It is customary for the Vice-President, like the President, to make an inaugural address, but as his strictly Vice-Presidential service is chiefly to stand and wait, he speaks to the Senators before him as their President, and not to the country. In these salutations the Vice-President praises the Senate and tells the members how much he appreciates the honor of being their presiding officer and how greatly he will need their forbearance and assistance. He has sometimes added that their wisdom and magnanimity will prevent his errors from injuring the country (by over-ruling his decisions). At the close of his service the Senators present him with a vote of thanks for the manner in which he has performed the duties of his office. He thanks them in return for the help which they have given him and extends to all his good wishes. In recent years the officers of the Senate have sometimes been included in his thanks, which is most suitable, as their prompting and advice are often very useful to him. Marshall says in his "Autobiography" that it is the custom of the Senate to lay a trap for a new Vice-President by endeavoring to cause him to call a Senator to order for not speaking to the question. It would seem that enough publicity has been given to Senatorial filibustering for every Vice-President, however green, to know that a Senator has the right to talk as long as he pleases on whatever subject he pleases; but Marshall says that he would have fallen into the snare had he not been warned by the Assistant Secretary of the Senate. Mr. Coolidge has recently told us that it is not necessary for the Vice-President to be acquainted with the technicalities of Senate procedure, because the Assistant Secretary will give him all the information which he may need.

At times the retiring Vice-President compliments his successor and begs for him the favor of the Senate, or the incoming Vice-President eulogizes the man whose place he takes. Sherman told Fairbanks: "I accept, Sir, from your hand the gavel with the earnest hope that I may measure up to the standard you have set, and if I do so I feel that I shall have met every expectation." Dawes said: "To my successor in office, and the dear friend of us all, Senator Curtis, I wish the great success which his fine character, his ability, and his long experiences in this body make certain."

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The practice of extreme laudation of the Senate was begun by the first Vice-President, the vain and combative John Adams. He said: "I should be destitute of sensibility, if, upon my arrival in this city, and presentation to this Legislature, and especially to this Senate, I could see, without emotion, so many of those characters, of whose virtuous exertions I have so often been a witness; from whose countenances and examples I have ever derived encouragement and animation; whose disinterested friendship has supported me, in many intricate conjunctures of public affairs, at home and abroad; those celebrated defenders of the liberties of this country, whom menace could not intimidate, corruption seduce, nor flattery allure; those intrepid asserters of the rights of mankind, whose philosophy and policy have enlightened the world, in twenty years, more than it was ever before enlightened, in so many centuries, by ancient schools or modern universities. I must have been inattentive to the course of events if I were either ignorant of the fame, or insensible to the merit, of other characters in the Senate, to whom it has been my misfortune to have been hitherto personally unknown." In his retiring speech Adams said: "Within these walls, for a course of years, I have been an admiring witness of a succession of information, eloquence, patriotism, and independence, which . . . would have done honor to any Senate in any age."

A note like this, if not quite so high, was sounded a hundred and forty years later by Vice-President Curtis. Mr. Curtis said: "The United States Senate is today one of the greatest legislative bodies in the world, one of the greatest actual and potential powers for the promotion and advancement of civilization. Its personnel is of a calibre the equal if not the superior of any previous body heretofore assembled." It is unnecessary to describe in detail the pæans of praise, usually of the same general nature, which one Vice-President after another has sung in honor of the Senate in the days between the Dogeships of Adams and of Curtis. As might be expected from the character of the minstrels, those of Gerry, Tompkins, R. M. Johnson, and Dallas were specially loud and full. There is one note which recurs continually and is particularly delightful to Senatorial ears. This is the description and defense of the Senate as the balance wheel of the government, the protector of the Constitution and of liberty. John Adams said that the character and abilities of the Senators

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afforded "a consolatory hope (if the Legislatures of the states are equally careful in their future selections, which there is no reason to distrust) that no council more permanent than this (the extreme Federalists desired a life-Senate, as a branch of the Legislature) will be necessary to defend the rights, liberties, and properties of the people, and to protect the Constitution of the United States, as well as the constitutions and rights of the individual states, against errors of judgment, irregularities of the passions, or other encroachments of human infirmity, or more reprehensible enterprise, in the Executive on one hand, or the more immediate representatives of the people on the other." Burr said that the Senate would be the last refuge of the Constitution and of liberty. Tyler echoed the sentiments of Adams and of Burr. Other Vice-Presidents spoke in a similar strain. In the last half century, their praise of the Senate as a conserving body has usually been united with a defense of its custom of permitting unlimited debate.

But at times there has been mingled with this profusion of compliment a gentle recognition of the fact that, angelic as the Senate may be, its treasure is preserved in earthen vessels. Tyler praised the Senate for the dignity which has *for the most part* (italics are the author's marked its proceedings. Dallas, in his speech of withdrawal, said that the few transient disturbances on the floor of the Senate were due to the importance of the questions before it, and "only exhibited in a stronger relief the grave decorum of its general conduct."

Many Vice-Presidents on taking the chair have begged the indulgence of the Senate because of their lack of knowledge of parliamentary law, and their inexperience in performing duties such as would now devolve upon them. With some this was not simply a humility required by etiquette. Arthur had never been a member of any legislative body. Jefferson had not sat in one for twenty years. Others, though active in lawmaking, had given little attention to rules of procedure. Both the Johnsons specifically mentioned this circumstance. Fillmore claimed the forbearance of the Senate because he had never been a presiding officer. He had, however, been Whig floor leader in the House of Representatives and must, therefore, have had some practical knowledge in the application of parliamentary law, or perhaps one should say, in the evasion of it. On the other hand, there have been two Vice-Presidents, Colfax and Sherman, whose long

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success as presiding officers would have made a profession of unfitness blatant hypocrisy. Colfax, however, found reason for diffidence in the circumstances that he was younger than most of the Senators, and that he was not chosen by the body whose head he was. Sherman endeavored to commend himself to the Senate by saying: "Two decades of service in the Capitol, though not in this Chamber, have impressed me with the weight of Senatorial responsibility and the value of Senatorial duty well done."

But some Vice-Presidents, so far from pleading ignorance, have almost vaunted their previous experience as a guarantee of the proper performance of duty. Hamlin began his address by saying: "Senators, an experience of several years as a member of this body has taught me many of the duties of its presiding officer which are delicate, sometimes embarrassing and always responsible." Wilson told the Senate: "In passing from the seat I have held for more than eighteen years, to this chair, I trust I comprehend something of its just requirements; something too of the tone and temper of the Senate." Wheeler said that service in analogous parliamentary spheres,³ "has taught me how delicate and at times difficult and complex are the duties which the oath I am about to take will impose on me." Curtis said: "My service among you has impressed me with the responsibilities of every Senator, and at the same time it has given me a clear understanding of the duties and obligations of the Vice-President."

The Vice-Presidential addresses have always been short, at times extremely so,⁴ and they have generally been confined to the subject of the Senate and the duties of its President. Jefferson and Richard M. Johnson expressly stated that they considered themselves as held in strict limits by the proprieties of the occasion. Jefferson proclaimed his fealty to the Constitution and the Union, but said: "I suppose these declarations not pertinent to the occasion of entering an office whose primary business is to preside over the forms of this house. . . . " Johnson said: "Contemplating the duties and ceremonies of this day, it might be considered improper in me to consume any more of your time by adverting to other subjects however relevant to the new position which I now occupy. I shall, therefore,

3. Wheeler had been an efficient President of a recent New York constitutional convention, and had sat in the national House for several terms.

4. Probably Wheeler, Hamlin and Sherman have the best record for brevity.

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close my remarks by informing the Senate that I am now ready to proceed with them to the business for which we are assembled (the inauguration of the President)." A few Vice-Presidents have allowed themselves more liberty. It is noteworthy that two of these instances occurred in time of war. In 1813, Gerry made a rather heavy pro-war speech declaring victory certain. In 1917, Marshall, in his valedictory at the end of the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, said that it would be his duty when called on for public speeches, to voice his belief in the justice and necessity of the war in which the country was engaged, and stated that he was requested by the Secretary of the Treasury to ask Senators, when they addressed American citizens, to call attention to the fact that the war must be finally fought out with dollars and cents, and to urge the necessity of buying Liberty Bonds.

Marshall, in other addresses, delivered what might be described as pious and platitudinous confessions of moral beliefs. Hendricks spoke in somewhat the same manner. Fillmore took office when the Revolution of 1848 was raging in Europe, and he called attention to the different methods of changing government abroad and at home, the one by bloody revolution, the other by a quiet, matter-of-course submission to the expression of the will of a free people.

The addresses have been uniformly grave and dignified with the exceptions of those of 1865 and 1917. The latter, though in the main lofty in tone, contained a bit of Marshall's characteristic humor. He said: "The present occupant of this chair wants to thank the Senate of the United States for the resolution (of thanks) just adopted, and for the patience and forbearance with which they have dealt at many times with my irascible conduct. I want to assure them that the outbursts that now and then have taken place from the Chair were not real in character. They were simply intended to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that they did have a presiding officer, not one that perhaps they wanted, but one that an ignorant electorate had thrust upon them."

Two Vice-Presidential speeches are preëminent by the impression which they made, one of solemn admiration, the other of horror and disgust. The first was the farewell of Aaron Burr, the other the inaugural of Andrew Johnson. Burr's address was delivered to the Senators alone, for the Senate was in executive session and the gal-

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leries were therefore empty. Burr wrote his daughter that he had prepared nothing, but that "it was the solemnity, the anxiety, the expectation and the interest which I saw strongly painted on the countenances of the auditors, that inspired whatever was said." The address is thus summarized by Gales and Seaton in their "Annals of Congress":

Mr. Burr began by saying that he had intended to pass the day with them, but the increase of a slight indisposition (sore throat) had determined him then to take leave of them. He touched lightly on some of the rules and orders of the House, and recommended, in one or two points, alterations, of which he briefly explained the reasons and principles.

He said he was sensible he must at times have wounded the feelings of individual members. He had ever avoided entering into explanations at the time, because a moment of irritation was not a moment for explanation; because his position (being in the chair) rendered it impossible to enter into explanations without obvious danger of consequences which might hazard the dignity of the Senate, or prove disagreeable and injurious in more than one point of view; that he had, therefore, preferred to leave to their reflections his justification; that, on his part, he had no injuries to complain of; if any had been done or attempted, he was ignorant of the authors; and if he had ever heard, he had forgotten, for, he thanked God, he had no memory for injuries.

He doubted not but that they had found occasion to observe, that to be prompt was not therefore to be precipitate; and that to act without delay was not always to act without reflection; that error was often to be preferred to indecision; that his errors, whatever they might have been, were those of rule and principle, and not of caprice; that it could not be deemed arrogance in him to say that, in his official conduct, he had known no party, no cause, no friend; that if, in the opinion of any, the discipline which had been established approached to rigor, they would at least admit that it was uniform and indiscriminate.

He further remarked, that the ignorant and unthinking affected to treat as unnecessary and fastidious a rigid attention to rules and decorum; but he thought nothing trivial which touched, however remotely, the dignity of that body; and he appealed to their experience for the justice of this sentiment, and urged them in language the most impressive, and in a manner the most commanding, to avoid the smallest relaxation of the habits which he had endeavored to inculcate and establish.

But he challenged their attention to considerations more momentous than any which regarded merely their personal honor and char-

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acter—the preservation of law, of liberty, and the Constitution. This House, said he, is a sanctuary; a citadel of law, of order, and of liberty; and it is here—it is here, in this exalted refuge; here, if anywhere, will resistance be made to the storms of political phrensy and the silent arts of corruption; and if the Constitution be destined ever to perish by the sacrilegious hands of the demagogue or the usurper, which God avert, its expiring agonies will be witnessed on this floor.

He then adverted to those affecting sentiments which attended a final separation—a dissolution, perhaps forever, of those associations which he hoped had been mutually satisfactory. He consoled himself, however, and them, with the reflection, that, though they separated, they would be engaged in the common cause of disseminating principles of freedom and social order. He should always regard the proceedings of that body with interest and with solicitude. He should feel for their honor and the national honor so intimately connected with it, and took his leave with expressions of personal respect, and with prayers, and wishes.

The Vice-President then with quiet dignity left the Chamber, closing the door behind him with a vigor which was the only sign he gave of the intense feeling hidden beneath his calm exterior. A man of courage, ability, and much personal charm, his career was closing in utter defeat. He was bankrupt in fortune, an outcast politically, and in the eyes of religious men of his own section of the country stamped with the mark of Cain. The Senate felt all this. The touch of sermonizing in the address and the personal note gave no offense; the call to be worthy of their high position and the description of themselves as the last guardians of liberty, still more the thought of what might have been a great career closing in difficulty and darkness, went to their hearts. For several minutes they sat silent, some actually weeping. They elected a President *pro tempore*, and then unanimously voted Burr their thanks for his impartiality and ability, and their entire approbation of the manner in which he had discharged his duties as President of the Senate, and sent the resolution to him by a committee of two Senators. Burr replied: "Gentlemen: Next to the satisfaction derived from the consciousness of having discharged my duty, is that which arises from the favorable opinion of those who have been the constant witnesses of my official conduct, and the value of this flattering mark of their esteem is greatly enhanced by the promptitude and unanimity with which it is offered. I pray you to accept my respectful acknowledgments, and the assurance of my inviolable attachment to the interests and dignity of the Senate."

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The answer sounds priggish and hypocritical. Present historians judge Aaron Burr more leniently than did either his contemporaries or the writers of the nineteenth century, but neither his private nor his public life was such as to warrant him in prating of his conscience.

Andrew Johnson, at the time of his election as Vice-President, was Military Governor of Tennessee, and was busily engaged in reconstructing his domain as a free state in the Union. In the winter he was prostrated by an attack of typhoid fever. Therefore, both for personal and public reasons, he desired to remain in Tennessee. He wrote of his wish to President Lincoln and also to Mr. Forney, the Secretary of the Senate, and asked the latter if there were legal precedents for taking the oath away from Washington. Lincoln telegraphed Johnson: "Several members of the Cabinet with myself considered the question today (January 24, 1865) as to the time of your coming here. While we fully appreciate your wish to remain in Tennessee until her state government shall be completely reinaugurated, it is our unanimous opinion that it is unsafe for you not to be here on the 4th of March. Be sure to reach here by that time."

Secretary Forney replied that he saw no objection to Johnson's taking the oath in Tennessee and the next day sent a list of Vice-Presidents who had taken the oath at a different time from the President. But with it he wrote a letter declaring that it was absolutely necessary for Johnson to come to Washington in order to save "the great Union party," that is, to secure ample recognition of the war Democrats who had supported the reelection of Lincoln. Johnson yielded to these arguments and arrived at Washington about March 1, stopping at his favorite hotel, the Kirkwood. On the evening of March 3 he attended a party in his honor given by Secretary Forney, where "the wine flowed as freely as the oratory." Johnson was not intemperate, but like most public men of his day, neither was he a teetotaller; and he may have indulged somewhat freely. In the morning he awoke much shaken. About half-past ten Senator Doolittle, of Wisconsin, one of the committee appointed by the Senate to make arrangements for the inauguration, and Vice-President Hamlin called at the Kirkwood, and drove with Johnson to the Capitol, where all three went to the Vice-President's room. There Johnson spoke of his enfeebled condition, said that he was not fit to take the journey from Tennessee to Washington, and asked for a stimulant. Hamlin, as

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Vice-President, had forbidden the sale of liquor in the Senate restaurant, but he sent for some whiskey or brandy (accounts differ) and Johnson took two or three drinks, with disastrous results.

Probably at the best his speech would have been offensive to good taste. Mr. Winston gave his life of Johnson the extremely appropriate sub-title, "Plebeian and Patriot." Lincoln rose above his origin, remembering it not with shame, but only as something which had deprived him of desirable opportunities; and his speeches on great occasions were marvels of nobility of thought and beauty of expression. The unfortunate Johnson, on the other hand, was the backwoods stump orator engaged in a rough and tumble fight with his enemies. As has been well said, he suffered from an inferiority complex; with all his vigor and courage he was of a sensitive nature and he met those who looked down on him because he had once been an illiterate tailor, by bragging in season and out of season that he was one of the masses. Only a man of the finest nature could have avoided pride at the thought that he, once a penniless boy, a runaway apprentice, was to assume the second office in the land. The Senate Chamber was very hot and the liquor which Johnson had taken went to his head. He had prepared no notes which might have guided and restrained him,⁵ and shaking his fists he bellowed out a tirade that shocked the hearers and the country.

There are reports in various newspapers and in the Congressional "Globe." The latter is the official account and there Johnson appears to least disadvantage, but it was not printed until some days after the delivery of the speech and there is no doubt that the reporter cut out portions and reshaped the rest of what was a confused, egotistic, demagogical, drunken harangue. Johnson announced that he was a plebeian and was proud of it. He proclaimed the sovereignty of the people, said that their will, not his own effort, had made him Vice-President and informed the Senate, the Supreme Court, and the Secretaries of State, War and Navy specifically, being obliged, however, to ask who held the last office, that they were creatures of the people. He gave the same information to the foreign ministers sitting together in their brilliant uniforms, and it is probable that he addressed them as "you, gentlemen of the Diplomatic Corps, with all your fine feathers, and gewgaws." Like other Vice-Presidents he professed

5. Johnson's papers, unlike his speeches, are well-reasoned and well-expressed.

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ignorance of parliamentary law and dependence on the courtesy of Senators, but he unfortunately added with scornful pride: "I have only studied how I may best advance the interests of my state and of my country, and not the technical rules of order." Quite unnecessarily the Vice-President pronounced on a question the President was most anxious to avoid, that of the constitutional status of the seceded states, by declaring that Tennessee was a member of the Union, that her suspended government was about to be restored, and that her representatives must of right be admitted to sit in the House and Senate.

The distinguished audience which filled the Senate Chamber listened first in surprise and disapproval and then with amazement and horror, and perhaps in the diplomatic seats, with ill-concealed amusement. It is said that Lincoln's head dropped in humiliation, and that on leaving the building for his own oath and address, the immortal second inaugural, he said to the marshal: "Do not let Johnson speak outside." Sumner and other Republican Senators hid their faces. Some reporters were too ashamed to write the news to their papers. The three great Republican dailies of New York, the "Tribune," "Times," and "Post," made no reference to Johnson's condition. But the "Independent," a powerful anti-slavery and reforming weekly which might be regarded as the political representative of a great section of the Christian Church, blamed their conduct and insisted that unless the press was to abandon its right of criticising men in office, Johnson must be publicly condemned. The Bangor "Jeffersonian," which was in a measure the organ of the retiring Vice-President, Mr. Hamlin, declared "ridiculous if not scandalous, the attempt of a few Union papers to deny that Vice-President Johnson on inauguration day was under the influence of intoxicating drink. What is the object of having a party respectable and honest if such public obliquities of conduct are to be whitewashed?"

Others told the story not with fitting gravity and sadness, but with gleeful exaggeration and partisanship. Doggerel lines describing the affair were sung at a Washington theatre. The "New York World" called Johnson "an ignorant drunken brute in comparison with whom Caligula's horse (that the crazy emperor made a consul) was respectable." Such attacks brought sharp retort. To the attempt of the Democratic papers to make the Republicans responsible for Johnson's conduct, the "Jeffersonian" replied that the Republicans

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did not know when they nominated him that he had kept his love of rum when he got rid of his other Democratic principles. It added that "two of the leading Democrats in the United States Senate were continually drunk, but that the papers 'which now so conspicuously parade Mr. Johnson's recent disgraceful conduct' had never said a word about that." This criticism was doubtless correct, but Democrats did not demand virtue of Republicans alone.

The Senate had been much shocked by what had happened on March 4, and on March 6, when electing its standing committees, excluded from places thereon the two Senators to whom the "Jeffersonian" had referred. Actually, though not formally, each party chose its own committee members and the exclusion was therefore the act of the Democrats. The Senate also, on the motion of a future Vice-President, Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, directed the Sergeant-at-Arms forthwith to remove all liquor from the Senate wing of the Capitol, and to exclude it in every form in future. Hitherto, ardent spirits had been obtainable in the Senate Chamber itself. A bar well supplied was kept in an adjoining room and, thanks to an opening famous as "the Hole in the Wall," Senators without leaving the floor of their place of meeting could and did thoroughly moisten their parched throats.⁶

Mr. Johnson had the mortification of hearing the motion for the exclusion of liquor put and of declaring it carried. It is, indeed, usually said that he was taken at once to the country house of the Blairs, Silver Spring, Maryland, but this appears to be an error. The "Senate Journal" shows that he presided at the session of Monday, March 6, and the correspondent of the "New York Tribune" wrote his paper that the Vice-President attended the inauguration ball that evening and was especially attentive to Mrs. Lincoln; but, on March 7, Mr. Johnson was absent from the Senate and remained so throughout the session. It is probable that he went to Silver Spring on that day, and it is certain that he stayed there about a fortnight until after the Senate had adjourned, the excitement over his inauguration had died down, and his health had improved.

At Silver Spring Johnson made a complete conquest of the senior Blair, who, like himself, was an old Jackson Democrat, a strong

6. This new self-denying ordinance provoked satirical comment, it being regarded as a mere gesture. In substance time soon justified the belief, though the hole in the wall did not reappear.

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Unionist, but no consolidationist. On March 2, Blair told Albert E. Browne, the private secretary of Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, that Johnson was not a drunkard nor had he been drunk at his inauguration, that he had been ill with typhoid fever, had taken a little whiskey that day, and was a little disordered by the situation and all the other things; that he did not say anything that was bad sense but only bad taste, and that it would not have been nearly so much of a thing if Sumner had not been so egoistic about it.⁷

Blair is not the only one to blame Sumner for being "unco guid." Mr. George Fort Milton, in his "Age of Hate," speaks of "the virtuous Sumner" hiding his face during Johnson's speeches. It is true that Sumner was vain, pedantic, and sadly lacking in breadth of view, but he was filled with a noble idealism and was the dear friend of some of the best and most progressive men of his time; if he was deeply shocked when he saw "the second official of the Nation—drunk—*drunk* (italics in the original) when about (to) take his oath of office, bellowing and ranting and shaking his fists at Judges, Cabinet and Diplomats," so were many others, including the always gently-judging Lincoln. Browne suggested to Blair that Sumner might have felt specially responsible for Johnson because the Massachusetts delegation at the Republican convention had supported him in preference to Hamlin, the New England candidate. Few went as far as Mr. Blair in defending Johnson, but many found excuses or reasons for forgiveness. Gail Hamilton wrote to a friend that during the speech Johnson's better self seemed struggling with a demon.⁸

During the speech members of the Cabinet exchanged whispered comments, which passed from surprise and disapprobation to bewilderment and horror. At the beginning of the address Johnson did not appear to be intoxicated. He was known to be a nervous man and his stammering was attributed to this cause. Seward at first thought that it was due to the emotion aroused by his return to the Senate Chamber, the scene of the dramatic proceedings ushering in the war just four years ago, in which Johnson had played so conspicuous a part. Seward himself was much affected. Attorney-General Speed at first believed Johnson guilty only of wretchedly bad taste, but

7. It has been said that Sumner offered a resolution in a Republican Senatorial caucus asking Johnson to resign.

8. There is no other evidence that Johnson was conscious of his condition and fighting against it.

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soon concluded that he was out of his head. Welles considered him drunk or crazy, but when writing in his diary, took a more gentle view. He said: "The Vice-President-elect made a rambling and strange harangue, which was listened to with pain and mortification by all his friends. My impressions were that he was drunk"; then struck out the last word and substituted "under the influence of stimulants, yet I know not that he drinks; he has been sick and is feeble; perhaps he may have taken medicine or stimulants, or his brain from sickness may have been overactive in these new responsibilities. Whatever the cause it was all in very bad taste." Under March 7, he wrote. "The meeting at the Cabinet was interesting, the topics miscellaneous. Vice-President Johnson's infirmity was mentioned. Seward's tone and opinions were much changed since Saturday (the fourth). He seems to have given up Johnson now, but no one appears to have been aware of any failing. I trust and am inclined to believe it a temporary ailment, which may, if rightly treated, be overcome."

In this judgment Welles was right and more than right. There is an enormous preponderance of evidence that Johnson was never an intemperate man. Lincoln, when Secretary of the Treasury Hugh McCulloch expressed alarm because only one life stood between Johnson and the Presidency, replied: "I have known Andy for many years; he made a bad slip the other day, but you need not be scared. Andy ain't a drunkard."⁹ Hamlin in an interview said that "Andrew Johnson is not an intemperate man. He is sober and in his right mind—" and seemed to blame himself for assisting Johnson to obtain the liquor. A friend of Johnson published a long article in a Nashville paper which described the Vice-President's services to the Union, and asked if it were right to condemn him to eternal infamy for a single lapse.

Some papers, though filled with righteous indignation, were willing that the sinner be forgiven on condition of public repentance followed by reform. The "Jeffersonian" declared that the Nation was "disgraced, and that Mr. Johnson should apologize as publicly as the offense was committed, ask forgiveness of the Senate, the President

9. This is a surprising statement. Lincoln could have had little or no personal acquaintance with Johnson, though he had met him during the campaign. Probably McCulloch, who retired from the Cabinet after his breach with the Republicans, unconsciously did Johnson the favor of strengthening his statement. McCulloch's autobiography was written and published in his old age, thirty-three years after the incident.



MARTIN VAN BUREN, NEW YORK, EIGHTH VICE-PRESIDENT OF
THE UNITED STATES, 1833-1837

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and Cabinet and the Nation, and solemnly promise that hereafter he would totally abstain from the use of all intoxicating liquors. If he failed to do this he should be expelled or impeached.”¹⁰ The “Independent,” in the name of an insulted people, demanded that the Vice-President atone for his affront to the dignity of the Republic by apology or resignation.

It was not in Johnson’s nature to apologize or sit on the stool of repentance and reform. He did, indeed, write to the chief reporter of the Senate: “As I understand there has been some criticism upon the address delivered by me in the Senate Chamber, will you do me the favor to preserve the original notes and retain them in your possession, and furthermore at your earliest convenience bring me an accurate copy of your report of what I said upon that occasion?”; and there was a story in Washington that a conference of physicians would be held and they would declare that the Vice-President had been insane. But Johnson made no excuse and after a stay at Silver Spring had restored his health, left his refuge and mixed in the world as before.

THE SUCCESSION TO THE PRESIDENCY

If the custom of the Vice-President’s sitting in the Cabinet becomes fixed, the importance of the office will be considerably increased. Moreover, the Vice-President is *ex officio* President of the Senate, a position of some power and, for a pleasant, tactful man, of considerable influence. The duties of a “spare” in the Executive Department and of the chairman of a branch of the Legislative have no natural relation, and the part played by the Vice-President as President of the Senate will be considered in the following section. But whatever the importance of the Vice-President while he retains his office, all agree that his real significance is in his possibility of transformation. This has taken place six times and it is a curious fact that on three of these occasions the Vice-President was at a distance from the place where the President died.

The first vacancy in the Presidency was that caused by the death of William Henry Harrison, which took place in the city of Washington on April 4, 1841, at 12:30 a. m. Vice-President Tyler was then at his estate near Williamsburg, Virginia. Members of the

10. The Vice-President is not a Senator and cannot be expelled.

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Cabinet immediately issued a formal announcement of the death, which stated that they believed it was their duty so to do as Congress was not sitting and the Vice-President was absent from the capital. They also signed a letter addressed to "Vice-President Tyler," informing him of what had happened. It was at once sent by the hands of Fletcher Webster, the chief clerk (then the second officer) of the Department of State, who was accompanied by Robert Bealle, assistant doorkeeper of the Senate.

Such good speed was made by these gentlemen and by Mr. Tyler himself, that the latter arrived at Washington on April 6 at 4 a. m., having covered two hundred and thirty-one miles in twenty-one hours. He went immediately to Brown's Hotel, where he had stayed at the inauguration. At noon he was waited upon by all the members of the Cabinet except the Secretary of the Navy, George E. Badger, who was on a visit to his home in North Carolina. Mr. Tyler made a very brief speech, expressing his grief at the death of Harrison, his sense of the responsibilities which had devolved upon him, and his wish that the heads of departments should retain their places. He then took and subscribed the oath of office before the Chief Justice of the District of Columbia, William Cranch, who made a formal written certificate of the act.

The Chief Justice of the United States, Roger B. Taney, was at Baltimore and refused to come to Washington because he had not received a direct official invitation. Notice of the death of President Harrison had been sent to him immediately, and on the following day the clerk of the Supreme Court, Mr. Carroll, wrote to him by request of Secretary Webster "to say not only that it would be highly gratifying that you would be present on Wednesday, at the funeral, but also that the Cabinet would be pleased to see and confer with you at this most interesting moment." Judge Taney replied that he believed that the head of a coördinate branch of the government should not attend the funeral without a special invitation from the Cabinet or the Vice-President. He protested, however, that he did not think that there was any disrespect or unkindness intended by the omission, and forbade Carroll to mention his letter to the Vice-President or to the Cabinet; it was intended, Taney said, to answer such inquiries as Carroll might think proper, and so prevent a misconstruction of his own motives.

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It will be noted that there was not the extreme haste in taking the oath which has been thought advisable on similar occasions in recent years. Indeed Tyler himself believed the act to be unnecessary, and that the oath which he had taken as Vice-President was sufficient. He only took a second oath for greater precaution and because doubts might arise, and a statement to this effect was incorporated by Judge Cranch in his certificate. Chief Justice Taney had been consulted by Carroll on this matter, but had declined giving an opinion for reasons similar to those which prevented him from attending the late President's funeral.

President Lincoln was shot the evening of April 14, 1865, a few minutes past ten, while sitting in his box at Ford's Theatre. The assassin, John Wilkes Booth, had gained access to the President's box and shot him at short range. It was seen at once that the wound was mortal, and the President was hastily removed to a house across the street.

While the theatre was in the utmost of confusion, there was at least one in the audience who showed an admirable presence of mind. Ex-Governor Farwell, of Wisconsin, realizing at once the need of informing the Vice-President and of caring for his safety, rushed to the Kirkwood House, where Mr. Johnson was staying; called to clerks to place guards at the door, the stairway, and Johnson's room; and ascending to the Vice-President's chamber, pounded on the door, crying: "Governor Johnson, if you are in, I must speak to you." Johnson, who had retired, admitted his visitor without stopping to dress and was overcome by emotion at the news.

About two in the morning, Mr. Johnson, in spite of the remonstrances of friends, insisted on visiting the house where Mr. Lincoln had been carried. Refusing an escort, he went on foot, accompanied by Farwell, who could serve as a guide, and Major O'Beirne, the commander of the Provost Guard. His one precaution was to partly conceal his face by pulling down his hat and turning up his collar. After remaining about half an hour, Johnson and O'Beirne returned to the hotel.

A few years later, Moorfield Storey, then the secretary of Charles Sumner, was at supper with his employer and Stanton. The latter told him that he had sent for Johnson, and Sumner said that he had got him away as Mrs. Lincoln disliked him. But these were the recol-

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lections of men who had become bitter enemies of Johnson. All the other evidence indicates that the Vice-President went of his own initiative. Sumner's statement is, however, of some importance because a story that Johnson was under the influence of liquor when he and the President visited Richmond after its surrender and that Lincoln wished to avoid him, ultimately rests on Mrs. Lincoln's authority.

President Lincoln expired the morning after he was shot, at twenty-two minutes past seven. All the members of the Cabinet were at the death bed except the wounded Secretary of State, William H. Seward, and the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McCulloch, who had helped keep the vigil throughout the night, but had departed shortly before. After Rev. Doctor Gurley had offered prayer, the Cabinet officers withdrew to another room and signed a paper drawn by Attorney-General Speed informing the Vice-President of the death of Mr. Lincoln, and advising that he take the oath of office at once. Mr. Speed, as the law officer of the government, and Secretary McCulloch who, next to Mr. Seward, was ranking member of the Cabinet, were chosen to carry the paper to Mr. Johnson. But they were anticipated at the Kirkwood by General Halleck, who called for a moment to tell Johnson that he must not go out without a guard, and Johnson understood by this warning that Lincoln was dead.

When Messrs. McCulloch and Speed arrived at the hotel, they found Chief Justice Chase there, and there was some discussion of the time and place of administering the oath of office to the new President. It was agreed, in accordance with the wish of Mr. Johnson, that the place should be the parlor of the hotel and ten o'clock the time. The Chief Justice and the Attorney-General then went to the latter's office to look up the precedents furnished by the accessions of Tyler and Fillmore, and to examine the Constitution and the laws.

At ten or a little later, a group of some twelve or fourteen gentlemen, including the Vice-President and the Chief Justice, the members of the Cabinet, two or three Senators and ex-Senators who had remained in Washington after the close of the special session of the Senate, Francis P. Blair, Sr., and his son, Montgomery, gathered in the parlor of the Kirkwood. Mr. Chase pronounced the oath of office word by word. Mr. Johnson repeated it and solemnly kissed an open Bible. His lips touched the twentieth verse of the eleventh chapter of Ezekiel, "*But as for them whose heart walketh after the*

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heart of their detestable things and their abominations, I will recompense their way upon their own heads, saith the Lord God." As Mr. Johnson believed that treason should be made odious and some of the leading rebels executed, there was a grim appropriateness in the passage. Mr. Johnson's biographer, Lloyd Paul Stryker, in his "Andrew Johnson, a Study in Courage," says the ceremony ended, "the Greenville tailor was President of the United States." Chase, who himself had so earnestly and vainly desired the Presidency, wrote in his diary: "He (Johnson) was now the successor of Mr. Lincoln. I said to him, 'May God guide, support and bless you in your arduous labors.' The others then came forward and extended their sad congratulations."

President Garfield was shot at the railroad station in Washington on July 2, 1881. Vice-President Arthur was then on his way by steamboat from Albany to New York, and heard the news on his arrival. He also received a notification from the Cabinet that he should be prepared to take the oath at any moment, and late the same day proceeded to Washington. There he was waited on by Mr. Blaine, the Secretary of State, with a similar message; but a little later there came word by an orderly that the immediate danger had passed.

Mr. Blaine, however, made it a practice to call daily and report the condition of the President. For a while this seemed to improve, but the infection caused by the wound spread, and on August 26 and 27 the physicians abandoned hope. They informed the Cabinet that death was near, and Arthur was notified. Then there was another rally; and on September 6, to gratify a longing of the President for the sea and to take a last desperate chance for recovery, Mr. Garfield was moved to the seacoast at Elberon, near Long Branch, New Jersey. But the change was of no avail, and on September 19 he died.

Those members of the Cabinet who were at Elberon telegraphed Mr. Arthur, who had returned to New York when it had seemed that the President might recover. "It becomes our painful duty to inform you of the death of President Garfield and to advise you to take the oath of office as President of the United States without delay. If it concurs with your judgment, we will be very glad if you will come here on the earliest train tomorrow morning." Preparations had been made, and on September 20, at 2 a. m., the new President was sworn in at his house by Justice John R. Brady of the Supreme Court of the State of New York in the presence of members of the family and

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friends, among whom were District Attorney Rollins and Elihu Root. Notice was at once sent by telegraph to Long Branch and Washington.

At nine, Secretaries Blaine, Lincoln, and Postmaster-General James, who lived in New York City, had called on President Arthur and later in the day all proceeded to Elberon. On the twenty-first they accompanied the remains of the late President to Washington. On September 22 the President went to the Vice-President's room at the Capitol, and in the presence of a small group of distinguished men, which included ex-Presidents Grant and Hayes, was again sworn into office by Chief Justice Waite.

A double oath by the President was not unprecedented. In 1821 and 1877, March fourth fell on Sunday, and the public inauguration was held on Monday. Monroe and Hayes, however, were privately sworn in on March 3 and 4, respectively, by the Chief Justice before a few witnesses. But in 1853, when the fourth of March also fell on Sunday, Pierce took no oath until the fifth, and, unless the requirement that the President take an oath or affirmation to protect the Constitution be directive only, it would appear that the United States was a day without a President.

President McKinley was shot on September 6, 1901, while holding a reception at the Buffalo Exposition. The news reached Vice-President Roosevelt when he was concluding a speech near Burlington, Vermont. He hastened at once to Buffalo and remained there two days. Then, informed that the President was out of danger and wishing to calm the public mind, he joined his family in the Adirondacks. On September 13, while they were picnicking on Mount Tahawus, a guide appeared with two telegrams from the President's secretary: The first stated that Mr. McKinley was much worse; the second that Mr. Roosevelt should come to Buffalo at once.

The Vice-President and the guide walked ten miles to a club house, arriving after dark. There, with difficulty, they obtained a horse and wagon and drove at high speed through the dark over a thirty-five-mile road that was little more than a trail, changing horses wherever possible. It was a rash act. Probably there would be little harm if the country should be without a President for a few hours. It might be serious if the Vice-President should be killed as well as the President, and still more so if he should be badly injured and lie between life and death for months as Garfield did. True, Mr. Roosevelt had

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been assured that the President would recover, and a show of optimism on his part helped business; but doctors are not infallible, and the Vice-President should have remained close to the telegraph and railroad.

At the station Mr. Roosevelt found awaiting him his private secretary, Mr. Loeb, a special train, and news that President McKinley was dead. At Buffalo, by advice of Elihu Root, the Secretary of War and one of the leading lawyers of the country, the new President took the oath at once. It was administered at the house of Ansel Wilcox by Judge John R. Hazel. All constitutional and legal requirements had been fulfilled, and President Roosevelt did not repeat the oath at Washington.

The last and the most dramatic of the accessions of a Vice-President to the Presidency was that of President Coolidge. On the morning of August 2, 1923, Mr. Coolidge, his wife, and his two sons were visiting his father, John C. Coolidge, at the old home in the hamlet of Plymouth Notch, one of the several small villages which made up the town of Plymouth, Vermont. President Harding was ill at San Francisco, and the Associated Press, the United Press, and several metropolitan papers had sent representatives to the town of Ludlow, a few miles from Plymouth. These gentlemen arranged for a high-powered automobile to be ready at their call that they might rush to the Coolidge farm at any moment. But soon the news from Mr. Harding's bedside made these preparations seem wholly unnecessary. Half the visiting journalists were withdrawn and on August 2 Mr. Coolidge, when passing through Ludlow, expressed his surprise that any were left, and his belief that all would be gone by nightfall. All did depart the next day, but for a very different reason from that which moved Mr. Coolidge to his prophecy.

The Vice-President spent the evening quietly with the family, and made the remark, casually, to a member of the company, shortly before retiring, that he believed the President now entirely out of danger and on the road to recovery. A little before one (Daylight Saving Time), he was awakened by his father's coming up the stairs and calling his name in an unsteady voice. The elder Coolidge was a man of great self-control, and his son felt at once that something of much importance had occurred. It had, indeed. John Coolidge had always cherished high ambitions for his son, and had shrunk from

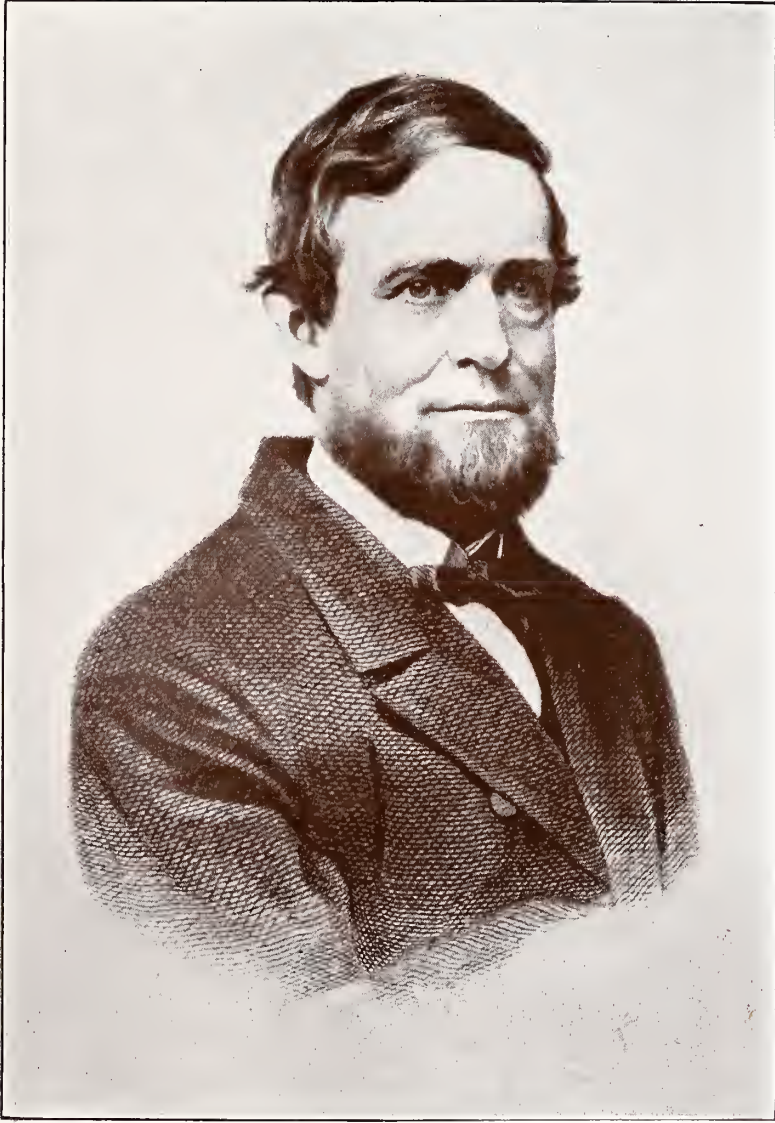
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no effort or hardship to give the boy an education which would fit him for a great place; now he was rewarded by the solemn privilege of informing him that he was President of the United States.

The news had been brought by W. A. Perkins, of Bridgewater, who owned and operated a small private telephone line from Bridgewater to Plymouth. He carried two telegrams, one from the late President's secretary, G. C. Christian, the other from the *New York Times*. Each stated the fact of President Harding's decease. The secretary briefly mentioned the circumstances and the probable cause of the death. The newspaper with true journalistic enterprise added: "We will appreciate any statement you care to have us publish." The reporters at Ludlow reached the Coolidge home about five minutes after Mr. Perkins, a paper in Boston having telephoned Ludlow on receipt of the news.

Upstairs, Mr. and Mrs. Coolidge were dressing, and Mr. Coolidge tells us in his "Autobiography" that "before leaving the room I knelt down and, with the same prayer with which I have since approached the altar of the church, asked God to bless the American people and give me power to serve them." About fifteen minutes after receiving the news, Mr. and Mrs. Coolidge came downstairs. Mr. Coolidge says: "My first thought was to express my sympathy for those who had been bereaved and, after that was done, to attempt to reassure the country with the knowledge that I proposed no sweeping displacement of the men then in office and that there were to be no violent changes in the administration of affairs."

The telegrams which had been received were read aloud by Mrs. Coolidge, and the messages to Mrs. Harding and to the American people were dictated by Mr. Coolidge; the first was signed by Mrs. Coolidge, also. Mr. Coolidge gave great attention to the drafting of the second document, "took much time in preparing it," wrote the impatient "Times" correspondent. But after spending ten minutes waiting for an interview, and half an hour with Mr. Coolidge, the eager reporters were able to jump into their automobile and rush back to Ludlow and a telegraph office, leaving Mr. Coolidge in perplexity and isolation. He may have been uncertain whether he was President or Vice-President. Secretary Christian had avoided the question by sending his telegram to "Mr. Calvin Coolidge"; the *New York Times*, however, had given him the benefit of the doubt, if indeed it felt any, and addressed him as "President Coolidge."



SCHUYLER COLFAX, INDIANA, SEVENTEENTH VICE-PRESIDENT OF
THE UNITED STATES, 1869-1873

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The Constitution requires the President to take a specific oath before exercising the duties of his office, and what were the precise words of that oath? At the end of his statement to the people the new chief executive had said, "It is my intention to remain here until I can secure the correct form for the oath of office, which will be administered to me by my father, who is a notary public, if that will meet the necessary requirement." Plymouth Notch had an independent telephone company, a farmer's line with a station in a near-by general store formerly carried on by Mr. Coolidge's father; but the long distance connection was often unsatisfactory. However, a broken conversation was held with Washington, and the advice of the Attorney-General that the oath should be taken at once, and the information that the President might be sworn in by any person who was legally competent to administer oaths, was obtained.

Meanwhile, the elder Coolidge had found in his library a book containing the oath; and there followed an act unparalleled in history, the induction into office of the head of a republican nation by his father. Mr. Coolidge says in his "Autobiography": "Where succession to the highest office in the land is by inheritance or appointment, no doubt there have been kings who have been inducted into office, but in republics, where the succession comes by an election, I do not know of any other case in history where a father has administered to his son the qualifying oath of office which made him the chief magistrate of a nation. It seemed a simple and natural thing to do at the time, but I can now realize something of the dramatic force of the event."¹¹

The *mise-en-scène* and the act itself were thus described in the New York "Times" of August 3 and 4. The furnishings are "those of the ordinary New England farm house of the better class. The faint light of an old fashioned kerosene lamp with a fluted top chimney and etched sides, was sufficient to throw the faces of the President and his father into bold relief. Back of the President was a large framed portrait of himself which occupies the position of honor in his father's home . . . although there are several small, well chosen prints of figures and landscapes. . . .

11. Mr. Coolidge need not have excluded monarchies, provided they were Christian. Kings may have officiated at the coronation ceremonies of their sons, but the actual crowning has been done by an ecclesiastic. The oath, too, has been administered by an ecclesiastic except in Aragon, where it was given by the Justiciar, who was never the father of the King.

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"The President's father, sturdy and active, despite his years [78] stood at the south side of a small centre table that held the lamp, the family Bible and a number of other books." The Bible, which had belonged to Mr. Coolidge's mother, was not officially used, as "it is not the practice in Vermont or Massachusetts to use a Bible in connection with the administration of an oath."

At the swearing in of every other Vice-President as President, there have been witnesses who were persons of high official rank and of present or future national reputation. Among the little group in the country sitting room, watching a plain farmer induct his son into an office which for combined dignity and power has no equal in the temporal world, there were Mr. Coolidge's wife, his secretary, stenographer, chauffeur, and by a sort of chance, a representative of the press, of the bureaucracy, and, technicalities being waived, of the National Legislature. These were Joseph H. Fountain, editor of the Springfield (Vermont) "Reporter," S. L. Lane, a superintendent of the mail service and president of the Railway Mail Association of New England, and ex-Congressman Porter H. Dale, who had just resigned his seat in the United States House of Representatives to become a candidate, a successful one as it proved, for a vacant Senatorship. Mr. Dale lived, and Mr. Lane was visiting, in a neighboring town. They had heard the news over the radio and hastened to the Coolidge home. Outside, looking through the open doors and windows, were friends and neighbors of the hamlet, who had been roused by the coming and going of autos and had learned of the honor which had come to their former townsman. Curiously enough, neither of Mr. Coolidge's sons was present. The elder had gone to a military training camp the afternoon before and the younger, a boy just fifteen, was sleeping so soundly that it was thought best to leave him undisturbed.

The oath was taken at 2:47 Eastern Standard Time, four hours and seventeen minutes after the death of President Harding. Mr. and Mrs. Coolidge then withdrew to their room, and the little company broke up. The isolation of the new President did not last long. At three-thirty full telephone connection had been made with the outside world, and Mr. Coolidge was talking with his private secretary, Edward T. Clark, in Washington. Special precautions were also taken for the safety of the President. S. L. Lane, president of the Railway Mail Association of New England, declaring that the people

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of the United States would wish their President to be protected, kept guard at the door nearly all night. He was relieved toward morning by a United States Marshal, A. M. Harvey of Chester, who, while pursuing bootleggers, had heard of the death of Mr. Harding, and on his own responsibility proceeded to Plymouth. He in turn was relieved by a member of the National Secret Service.

A vacancy in the Presidency may be caused not only by death, but by removal, as the result of conviction on impeachment, or by resignation. As yet, no such cases have occurred, although President Johnson narrowly escaped conviction, and there were rumors that Washington, who had accepted the Presidency unwillingly from a sense of duty to the country, and Wilson, who had been prostrated by a shock, intended or contemplated resigning. It was alleged by President Jackson's enemies during the campaign of 1832 that he sought reelection only as a "vindication"; that immediately thereafter, because of his frail health, he would resign and go home, leaving the Presidency to Mr. Van Buren. There seems, however, never to have been the slightest foundation for such an assertion.

There is another power and duty of the Vice-President of the most delicate nature—that of acting as President when the President is disabled. This has never been done, though it can not be said that the question has never arisen. The Constitution provides no means of determining if a disability exists. The omission was pointed out in the convention. Dickinson of Delaware asked: "What is the extent of the term 'disability,' and who is to be the judge of it?"

Every effort has been made to avoid deciding these questions, and it has so happened that circumstances have been specially favorable for evasion. Nearly all executive duties are performed by Cabinet and subordinate officers subject to the direction of the President when he chooses to exercise it. He must indeed use his personal judgment in approving or vetoing bills. But during the last sickness of Presidents Harrison, Lincoln, Garfield, and Harding, Congress was not in session. Taylor's illness was of a few days only, the Senate was absorbed in the struggle over the Compromise of 1850, there were no bills needing his signature, and no other duties sufficiently pressing to raise the question of disability.

The last illnesses of all the Presidents who died in office, except that of Mr. Garfield, were short. His extended from the second of

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July to the nineteenth of September. The doctors forbade him to attend to public affairs. On the occasion when the members of the Cabinet spoke to him on the subject, they saw him separately and by agreement among themselves, all made entirely favorable reports. The President performed but one official act. With difficulty and by using an apparatus that had been specially prepared, he affixed his name to a warrant for extradition which would have been invalid without his signature.

It would seem that Vice-President Arthur had a full right to act as President, but from an honorable delicacy and perhaps from regard to the feelings of the people, who would have regarded such an assumption of power as an outrage on the helpless President, he refrained from doing so. The Cabinet also acted with moderation. Miss Helen Nicolay says in her book, "Our Capital on the Potomac": "Every day during Garfield's illness Blaine conscientiously visited Vice-President Arthur, to report on the condition of the invalid and on the political outlook. The two men were by no means in accord, but each deferred to the other, Blaine giving Arthur every opportunity to make suggestions, as he had a constitutional right to do, the President being incapacitated, while Arthur as scrupulously refrained from interfering with the policy of the Administration as carried out by the Secretary of State."¹²

A President may suffer from a grave illness, which is not mortal, and such a one has raised the most recent and the most difficult question of Presidential disability. On September 2, 1919, President Wilson suddenly abandoned a speaking tour in the West and returned to Washington, arriving there next morning. The capital was full of rumors, but the President's wife and his physician, the Surgeon-General of the Navy, Admiral Cary Grayson, adopted and maintained a policy of secrecy. No direct and authoritative information was given, even to members of the Cabinet.

On Friday, October 3, Secretary of the Treasury Houston found Secretary of War Baker in extreme alarm at the state of affairs. Next day Private Secretary Tumulty told Houston in strict confidence that the President was paralyzed in one leg and one arm. On Sunday, Houston, on speaking with Vice-President Marshall in the dining room of the Shoreham Hotel, found him angry with the doctors for

¹². Legally, he had no right to suggest, but only a right and also a duty to command, if a certain contingency had arisen.

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not taking him into their confidence, anxious at the thought of assuming the responsibilities of the Presidency, and especially so because he would be placed at the head of a government with which he had not been kept in touch.

Adequate evidence is not yet available as to whether or not any one in authority seriously thought of raising the question of the President's inability to perform the powers and duties of his office. Joseph Tumulty, the President's secretary, asserts that Secretary of State Lansing did broach the question; and a reading between the lines in one section of Secretary Houston's "Eight Years in Wilson's Cabinet" would seem to bear him out. There are others who say that no such action was ever contemplated. Whatever may have been the facts, no such plan ever proceeded far. Although Mr. Marshall was entirely free of such odium as attached to Mr. Arthur at the time of Garfield's illness, he was so overshadowed in the public estimation by the personality of Woodrow Wilson, that any serious proposal to place him in the Presidential chair while the latter was alive would have seemed shocking.

THE PRESIDENCY OF THE SENATE AND ITS RULES OF PROCEDURE

It is the duty of a presiding officer to conduct the business of the body over which he presides, but the modes of doing this vary in different Legislatures and other deliberative bodies. The Constitution specifically gives to each House of Congress the right to "determine the rules of its proceedings." Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the powers of the Vice-President have been subject to question and to change. Ordinarily a presiding officer, even when a member, does not take part in the debates, for such action would interfere with his duties and throw doubt on his impartiality; on the rare occasions when he intervenes in discussion he calls another member to the chair, obtains the floor in the usual manner, and speaks from it on an equality with his colleagues. But though he does not debate in the chair, he may give from it the reasons for his decisions on questions of parliamentary law.

The Vice-President have followed this custom and have occasionally extended it by explaining the reasons for their casting votes. John Adams, at least during the first part of his Vice-Presidency, did

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far more. The Senate sat with closed doors until February 20, 1794. But Senator Maclay, of Pennsylvania, who served from April 24, 1789, to March 3, 1791, kept a journal from day to day in which he recorded the proceedings of the Senate and summarized the speeches. Consequently, we have a detailed and interesting account of the secret sessions. Maclay, however, was a radical Democrat, severe in his judgments of those who opposed him, and especially hostile to John Adams; therefore in reading his diary one must be very careful to allow for the personal equation of the writer. Adams appears to have interfered frequently in debates and to have played the schoolmaster far more than Aaron Burr, to whom a Federalist diarist, Plumer of New Hampshire, later applied the term.

On May 9, 1789, the Senate considered the report of a committee recommending that the President should be officially addressed as "His Highness, the President of the United States, and Protector of the Rights of the Same." Maclay says in his diary that when the Senate was ready for the question: "Up got the Vice-President, and for forty minutes did he harangue us from the chair. He began first on the subject of order, and found fault with everything almost, but down he came to particulars, and pointedly blamed a member for disorderly behavior (for reflecting on the House of Representatives). . . . All this was only prefatory. On he got to his favorite topic of titles, and over the old ground of the immense advantage, of the absolute necessity of them. . . . The above I recollect with great precision, but he said fifty more things equally injudicious which I do not think worth mentioning."

The frequency, as well as the matter of Adams' addresses, irritated Maclay. On May 12 he thought it worth while to note that "this day, the Vice-President gave us no set speech from the chair"; but under May 14 comes the entry: "It was here that the Vice-President made us his speech for the day." Adams displayed great earnestness in behalf of the grant of an annuity to Baron Steuben or, as Maclay puts it, "Bonny Johnny Adams¹³ took uncommon pains to bias us. . . ."

The Vice-Presidents who followed Adams refrained from mingling in discussions unconnected with parliamentary questions, although during the great Nullification Debate between Webster and Hayne,

13. Adams had at times a simpering expression not unlike that of an embarrassed boy who wishes to avoid offense.

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Calhoun is said to have several times sent to the latter written suggestions concerning his argument.

There are a few instances of Senators addressing or referring to the Vice-President in debate. The first was on May 8, 1789. Maclay writes in his journal for that day: "Here he (Richard Henry Lee) began to enumerate many nations who gave titles—such as Venice, Genoa, and others. The Greeks and Romans, it was said, had no titles, 'but (making a profound bow to the chair), you were pleased to set us right in this respect to the Conscript Fathers the other day.' Here he repeated the Vice-President's speech of the 23d ultimo (April), almost verbatim all over."

In 1828, during the discussion of a rule giving the Vice-President the right to call to order for words spoken in debate, Benton told Calhoun that "the steps of disagreement were fully stated by you, sir." The most famous case of personal address is that of Clay to Van Buren during the struggle over the recharter of the United States Bank. There were many "distress petitions" describing in vehement language the misery caused by Jackson's attack on the bank and begging that this most necessary institution might have its life prolonged. On March 7, 1834, Webster presented a petition from workmen of Philadelphia for the recharter of the United States Bank and moved that it be printed. Clay seconded the motion, advanced as if unconsciously toward the Vice-President's desk, and begged him to inform the President of the actual conditions of the country. "Those in this chamber who support the administration (he said) could not render a better service than to repair to the Executive Mansion, and placing before the chief magistrate the naked and undisguised truth, prevail upon him to retrace his steps and abandon his fatal experiment. No one, sir, can perform that duty with more propriety than yourself. To you, then, sir, in no unfriendly spirit, but with feelings softened and subdued by the deep distress which pervades every class of our countrymen, I make the appeal." Then in most forcible and moving language Clay described the suffering which he declared had been caused by the measures that the President had been induced to take.

Benton says, in his "Thirty Years in the United States Senate," that "during the delivery of this apostrophe, the Vice-President maintained the utmost decorum of countenance, looking respectfully and even innocently at the speaker, all the while as if treasuring up every

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word he said to be faithfully repeated to the President. After it was over and the Vice-President had called some Senator to the chair, he went up to Mr. Clay and asked him for a pinch of his fine Maccoboy snuff (as he often did) and, having received it, walked away." To "snuff," like to "sniff," meant to express contempt; a thing of trifling value used to be described as not worth a pinch of snuff, and Van Buren was intimating that he cared nothing for Clay's buncombe. But there were Whigs who did not choose to treat their leader's burst of rhetoric as mere political "snuff." A public meeting at Philadelphia adopted a resolution that "Martin Van Buren will deserve and receive the execration of all good men, should he shrink from the responsibility of delivering to Andrew Jackson the message sent by the Hon. Henry Clay."

On December 21, 1870, a somewhat similar appeal was made to Vice-President Colfax. Senator Sumner was speaking against the annexation of Santo Domingo and, turning toward the chair, he said: "Sir, I appeal to you, as Vice-President. By official position and by well-known relations of friendship you enjoy opportunities which I intreat you to use for the good of your country and, may I add, for the benefit of that party which has so justly honored you. Go to the President, I ask you, and address him frankly with the voice of a friend to whom he must hearken. Counsel him not to follow the example of Franklin Pierce, James Buchanan, and Andrew Johnson; tell him not to allow the oppression of a weak and humble people; ask him not to exercise War Powers without authority of Congress, and remind him kindly that there is a grandeur in Justice and Peace beyond anything in material aggrandizement, beyond anything in war."

As early as April 16, 1789, the Senate adopted a few simple rules, but left most questions of parliamentary law to be decided by the Vice-President without debate and without appeal. Adams doubtless believed himself qualified for the task, though Senator Maclay was of a different opinion. But Jefferson shrank from such grave responsibilities. He felt that there ought to be some recognized system of rules so that the President, to quote his own words, "may neither leave himself free to indulge caprices or passion, nor open to the imputation of them." Accordingly, he took the rules of the Senate, the customs of Parliament, which had been the foundation of those of



LEVI PARSONS MORTON, NEW YORK, TWENTY-SECOND VICE-
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1889-1893

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most of the State legislatures, and a commonplace book of his own compiled many years before; he then gradually worked out a manual of parliamentary law which he deposited in the archives of the Senate, and which, though never formally adopted by that body, was continually referred to, and treated as an ultimate authority.

But though Jefferson became, as it were, the Lysurgus of the Senate, he did not evoke the enthusiasm aroused by his successor, Aaron Burr. About a month after Burr took his seat, Senator Plumer wrote in his diary: "Burr presides in the Senate with great ease and dignity, he always understands the subject before the Senate, states the questions clearly and confines the speakers to the point."¹⁴ At the close of Burr's term, Senator Mitchill, of New York, described him as "one of the best presiding officers who ever presided over a deliberative assembly," and Plumer recorded his full approbation of Burr's conduct as President of the Senate.

These commendations were the more honorable to Burr because his position was unusually difficult. It was during his term as Vice-President that he fought his fatal duel with Hamilton. This brought him a storm of reproach, but he did not flinch. The Senate rules gave the Vice-President the right to appoint committees, but it was the custom for him to be absent during the first days of the session, thereby leaving the appointment of committees to the Senate itself. But when the Senate assembled for the first session after the killing of Hamilton, it found its President in the chair. Plumer wrote to his son: "Colonel Burr seems determined to browbeat and cajole public opinion. . . . His manners and address are very insinuating."

The Federalists kept aloof from the man who had killed their idolized leader. Some had hoped for his impeachment. Those from New England did not call on him. Plumer made "a very formal bow" when Burr passed in the Senate Chamber, but held no conversation with him. Pious men, especially those from New England, were deeply shocked by the situation. Plumer wrote to a friend that it was the first time "(God grant it may be the last) that ever a man indicted for murder presided in the American Senate. We are indeed fallen on evil times. To a religious mind, the aspect of public affairs is veiled in darkness. The high office of President is filled by an *infidel*,¹⁵ that of Vice President by a *Murderer*." (Italics in the original.)

14. In later years such confinement would have been regarded as a gross infringement of Senatorial privilege.

15. The term was often applied by the Federalists to Jefferson.

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But the Republicans and President Jefferson, who had denied Burr a renomination and even refused him an office which would permit him to march out with the honors of war, now showered attentions upon him. Madison took him up in his carriage to call on the French Minister. Jefferson not only invited him to dinner, but even gave three important offices to members of his clan. Lesser chiefs of the party took a like course. John Quincy Adams wrote to his father: "The Vice-President is treated by his former friends with a degree of distinction and respect to which he had before this session long been a stranger. His case is held out as being eminently entitled to compassion." And Adams added, justly or unjustly: "He seems to be under a deeper personal obligation to one member of the Senate than from his situation he ought to be and the effect of his obligation is too perceptible on his conduct as President."¹⁶

Probably this attention was chiefly due to a desire to conciliate Burr because he was to preside over the impeachment of a judge of the Supreme Court whom the Democrats were very anxious to drive from the bench. But violent partisans were grateful to Burr for ridding them of an enemy. Mr. Wright, of Maryland, said on the floor of the Senate: "The first duel that I ever read of was that of David's killing Goliath. Our little David of the Republicans has killed the Goliath of Federalism, and for this I am willing to reward him."

The rough, uncultured Clinton was in striking contrast to Burr, and on the January 15 following his induction into office, John Quincy Adams wrote lamenting that the new Vice-President was "totally ignorant of all the most common powers of proceeding in Senate," that "a worse choice than Mr. Clinton could scarcely have been made." Gerry was a man of great politeness and of a very conciliatory disposition, and during the year and a half that he lived to preside over the Senate his course was doubtless satisfactory on the whole. To give entire satisfaction to the partisan and factious Senate would have been a task for an angel. Tompkins was of much the same type as Gerry, and we may believe that the Senate might have been highly pleased with their chairman if only he had been oftener in the chair. But, broken by unjustifiable charges of embezzlement, by loss of fortune,

16. The reference is probably to a leader in the obtaining of the signatures of nineteen Senators to a letter urging Governor Bloomfield, of New Jersey, to dismiss an indictment for murder which had been brought against Burr in that State.

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and by intemperance, he frequently absented himself from the Senate for long periods. During the latter part of his second term, his affairs and his habits both improved, and he was more frequently at his post.

Mr. Tompkins was succeeded by John C. Calhoun, the only American statesman of the first or second rank who held the Vice-Presidency in the century between its occupancy by Jefferson and by Roosevelt. As would be expected from a man of Mr. Calhoun's high character, and respect for law, he was most strict in the performance of the duties of his office. He came to Washington early in the sessions and remained in the chair until the time of adjournment was near when, according to custom, he would withdraw, the purpose being to give the Senate an opportunity to choose a President *pro tempore* who by law would succeed to the Presidency in case of the death or disability of both the President and the Vice-President.¹⁷

Calhoun was equally conscientious in retaining his place when once occupied. He stated in an anonymous article that during the session of 1827-28 he was not absent a moment and that he often remained in the chair from eight to twelve hours. Vice-President Calhoun departed from the custom of his predecessors of calling the persons before him "Gentlemen" and, as befitted the champion of States' Rights, addressed them as "Senators." His example was followed by the members themselves in referring to each other, and it is still the practice.

All must praise Calhoun's regularity of attendance; the term "Senator" is more appropriate, if less honorable, than the vaguer "gentlemen," and the Senate gave it the sanction of imitation; but a third change was less approved, and rightly so. John Randolph, now a Senator, had repeatedly assailed the administration with his accustomed violence, and in a famous speech had described Adams and Clay as a combination of "Blifil and Black George, the blackleg and the Puritan." He also accused or seemed to accuse Clay of falsity in connection with his conduct as Secretary of State. There was a violent clash between Senator Lloyd, of Massachusetts, who defended the President, and Randolph. Clay and Randolph fought a bloodless duel; Adams countered the Blifil and Black George comparison, which

17. He was, however, a mere *locum tenens*, provision being made for a special election. The law was changed in 1886 and the succession was made to run through the Cabinet, beginning with the Secretary of State.

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Randolph had taken from Chatham, by entering in his "Diary" a quotation from Ovid describing the man filled with jealousy and envy.

Calhoun had allowed Randolph to pour out his vituperation without restraint, defending himself on the ground that the Senate had the right to fix the rules of its own procedure, that none gave the Vice-President the power to call a Senator to order for words spoken in debate, that he could only act when a point of order was made by a Senator, and that for him to do otherwise would be to limit the freedom of debate. The matter was discussed in the Senate, without anything being done, and also by the newspapers. One of them printed articles by "A Western Senator" defending Calhoun. Thereat "Patrick Henry" arose from his grave and fiercely arraigned both Calhoun's decision and his supposed motives. But ghost met ghost. "Onslow," the most distinguished Speaker the House of Commons ever had, answered the Virginia orator with an ability equal, if not superior, to his own. The public followed the debate with much interest, the more as it was confident that the masked warriors were none other than the President and Vice-President themselves.

There is no reasonable doubt that "Onslow" was Calhoun; whether "Patrick Henry" was Adams is less certain. Mr. Worthington C. Ford wrote Mr. William C. Meigs, when the latter gentleman was preparing his life of Calhoun, that he believed that Adams and "Patrick Henry" were entirely different persons. Mr. Meigs, however, thinks that much weight is due to the fact that contemporaries believed "Patrick Henry" to be Adams. "Henry's" mode of argument is very like that of Adams, and Mr. Meigs inclines to the theory that Adams supervised the articles. But whether he did or not, we know his opinion of the affair from a caustic and prejudiced entry in his diary, two years later. He says that Calhoun "permitted John Randolph, day after day, in speeches of ten hours long, to drink himself drunk with bottled porter, and in raving balderdash of the meridian of Wapping, to revile the absent and the present, the living and the dead. This was tolerated by Calhoun because Randolph's ribaldry was all pointed against the administration, especially against Mr. Clay and me, and because he was afraid of Randolph."

In the session of 1827-28 the Senate appointed a committee to revise its rules. Adams gives as the reason that "the opposition party having a majority in the Senate, and wishing to hold up Calhoun again

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for the Vice-Presidency, have been trying by various means to get a vote of the Senate sanctioning his abdication of his duty." A kind of sanction was obtained, but only technically and in Calhounesque manner. When the committee reported, Senator Tazewell, of Virginia, a high priest of the States' Rights faith, asked if there had been any alteration of the rules by whose authority the Vice-President had decided, correctly as the speaker believed, that he had no right to call to order for words spoken in debate. Mr. Tazewell was informed that no change had been made, but that one member of the committee had differed from his colleagues in the matter; whereupon Senator Foote, of Connecticut, announced that he was the member and that, having been thus alluded to, he should offer in the Senate the motion which had been voted down in committee.

The amendment gave to the Vice-President the power to call to order for words spoken in debate, but to the Senator, thus halted in his speech, a right to appeal to the Senate. The Vice-President was also permitted, if he desired, to take the opinion of the Senate on the question of order. A long debate ensued, which was participated in by three future Vice-Presidents—Van Buren, Tyler, and King.¹⁸ Each side endeavored to show that the principles of its opponents would or might lead to the gravest consequences.

The friends of the amendment urged that only a few cases were provided for in the rules and that if the President of the Senate could not keep order by virtue of his office, he could not prevent a riot on the floor. Mr. Chambers, of Maryland, said that "on some of the plainest as well as the most important rules of legislative order the Senate had no written rule whatever. He believed in every legislative body it was held necessary to restrain the speaker from subjects wholly and obviously foreign and irrelevant to the matter in hand. But yet, unless it had eluded his research, there was no written rule of the Senate to secure this necessary result. Not one word on the subject. If he were now to leave the subject of the rules and practice of this body and indulge himself in a history of the beauty, the splendor, and the utility of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, he would deny the authority of any individual in this Chamber, whether president or

¹⁸ Tyler, however, merely took his seat, having succeeded to the Presidency before the Senate met for business, and King died without sitting at all.

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member, to charge upon him a violation of order on the hypothesis that the *lex scripta* is the only rule of this House.”¹⁹

It was urged that order in debate would be much better preserved by the President than by the Senators individually because what is everybody's business is nobody's business, that the person attacked would not wish to appeal to parliamentary usage lest he might seem to fear discussion, and that other Senators might be unwilling to object lest they should draw the assailant on themselves with the demand: “By what right do you interfere when all your colleagues see no reason to do so?” It was also pointed out with much reason that quarrels on the floor usually originated in slight criticism growing fiercer and fiercer as retort followed retort, and that no one was so fitted to resist the beginnings as the presiding officer whose duty it was to watch the debates. The friends of the amendment appealed to precedent as well as reason. They said that Jefferson's manual, which had become a sort of bible of parliamentary procedure, directed the Vice-President to call to order, and that from the beginning of the government until 1825 this power had been recognized as belonging to the President of the Senate.

For the period between 1811 and 1825, the deaths of Clinton and Gerry and the frequent absences of Tompkins had made a president *pro tempore* necessary for the greater part of the time. This position usually had been held by Senator Gaillard, of South Carolina, and he had not hesitated to call to order members who had manifestly wandered from the question, even though their language was of the most decent and orderly nature. Much was made of these precedents and it was pointed out that they were of the greater value because Gaillard was a modest, unassuming man, not given to grasping at power, and that he was deeply learned in parliamentary law.

Opponents of the change in the rules did their best to break the force of such arguments from precedent. They said that Jefferson's manual only provided that words should be taken down at the close of a speech, when the mischief would be done, and reminded the Senate that the manual had never been formally adopted as a rule of procedure. It was hinted that what was proper in Gaillard, who was elected and could be removed by the Senate, might not be so in a

19. Such conduct then supposed as a mere *reductio ad absurdum* is now allowed by the Senate.

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President imposed on it from without. Calhoun himself twice intervened in the discussion. He said that he had only refrained from calling a Senator to order when to do so would have interfered with the freedom of debate, that he had repeatedly called to order for a violation of the rules of the Senate, which was a purely ministerial act. Great stress was laid by the supporters of the existing rules on the difference between ministerial and original power. Tyler compared the President of the Senate to a court which can construe but not make laws. "He defined the powers of the chair to be ministerial, and properly exercised under the rules originating from the Senate, and he contended, at great length, that no other power was or could be given to the chair, by implication, or by the '*Lex Parliamentaria*.'" Great horror was expressed at allowing the Vice-President despotic authority to suppress debate at will. Something had been said of the inherent power of a presiding officer and this revived the old quarrel concerning a grant of implied powers by the Constitution.

The friends of the amendment replied with much reason that they were the true defenders of liberty, that if the presiding officer wished to suppress a debate he could almost certainly find one Senator to raise a point of order against it, and that by the present rules the Vice-President could decide a member to be out of order without debate and without appeal; but that by the amendment the speaker whom it was desired to silence might appeal to the Senate itself. Yet the argument from the danger of the doctrine of inherent power was two-edged. "Mr. Van Buren spoke at considerable length, in opposition to the opinion expressed that the powers delegated, in the Constitution, could be enlarged to so great an extent as was claimed, by implication," and defended the democratic principle of drawing power from the head to the sources, but announced his intention of voting against his Democratic friends because, although he had considered it inexpedient for the Vice-President to have the right under discussion, he believed that there was no better way of rebuking the doctrine of inherent power than by giving it to him, and thus proving that he did not hold it by virtue of his office.

When at last the amendments were put to a vote, the right to call to order for words spoken in debate was conferred on the Vice-President by thirty-one yeas to fifteen nays; the privilege of appeal was given with substantial unanimity. "The Vice-President then rose

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and said that he took this opportunity to express his entire satisfaction with that portion of the amendment giving to Senators the right of appeal from the decision of the chair, as it was not only according to strict principle but would relieve the chair from a most delicate duty. As to the power conferred upon the chair, it was not for him to speak; but he assured the Senate that he should always endeavor to exercise it with strict impartiality." Calhoun, in accordance with his nature, talked of the limitation of powers, and others also said much of this principle.

But disputes on abstract theory usually have some concrete cause, and members were thinking of Calhoun's failure to stop Randolph. Senator Dickerson, of New Jersey, spoke of the occasion "two years ago, when two Senators (Randolph and Lloyd) by the violence of their remarks upon each other totally interrupted the business of the Senate." Benton defended Randolph's conduct as within the limits of parliamentary privilege. Calhoun participated in the debate to the extent of an explanation of the grounds for his non-action. He made it plain that he had not decided against the power of the chair to call to order in general, but only that he had no power under the rules to call to order for *words used in debate*. For instance, there was a Senate rule forbidding one Senator to speak to another, read a newspaper, or otherwise interrupt the proceedings of the chamber; this gave the chair authority to tap on the desk for order. There was another rule prescribing an order of business for the day; this was a sufficient basis for the chair's declaring motions inconsistent therewith. But neither in the Constitution nor in the Senate rules did there exist a phrase which conferred the power to call a Senator to order for words used in debate. It was inconceivable that the Constitution would have vested in the Vice-President so despotic a power. "Who is a Senator," he asked, "that the right of uttering his sentiments within these walls should be placed under the will of an officer connected, in a certain measure, with the executive branch of the government? He is the representative of a state in its sovereign capacity, and, in the larger states, is the organ of the will of more than a million constituents. It would then be absurd to suppose that the right of determining what he should say, and in what manner, should be placed by the Constitution in the power of an officer wholly irresponsible to this body."



THEODORE ROOSEVELT, NEW YORK, TWENTY-FIFTH VICE-
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1901

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When the amendments had been passed and then slightly modified, Noble, of Indiana, spoke the final word by hoping "that under the present regulations, the flood gates of the waters of Roanoke would never be opened to inundate the Senate Chamber again."

Van Buren came to the Vice-Presidency under trying circumstances. The Senate had insultingly refused to confirm his nomination as Minister to England, and President Jackson had replied by using the blunder as a means for placing him over the body that had rejected him. The Opposition Alliance was in control of the Senate and it was led by the great triumvirate, Calhoun, Clay, and Webster. Political feeling was most bitter. At one time there was some danger that the conflict would not be verbal merely, but that there would be an anticipation of the Brooks-Sumner episode, perhaps a fatal one. One of the most violent of the Whig Senators was Poindexter, of Mississippi. Intemperance and financial and domestic troubles had dulled his once brilliant intellect and inflamed his temper. Van Buren had presided at the convening of the Senate, and a Newburgh (New York) paper had stated, and other papers had repeated, that "this early attendance was due to a wish to keep the chair from the disgrace of being occupied by that bloated mass of corruption—Poindexter."

Poindexter wrote to Van Buren that he would not believe that he had so unworthy a purpose, that he would prefer to regard his presence as due to an anxiety to perform his duties with promptness and industry. Poindexter concluded his letter with the threatening sentence: "It is now in your power to give me the assurance which I consider *absolutely* (italics in the original) necessary to avert the consequences of an opposite conclusion." That evening Jackson, Van Buren, and Senators Forsyth, of Georgia, and Wright, of New York, held a consultation. All agreed that the letter was a preliminary to violence. A brief reply was prepared in which Van Buren told Poindexter that he was correct in believing that he had no intention of interfering with the right of the Senate to choose its presiding officer and that "your very proper and explicit disclaimer of all idea of holding me responsible for the commentaries and constructions of the public press has enabled me so far to respect the official relations existing between us, and to which you refer, as to give you this answer." It was feared that so cold a disclaimer might be regarded as insufficient by the hot-headed Southerner and Van Buren, who had never before

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carried arms, next morning took the chair of the Senate "with a pair of pistols loaded and cocked, concealed on his person." But Poindexter did not press the matter further; it is said that his return to reason was due to the advice of Henry Clay.

Van Buren's successor was the amiable and conciliatory Richard M. Johnson, who did his duty as a deferential, courteous figurehead. John Tyler, whose strong States' Rights views and previous service in the Senate might have led him to minimize his authority over the ambassadors of sovereign states, was called to the Presidency within a month after his accession. Mr. Dallas was praised for the gracefulness with which he presided over the Senate. His inaugural speech had indicated a wish to avoid responsibility, and though he was obliged to give a most important and embarrassing casting vote on the tariff law of 1846, he was as far as possible the very humble servant of the Senate. His successor, Millard Fillmore, though not wholly unlike Dallas, was a stronger man. His biographer says: "As Vice-President, Mr. Fillmore was an ideal presiding officer. Always urbane, dignified, judicial in bearing as in habit of mind, he ruled with impartiality and imbued his associates with a new sense of the dignity of their office and the services they were looked upon to perform." A year's experience of the Vice-Presidency convinced Mr. Fillmore that the Senate needed a firmer hand.

The amended rules, adopted in 1828 after so much debate, had fallen into disuse and partial forgetfulness. On April 3, 1850, after a series of disorderly scenes caused by the unchecked use of unparliamentary words, Vice-President Fillmore addressed the Senate on the matter of the presiding officer's responsibility and powers in that respect. He stated that he had inquired of some of the Senators to know what had been the usage on this subject, and was told that the general practice had been, since Mr. Calhoun had acted as Vice-President, not to interfere unless a question of order was made by some Senator. He continued:

I was informed that that distinguished and now lamented person had declined to exercise the power of calling to order for words spoken in debate, on the ground that he had no authority to do so. Some thought that the rule had been changed, and others not, but there still seemed to be a difference of opinion as to the power. Under these circumstances, though my opinion was strongly in favor of the power—with or without a rule to authorize it—I thought it

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most prudent not hastily to assume the exercise of it, but to wait until the course of events should show that it was necessary. It appears to me that the time has now arrived, and that the Senate should know my opinion on this subject, and the powers which, after mature reflection, I think are vested in the chair, and the corresponding duties which they impose. If I am wrong in the conclusions at which I have arrived, I desire the advice of the Senate to correct me. I therefore think it better to state them now, when there is an opportunity for a cool and dispassionate examination rather than wait until they are called into action by some scene of excitement which may be unfavorable to dispassionate deliberations and advice. . . . ”

Mr. Fillmore then stated his belief, and the reasons therefor, that it was both his right and his duty to call to order for words spoken in debate. He said: “I know how difficult it is to determine what is and what is not in order, to restrain improper language and yet not abridge the freedom of debate. But all must see how important it is that the first departure from the strict rule of parliamentary decorum should be checked, as a slight attack, or even insinuation, of a personal character, often provokes a more severe retort, which brings out a more disorderly reply—each Senator feeling a justification in the previous aggression. There is therefore no point so proper to interpose for the preservation of order, as to check the first violation of it.”

Mr. Fillmore expressed full confidence in the judgment of the Senate, and gently called its attention to the frequency of the infraction of certain minor rules which it might be unwise always to strictly enforce. He expressed his disapproval of a practice which had grown up of interrupting a Senator, and his hope that it would be done only for urgent reason and then by addressing not the Senator who was speaking, but the chair, as the rules required.

The Senate gave no opinion on these remarks of its President, but on motion of its leading parliamentarian, William R. King, unanimously ordered that they be entered in the Journal, and on the motion of another Democrat, James W. Bradbury, of Maine, also directed that they be printed. What developments might have followed had Mr. Fillmore served out his term it is difficult to say. But in the ensuing July the death of General Taylor called him to the Presidency; and for seven years the Senate was presided over by one of its own choice, since William R. King, who was elected Vice-President with Pierce, did not live to take his seat. A formal man, learned in and

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highly esteeming the science of parliamentary law, he might have played the part of schoolmaster to the Senate, though probably, like Calhoun and Tyler, he was too great a devotee of States' Rights to have relied on the doctrine of implied powers to justify an exercise of authority.

Buchanan's Vice-President, John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, was so strong an advocate of States' Rights that he joined the Confederacy, although his State did not secede, and presumably he was inclined to think himself, when President of the Senate, as chairman of a council of ambassadors.

Of the subsequent Republican Vice-Presidents, Johnson sat for only a single day, and Wilson was absent for a considerable period because of ill health, and died in office. Hamlin, Colfax, and Wheeler were specially versed in parliamentary law. Colfax and Wheeler were remarkably gentle and courteous in manner, and had already been very successful as presiding officers. Senator Cullom, in his memoirs, mentions Wheeler as one of the Vice-Presidents who was peculiarly successful in guiding the Senate without seeming to do so.

Vice-President Hendricks, the only Democrat who held the Vice-Presidency in the period of thirty-two years between 1861 and 1893, died before Congress met in regular session. Under Levi P. Morton came a demand that the Vice-President should be not a moderator but a czar. The Democrats were filibustering against the Force Bill, and Mr. Morton was urged to suppress debate on the ground that it had become dilatory; he refused to do so and the Force Bill was laid aside. Many Republicans, though they voted for the proposed law, did not wish to see the South under ignorant negro rule. The Democrats were, of course, delighted at their triumph. Mr. Morton had shown poise, moderation, and courtesy in the performance of his official duties, and all the Senators of both parties united in giving him a dinner as a mark of appreciation and respect.

The question of allowing unlimited debate in the Senate and thereby permitting "a little group of wilful men," as President Wilson later called the filibusters against the declaration of war with Germany, to defeat the wishes of a great majority, had been much discussed in the country and the Senate rules had been freely condemned and ridiculed. But they had been of great service to the Democrats in defeating the Force Bill.

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The new Vice-President, Adlai E. Stevenson, was a Democrat. In his inaugural address he did not refer to the rules, but assured the Senate that he assumed the duties of presiding with no feeling of self-confidence. Senator Cullom says in his reminiscences: "Adlai E. Stevenson became much beloved by the Senate. He also fell in love with the body. Hence he left us with benedictions." The benedictions were mutual. They consisted on the part of the Senate of the gift by its members of a silver service; on the part of their President, of a farewell speech in which he unstintedly praised the much criticized rules, saying:

It has been my earnest endeavor justly to interpret, and faithfully to execute, the rules of the Senate. At times the temptation may be strong to compass partisan ends by a disregard or a perversion of the rules. Yet, I think it safe to say, the result, however salutary, will be dearly purchased by a departure from the method prescribed by the Senate for its own guidance. A single instance as indicated, might prove the forerunner of untold evils.

'Twill be recorded for a precedent,
And many an error by the same example
Will rush into the State.

It must not be forgotten that the rules governing this body are founded deep in human experience; that they are the result of centuries of tireless effort in legislative halls, to conserve, to render stable and secure, the rights and liberties which have been achieved by conflict. By its rules, the Senate wisely fixes the limits to its own power. Of those who clamor against the Senate and its mode of procedure it may be truly said, "They know not what they do." In this Chamber alone are preserved, without restraint, two essentials of wise legislation and of good government—the right of amendment and of debate. Great evils often result from hasty legislation, rarely from the delay which follows full discussion and deliberation. In my humble judgment, the historic Senate, preserving the unrestricted right of amendment and of debate, maintaining intact the time-honored parliamentary methods and amenities which unfailingly secure action after deliberation, possesses in our scheme of government a value which can not be measured by words. The Senate is a perpetual body. In the terse words of an eminent Senator now present: "The men who framed the Constitution had studied thoroughly all former attempts at republican government. History was strewn with the wrecks of unsuccessful democracies. Sometimes the usurpation of the executive power, sometimes the fickleness and unbridled license

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of the people, had brought popular governments to destruction. To guard against these dangers, they placed their chief hope in the Senate. The Senate which was organized in 1789, at the inauguration of the Government, abides and will continue to abide, one and the same body, until the Republic itself shall be overthrown, or time shall be no more."

At the conclusion of his speech Stevenson had said: "For the able and distinguished gentleman (Garrett A. Hobart) who succeeds me as your presiding officer, I earnestly invoke the same coöperation and courtesy which you have so generously accorded me." But the Senate received its new President with aloofness. His inaugural address excited alarm. What would be his attitude toward those laws of the Medes and Persians, the sacred rules? An attack on them would command strong support outside the chamber, and not that of the *hoi polloi* alone. The *Nation*, special representative of the social and intellectual aristocracy of the country, had suggested a speech in which Hobart should tell the Senate that it had disgraced itself by its failure to transact business and do its duty.

Hobart, of course, used no such violent language. He spoke of the honor he felt in being Vice-President, of the delicacy of his position because he was imposed on the Senate, not chosen by it, and of his need and anticipation of the indulgent aid always given to his predecessors. He even announced his intention of enforcing the rules and conserving time-honored precedents. But he also said: "It will be my constant effort to aid you, so far as I may, in all reasonable expedition of the business of the Senate and I may be permitted to express the belief that such expedition is the hope of the country. All the interests of good government and the advancement toward a higher and better condition of things call for prompt and positive legislation at your hands. To obstruct the regular course of wise and prudent legislative action after the fullest and freest discussion is neither consistent with true Senatorial courtesy, conducive to the welfare of the people, nor in compliance with their just expectations."

It is probable that both the Senate and the public regarded the admonition as a forerunner of an attempt to change the rules. The New York "Tribune," perhaps hoping to soften the hard heart of the Senate, made the soothing comment: "No member of the deliberative branch who is not suffering from an extreme case of supersensitiveness

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will discover in or between the lines . . . anything more than a reasonable and becoming wish that the Senate shall perform its duty and that its presiding officer may prove equal to the opportunities of his position."

But the Senate *is* sensitive, perhaps supersensitive. It resents any appearance of dictation. It is inclined to regard even quick movement as unworthy of its dignity. Senator Cullom says: "It is quite important that the President of the Senate should be a pleasant natured gentleman, and the gentleman in the Senate will almost always respond to the gentleman in the chair. Senators do not submit easily to any exercise of authority. . . . Vice-Presidents Wheeler, Morton, and Stevenson asserted their authority with as little show of force as if they were presiding over a company of guests at their own table. But the order and dignity of the body have been preserved. Hobart came in with the decision and aplomb of a busy and experienced administrator. I never saw anything like Hobart's easy despatch from the time he began swearing in the new Senators. They say he presided over both Houses of the New Jersey Legislature and some think he considers the Senate about the same. He gives a commercial touch to the body it has not had in my time."

Like other Vice-Presidents, Mr. Hobart failed to really hurry the Senate, and he freely acknowledged his failure. Later, in referring to his inaugural address, he quoted in substance his condemnation of mere obstruction and said: "That remark was made in all innocence, but I soon discovered that the Senate's definition of reasonable expedition differed very much from my own conception of the meaning of that phrase. The 'expediency' (expedition) which was heralded as the hope of the country has finally come, but it has come through no effort of mine, and through no improvement of the rules of the Senate."

But Mr. Hobart, like the dyer's hand, soon became subdued to what he worked in. In replying to a toast to the Senate, he said: "The Senate goes on forever, a permanent, fixed quantity, and in its permanency, solidity and conservatism a striking evidence of the wisdom of the great men who made our Constitution." This judgment expressed the Senate's firm opinion of itself; it cordially accepted the submission of its chief, and he ruled by obeying. His capacity of persuasion and of making friends caused Senators to feel that he was

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one of themselves, and gave him an influence with them probably greater than any other Vice-President has enjoyed.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT'S CASTING VOTE

The Constitution makes the Vice-President President of the Senate, but it defines his powers in only one respect, that of voting. It says that he shall have the right in case of a tie and not otherwise. This high prerogative has been exercised 191 times by 24 Vice-Presidents. Their names, down to March 4, 1929, with the number of votes given by each, follow: Adams, 29; Jefferson, 3; Burr, 3; Clinton, 11; Gerry, 8; Tompkins, 5; Calhoun, 28; Van Buren, 4; R. M. Johnson, 14; Dallas, 19; Fillmore, 5; Breckinridge, 10; Hamlin, 7; Colfax, 13; Wilson, 1; Wheeler, 5; Arthur, 3; Morton, 4; Stevenson, 2; Hobart, 1; Sherman, 4; Marshall, 10; Dawes, 2.

Fairbanks, Coolidge, and all the Vice-Presidents who succeeded to the Presidency before the regular meeting of Congress, except Chester A. Arthur, gave no casting votes.²⁰

It will be observed that the first Vice-President, John Adams, gave more casting votes than did any of his successors and far more than did any of them except Calhoun, who almost equalled his record. His votes were also the most important, and it is a curious fact that the first in the long list of casting votes of Vice-President acting as President of the Senate,²¹ extending over a period of nearly a century and a half, had the greatest influence on the governmental and political history of the Nation. A bill before the Senate for establishing the Department of State contained a phrase which recognized the right of the President to remove the head of the department and hence all similar officers. Senator Maclay moved to strike out the clause; the vote stood ten to ten; Adams voted against the amendment; and the power of removal remained with the President. It was questioned when Jackson removed Secretary of the Treasury Duane; limited by the Tenure-of-Office Act; and in 1926 was decided by the Supreme Court to have been conferred on the President by the Constitution, the opinion being written by an ex-President, Chief Jus-

20. For these statistics I am indebted to a very thorough study published in the "American Historical Review" for April, 1915 (Vol. XX, p. 571), and to a supplemental list prepared for me by a senior student at Barnard College.

21. The above statement must be understood in a strictly technical sense. Adams assumed the right to act as chairman of the committee of the whole and as such had previously given two casting votes on a tariff bill before his vote on the power of removal. The first was in favor of lowering a proposed duty on loaf sugar, the second against increasing one on salt.

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tice Taft. The Senate had obtained great power by its right to concur in nominations; could it block removals also, the President might have become its servant.

Adams had carefully considered the question and prepared for his own use a memorandum, now lost, of the reasons for his decision; but in the Senate his vote was given without hesitation and, indeed, if Senator Maclay may be relied on, in a hurried and undignified manner. Mr. Maclay notes in his diary that "the Vice-President with joy cried out 'it is not a vote,' without giving himself time to declare the division of the House and give his vote in order." Maclay says that there had been much private discussion of the bill, or, as he calls it, "caballing"; that Adams was very active in this; and that it was generally believed that he was responsible for the conversion of Senators Dalton, of Massachusetts, and Bassett, of Delaware, who announced that they had changed their opinions. Maclay also credits, or discredits, Adams with weakening the support of the amendment by his old friend, Lee, of Virginia.

Another very important vote of Vice-President Adams, given on April 28, 1794, defeated a bill for suspending imports from Great Britain. Its passage might have prevented the mission of John Jay and led to war with England, or at least caused a collapse of public credit, which might in turn have brought down our newly established government.

Of minor importance, but still of interest, were Adams' votes on the salaries of judges and the pension of Baron Steuben. A bill was before the Senate giving the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court four thousand dollars a year and the Associate Justices three thousand each. It was moved to raise the latter sum to three thousand five hundred and the motion was carried by the vote of the Vice-President. Adams also voted twice in favor of a bill giving a pension to Baron Steuben, a Prussian officer, who had rendered most valuable service as inspector-general of the Continental Army, and who could claim that he had received a semi-promise that the government would provide for him. Adams' votes were usually strongly Federalist, but he occasionally won the praise of that unterrified Democrat, Senator William Maclay, of Pennsylvania.

During Adams' administration the Federalists had a good working majority in the Senate and Vice-President Jefferson's often

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expressed desire to escape from the burden of public cares was gratified, at least, in the matter of giving the casting vote. He was obliged to perform this duty on only three occasions, and one of them must have given him great pleasure; for he was able to save an amendment to the famous Alien Bill, which provided that nothing in it should be construed in a manner to contravene existing treaties.

Burr, like Jefferson, gave only three casting votes. Two of them were on the same bill, which was one of considerable importance. At the close of Adams' administration, the defeated Federalists had established new circuit courts and filled them with their own partisans, to the great wrath of Jefferson who, in a letter to a friend, made the famous declaration that "they have retired into the Judiciary as a stronghold and from that battery all the works of Republicanism are to be battered down and erased." The judges could not be removed but the law creating the courts could be repealed; "You could not take the judge from the office, but you could take the office from the Judge."

In January, 1802, the Senate passed a bill repealing the Judiciary Act of 1801; but the Federalists proclaimed with great energy and eloquence that the repeal was unconstitutional and nearly succeeded in defeating it. When the vote on the third reading was taken, two Republican Senators were absent and the bill was only saved by the casting vote of the Vice-President. The next day Senator Jonathan Dayton, of New Jersey, a moderate Federalist, who had once inclined to the Republicans,²² moved that the bill be referred to a select committee with instructions "to consider and report the alterations which may be proper in the judiciary system of the United States." Dayton said that he had learned that one gentleman who voted for the third reading had not perfectly heard and understood the question and that he, himself, only asked that the two parties might agree on a modification of the whole judicial system.

This gave Burr the opportunity of playing the part of the ideal presiding officer, the impartial moderator. He said that "he felt disposed to accommodate the gentlemen in the expression of their wishes, the sincerity of which he had no reason to question, to ameliorate the provisions of the bill that it might be rendered more acceptable to the Senate. He did this under the impression that their object was sin-

²² Jefferson believed that his change of mind was due to a hope of becoming Secretary of War under Adams.



CALVIN COOLIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, TWENTY-NINTH VICE-
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1921-1925

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cere. He should, however, discountenance by his vote any attempt, if any such should be made, that might in an indirect way go to defeat the bill." Burr, however was given no opportunity to do this. A few days later when a Republican Senator had returned and a Federalist Senator was absent, the bill was taken from the committee and passed. Burr's vote had no effect on the bill but much on his political position.

Burr's view of the matter was certainly defensible. Senator Beveridge, in his "Life of John Marshall," says that Burr's action was perfectly correct, that as an impartial presiding officer he could not well have done anything else. Alexander J. Dallas, the Republican Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, wrote the Vice-President approving his action. Nathaniel Niles, a rampant Republican, sent Burr a letter thanking him for his vote. As a Republican, he wanted his party to be fair, he said.

But President Jefferson and most of the party leaders severely blamed Burr for disloyalty, and there is this to be said for their view. Burr had been elected by the Republicans; the impartiality expected in a presiding officer varies widely. There is a great contrast between the Speaker of the House of Representatives and his venerable brother of the House of Commons. Moreover, it might be urged that Burr was not deciding a question of order where non-partisanship is a solemn duty, but voting on a question of making a law where a certain consideration may rightly be paid to party policy. It was Senator rather than Chairman Burr who delayed the decision of the Senate. As in the Presidential election, Burr alienated his allies, yet failed to conciliate his opponents. The former condemned him as a traitor who had failed in his duty, the latter as a coward for not defeating Jefferson and for not killing the Circuit Court bill; and both sides believed that he was trying to form a party of his own.

Vice-President Clinton gave three casting votes, one of which defeated a bill whose loss caused great embarrassment to the country. The charter of the United States Bank was to expire in 1811. When it was founded in 1791 the Jeffersonians had vehemently opposed its creation as contrary to the Constitution and to Republican principles. But in 1810 the Republican Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, believed that a bank was "necessary and proper" for executing the lawful powers of the government, and was most anxious that the Bank of the United States should be rechartered. A bill for this pur-

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pose was indefinitely postponed in the House of Representatives by a single vote. In the Senate the vote on the passage of a like bill was a tie.

Clinton was both in theory and in feeling a strong States' Rights and strict construction man. He was bitterly opposed to President Madison and to Gallatin and he voted against the bill, doubtless with the joy of one to whom his duty is both plain and pleasant. Clinton accompanied his vote with a brief statement of his reasons for giving it. He said that the means for carrying out the enumerated powers must be appropriate. The power to create corporations is not expressly granted. It is a high tribute of sovereignty and in its nature not "accessorial or derivative by implication, but primary and independent." Clinton expressed the opinion that his interpretation of the Constitution would not in any way defeat its purpose, while the opposite construction would have an inevitable tendency to consolidation. He said that in the course of a long life he had found that government was not strengthened by the assumption of doubtful powers and reminded the Senate that the Constitution could be amended if the powers granted by it were found to be insufficient.

The address resembled part of an elaborate argument against recharter which had been delivered by that future stalwart champion of a bank, Senator Henry Clay. It also differed markedly in its style from that of the uncultivated and sometimes headlong Clinton. The most probable explanation is that Clinton had accepted the help of the brilliant Kentuckian. John Quincy Adams noted in his diary for November 26, 1825, that Clay said that he wrote the speech, "which was perhaps the thing which had gained the old man more credit than anything else that he ever did." But Clay added that he had written it "under Mr. Clinton's dictation and he should never think of claiming it as his own composition."

The right of the Vice-President to give a casting vote when the Senate is equally divided may seem the one great substantial power of a rather unsubstantial functionary; yet two Vice-Presidents, Gerry and Dallas, in their inaugural address expressed the hope, the first indirectly, the second by implication, that they would have no occasion to use this right. Gerry and Dallas were courtly gentlemen and it possibly may be that their apparent humility was due more to what they considered the demands of etiquette than to real modesty. But

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the political careers of both men had shown that they were "born of the willow, not of the oak," and probably they were honestly and prudently anxious to escape responsibility.

Mr. Blaine says in his "Twenty years in Congress" that the right of a Vice-President to vote in case of a tie "is a contingency, more apt to embarrass than promote his political fortunes." This was recognized from the first. After John Adams, very readily and gladly it would seem, had broken a tie by voting for an amendment giving higher salaries to the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, there was another tie on the question of increasing the salary of the Attorney-General. Maclay wrote in his journal that Adams looked pitiful and said that he would be made the scape-goat for everything. However, a Senator changed his vote and the victim was freed. On another occasion Maclay gleefully noted that Adams had the yeas and nays called on him.

These ties were the result of a nice balance in a small Senate of representatives of two schools of political thought. Later, ties were sometimes deliberately contrived to injure the Vice-President. In 1811 it was reported truly or falsely that the administration had arranged a tie to throw the onus of defeating the bank bill on the Vice-President, Mr. Clinton. The story was that Senator Worthington, of Ohio, was opposed to the bank and would have voted against the recharter if this had been necessary to defeat it; but his name was the last on the roll and when he saw that his vote, if given in the affirmative, would make a tie, he voted for the bill because he knew that the Vice-President would vote no, and so offend the Federalists who were friends of the bank and whose help the anti-Virginia Republicans of New York, now led by Clinton, were anxious to obtain.

In the "Middle Period" of national history two Vice-Presidents, past or future, Van Buren the Little Magician, and Calhoun the austere master of logic, plotted to drive each other into traps, and probably the "godlike" Webster lent his aid. In 1827 a bill which actually, though not formally, greatly increased the tariff on woolen goods was before the Senate. The bill had aroused intense feeling on both sides and either support or opposition was dangerous for possible candidates for the Presidency. Senator Van Buren, of New York, voted on several occasions for the bill, but when Senator Hayne, of South Carolina, moved to lay it on the table, he remained silent. A

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tie resulted; Vice-President Calhoun gave a casting vote in favor of the motion and became responsible for the loss of the bill. As a matter of fact, there was not time to pass it before adjournment, but this might not have been generally realized. Calhoun had formerly been considered a moderate protectionist and his action, while popular in the South, might offend voters in the North whose support he would soon need.

A little later Calhoun had an opportunity for revenge which he used to the full. When the question of consenting to the nomination of Van Buren as Minister to England was before the Senate, Calhoun gave three casting votes against the appointment, two on preliminary questions and one on that of concurrence; although as Van Buren was accused of deliberately causing a breach between the two chief officers of the Nation, Calhoun was acting as judge in his own cause. Ben Perley Poore, not indeed a wholly reliable authority, says that the last tie was a contrived one, Webster leaving the Senate Chamber for that of the Supreme Court in order to throw the burden of decision on Calhoun.

In 1836 an opportunity came for Calhoun to strike again at his old rival. A bill was before the Senate excluding from the mails matter intended to excite slaves to insurrection. It was very extreme, giving great powers of decision to local postmasters and it had no chance of passing, as even some Southern Senators were opposed to it. But a tie was arranged on the question of the engrossment of the bill. If Vice-President Van Buren should vote against it, he would seriously offend the South, where he was regarded as an intriguing politician and a foe to States' Rights, and was even accused of being an abolitionist. But should he vote for the bill, he would displease many of his New York constituents. Accordingly, Clay and Calhoun arranged several ties. On one Van Buren did not vote, but when the Senate divided equally on the engrossment of the bill, he could not escape and he bravely faced his foes who, for a moment, believed that they had frightened him from the field.

An often quoted description of the incident by Benton is thus summarized by Denis Tilden Lynch in his life of Van Buren, "An Epoch and a Man": "When the vote was taken Van Buren was out of the chair. Calhoun loudly demanded the presence of the Vice-President, calling upon the sergeant-at-arms to produce him. Van

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Buren was pacing up and down behind the colonnade back of his desk. He let Calhoun enjoy a momentary thought that he had deliberately absented himself and then took his seat, rising a moment later to give the casting vote for the engrossment." The bill was finally defeated by a vote of 25 to 19.

In 1846 Vice-President Dallas, of Pennsylvania, was called on to decide what was probably the longest remembered and the most personally embarrassing question ever submitted to a holder of his office. Should he save or slay the tariff law of 1846? The Democrats were pushing through a bill substituting for the Whig and Protectionist tariff of 1842, one which was founded on Free Trade principles and which made a very heavy reduction of duties. Though the proposed law had aroused the bitterest opposition in Pennsylvania, Dallas was ready to follow the President and the mass of the party rather than the people of his own State; but he was naturally anxious to avoid offending either. His situation was especially difficult because in the Presidential campaign of 1844 he and the Democrats generally had been busy assuring the protectionists of Pennsylvania that Polk was sounder in the faith than Clay, and that they might safely vote for him.

Desperate efforts were being made to defeat or at least to modify the bill; the Senate was almost equally divided and there was great doubt as to what the final result would be. Senator Haywood, of North Carolina, a Democrat who had been in college with the President, believed that the change in duties if made immediately before business was given a brief time to prepare for the reversal of policy, would be bad for the country. Senator Jarnagin, of Tennessee, a Whig, was thoroughly opposed to the bill, but he had been instructed to vote for it by the Legislature of his State and felt it his duty to vote yea on the direct question of its passage. His conscience, however, might allow him to kill the bill indirectly.

The Administration was willing to compromise if this was necessary to save the bill, but was very reluctant to do so. The Democrats did not rely on Jarnagin, but even if he should vote against the bill, if Haywood voted for it, there would be a tie; and Dallas was expected to vote yea. On July 22 Polk had an interview with Haywood and begged him for the sake of the party, the country, and his own political future, to vote for the bill. Haywood withdrew, much impressed

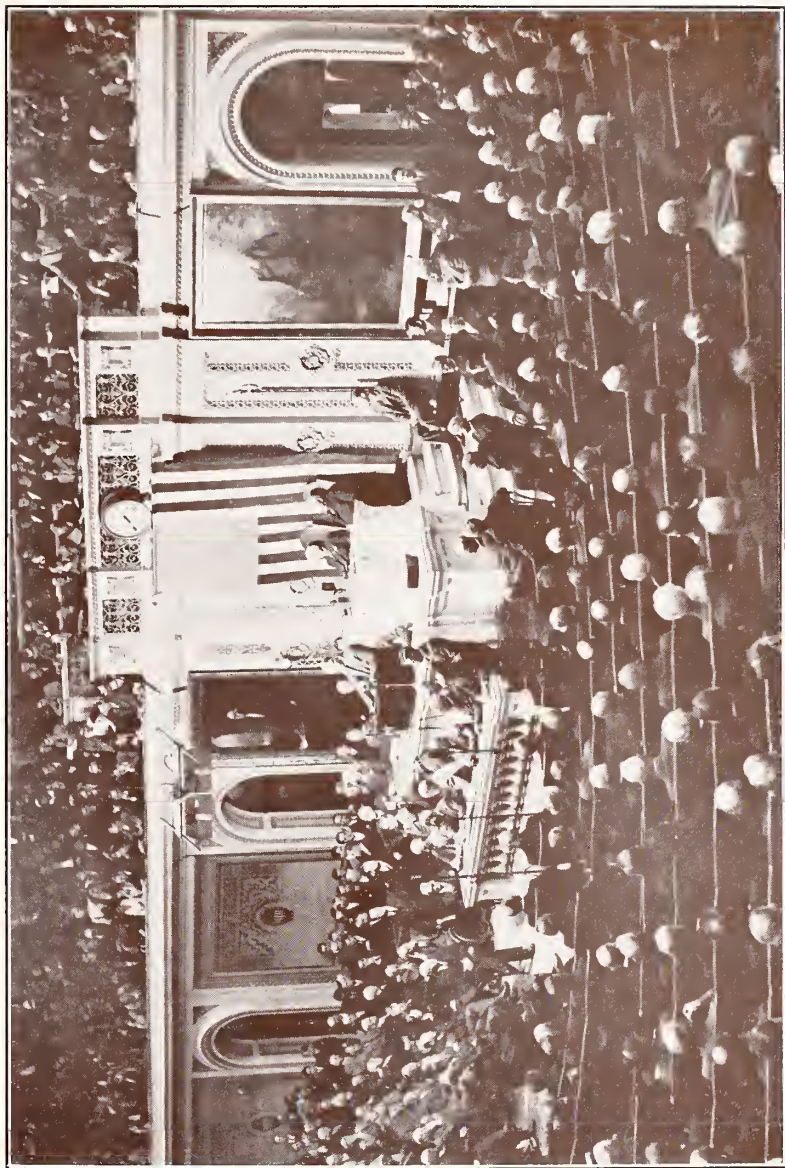
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by these adjurations. Two days later the President, the Vice-President, and the Secretary of the Treasury discussed a compromise proposed by a leading manufacturer, namely, to enact the reductions in the bill but make them gradual instead of immediate, postponing one-half for ten years. Polk says in his "Diary": "Mr. Dallas was in favor of the proposition. I did not encourage it, fearing it might produce confusion and be the means of losing the bill. Mr. Dallas said if the Democrats did not agree to it he would let them know, if it came to his casting vote, they might loose (lose) the bill as it was."

Next day Senator Haywood resigned his seat in the Senate and Senator Jarnagin, in the presence of the President and the Cabinet, stated that he would vote for the bill. But clever politicians are often "juggling fiends," who keep the word of promise to the ear and break it in the spirit. That staunch protectionist, Senator Clayton, of Delaware, with the avowed intention of killing the bill, moved its reference with certain instructions to the Committee on Finance and the motion passed, thanks to Mr. Jarnagin's vote in its favor. The committee, however, which was controlled by friends of the bill, reported next day that the instructions were incapable of execution. Then, three ballots secured the passage of the bill; on two of them Mr. Jarnagin did not vote and the bill was saved by the casting vote of the Vice-President. On the final passage Mr. Jarnagin, in accordance with his instructions and his statement of intentions, voted yea, and there being no tie, Mr. Dallas was relieved from voting.

But all knew that he could have killed the bill had he chosen, nor did Dallas himself make any attempt to conceal the fact. As the roll-call on engrossment showed an even division of the Senate, he rose and gave his reasons for the vote he was about to give in a brief but dignified speech. He said that he believed that the people had declared against protection; that the friends of the system had said that they only asked for help until the industries assisted could get a fair start; that most of those affected by the bill had been established for a considerable time; and that they should now take their chances with others. He admitted that he thought that the bill went too far, but said that he believed that he should not assume a qualified veto power by defeating it.²³

23. The last argument was weak. The President by his veto defeats the will of a majority, perhaps a large majority. Dallas, by voting, would merely enable the Senate to have a will.



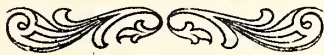
VICE-PRESIDENT JOHN N. GARNER (LEFT) AND SPEAKER HENRY T. RAINEY (RIGHT) PRESIDING AT THE JOINT SESSION OF THE TWO HOUSES OF THE SEVENTY-THIRD CONGRESS, JANUARY 3, 1934, WITH PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT DELIVERING HIS FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE

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The defense had little effect on Pennsylvania, for which State it was chiefly intended. The Whigs, indeed, paid scant attention to Dallas. They were after bigger game and trained their guns on the Democratic party, savagely reminding the people of a mildly protectionist letter which Polk had written to a prominent Pennsylvania politician, and how Democratic processions had displayed transparencies and banners with such inscriptions as "Polk, Dallas, and the Tariff of 1842," sometimes having the audacity to add, "We dare the Whigs to repeal it." The Pennsylvania Democrats, however, felt that they had been stabbed by a friend and brother and they turned on the traitor with fury.

In Philadelphia, which was the chief seat of the Dallas faction, and in other places, the Vice-President was burned in effigy. The "American Sentinel," formerly a supporter of Dallas, said: "Should Mr. Dallas live to the age of Mathuzalah (*sic*), he will never be able to make ample atonement for his severe onslaught upon the home industry of Pennsylvania. Farewell to all Vice-Presidents for the future from Pennsylvania. We have had enough of one to last us while all who live now shall continue to breathe the breath of existence in our fair land." For a sensitive, rather timid man like Dallas, such assaults must have been hard to bear; but he did not flinch. In his farewell address to the Senate he pleaded, not without a certain dignity and pathos, that he had sought the welfare of the whole. He said that he had voted about thirty times.²⁴

24. Really only nineteen times; possibly he included votes given when the Senate was in committee of the whole.



The Cause of the Schenectady Massacre

BY JOHN J. BIRCH, M. S., SCHENECTADY, NEW YORK



THE massacre and destruction of the village of Schenectady in the Colony of New York on the night of February 8, 1690, is an incident which has an extremely important place in the annals of American history. The story has often been told of how on that cold, snowy, Saturday night one hundred and fourteen Frenchmen and ninety-six Indians under the command of Lieutenants Le Moyne de Saint Helene and Daillebout de Mantet stole upon the sleeping and unguarded hamlet and massacred sixty of the inhabitants, carried away twenty-seven prisoners and left in destitution and helplessness such survivors of the original four hundred as were too feeble to endure captivity or to make their escape.

The attack on the village was not a mere Indian raid for murder and plunder, but the culmination of a number of social and political influences which had long been at work. Mons. de Monseignat, Comptroller General of the Marine in Canada (Paris Documents IV) gives an account of the expedition which left Canada: "The first party proceeded towards Orange (Albany). . . . After having marched for the course of five or six days, they called a council to determine the route they should follow and the point they should attack. The Indians demanded of the French what was their intention. Monsieurs de St. Helene and Mantet replied that they had left in the hope of attacking Orange. . . . This appeared to the savages somewhat rash. They represented the difficulties and the weakness of the party for so bold an undertaking. . . . As the Indians, who had an intimate acquaintance with the localities, and more experience than the French, could not be brought to agree with the latter, it was determined to postpone coming to a conclusion until the party should arrive at the spot where the two routes separate—the one leading to Orange and the other to Corlear (Schenectady). In the course of the journey the Frenchmen judged proper to diverge towards Corlear, according to the advice of the Indians; and this road was taken without calling a new council. . . . They arrived within two leagues of Corlear

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about four o'clock in the evening and were harangued by the great Mohawk chief of the Iroquois from the Sault. He urged all to perform their duty and to lose all recollections of their fatigue in the hope of taking ample revenge for the injuries they had received from the Iroquois at the solicitations of the English, and of washing them out in the blood of the traitors."

Thus Schenectady, instead of Albany, was the first village to feel the blows of the French tomahawks and firebrands in a series of invasions which laid waste many of the outlying hamlets.

An ancient enmity stood out as the incipient cause of the strife between the Algonquins and the Iroquois. When the Colonies of New France and New York were founded the Algonquins lived north of the St. Lawrence River and east of Lake Champlain, Lake George and the Hudson River, and the Iroquois to the south. But at a remote time these two powerful tribes lived in peace; the Iroquois cultivating the soil and the Algonquins hunting and fishing. The Iroquois, seeking diversion, challenged the Algonquins to compete with them in a friendly hunting expedition. Six members of each tribe were chosen and left for the hunting country to establish a hunting camp. Soon the Algonquins disappeared to the amazement of the Iroquois. At the end of three days they returned, declared that they had been hunting, but had been unsuccessful. Evidently they simply had been scouting for game so that when the hunt began in earnest they would know just where to go to secure it as quickly as possible and thus become the victors.

While the Algonquin hunters were trying to console themselves, the Iroquois stole quietly from camp and in less than a day returned with an abundance of game. The tillers of the soil had beaten the mighty hunters! The Algonquins naturally were deeply humiliated and during the night massacred the six Iroquois contestants. This treachery in time was discovered and the Iroquois hatred for the Algonquins knew no bounds. But the Iroquois were powerless in the hands of the Algonquins who had recently forced the Hurons to become their allies. To declare war would mean their annihilation, for the Algonquins were not only more numerous but better warriors; so the Iroquois departed from north of the St. Lawrence River and journeyed to the area which today roughly includes the State of New York and northern Pennsylvania. But they swore eternal vengeance

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upon the Algonquins and Hurons, and for generations a relentless warfare ensued.

Finally Champlain came with the French into the Algonquin territory. He was called "the man with the iron breast," because he wore the metal armor still fashionable in Europe. Soon he became convinced that to be safe from attack he must necessarily court the favor of his nearest neighbors, the Algonquins. In the summer of 1609 he accompanied a war party consisting of two Frenchmen and sixty Hurons and Algonquins from near Quebec in an excursion against the Mohawks. Unfortunately he knew little of what this would later involve, for he did not know how powerful and ruthless were his enemies, the Iroquois. Ignorantly he had allied himself with the weaker side in the envenomed politics of the forest.

The raiders left Chambly on July 2, and after paddling up Lake Champlain for twenty-seven days sighted a band of two hundred Mohawks on the western shore of the lake in the vicinity of what is now Crown Point. The Canadian Indians advanced towards their enemies. Suddenly their ranks parted and Champlain moved forward with his arquebus. The Mohawks halted in astonishment at the unexpected sight of his shining armor. He fired his weapon and his shot was so well aimed that he killed two Mohawks and wounded another. The terrific report, the smoke of the discharge, and the sight of the three fallen warriors decided the conflict and the Mohawks fled in disorder. The Canadian Indians gave pursuit and killed nearly half of them.

Champlain doubtlessly was very much pleased by what he considered an easy victory over the Mohawks. But little did he realize that he had placed an almost insurmountable barrier to the southern expansion of New France—that he had secured a heritage of savage enmity which contributed more than any other one cause to cripple the energies of his domain. The Algonquins became more courageous for they were well aware of the added power given to them by the French with their firearms. It became plain to the Iroquois that unless they could obtain firearms their long-established supremacy was at an end. So, when the Dutch came up the Hudson River the Mohawks received them kindly, partly because they were afraid of the guns of the white men, and also partly because they discovered they were not Frenchmen. They hoped to obtain from them the same

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kind of firearms which the Hurons and Algonquins had received from the French. Thus the Dutch secured protection from the Mohawks, who in turn were given firearms. There were many benefits secured by both parties, and a peace was made at the Norman's Kill near Albany which was observed and renewed until the time of the Revolutionary War in 1775.

Tribal hatred was a second factor which precipitated the vengeance of certain Canadian Indians upon the Mohawks. The French were sedulous in their effort to convert the Iroquois tribe to Christianity, as well as the Hurons and Algonquins. They well knew that by attracting the Indians by trade, and holding them by converting them to Christianity, they could compensate for their great disparity in numbers. In these efforts, Jesuits penetrated into the Iroquois country and established a chain of missions from the Gulf of St. Lawrence as far west as the Lake in the Woods.

In 1658 the Jesuits were admitted by the Onondagas into their villages, and soon after the Oneidas, Senecas and Cayugas did the same. The Mohawks were averse to admitting them for they understood that to favor the Jesuit priests was to displease their Dutch friends at Schenectady and Albany. However, the Jesuits gradually won their way among them, especially into their village at Caughnawaga (Fonda) and succeeded in making many converts. In 1671 they had induced most of their converted Mohawks to migrate to Canada. Here they established a village near Montreal and named it Caughnawaga after their residence on the Mohawk River. These Indians who had adopted the Roman Catholic faith naturally hated their Mohawk brethren and were largely the Indians comprising the party which attacked Schenectady. They knew the country; some of their own people had fallen in the Iroquois raid of the previous year and they were eager to avenge their fallen comrades.

Thus, religious prejudices combined with the already strong tribal enmity appeared as a second factor directing the attack.

The political situation in western Europe also very definitely figured in the events of the Colonies. The political power of France under Louis XIV was becoming so great as to alarm the rest of Europe. William of Orange, President of the Netherlands, was at the head of an armed league for the purpose of resisting the inroads of the French.

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In England, during the winter of 1688-89 there was a revolution. James II, the Roman Catholic King, was the uncle of William of Orange and also his father-in-law, for William had married King James' eldest daughter Mary. During the revolution, the tyrannical James II was driven from the throne and fled to France, where he obtained sympathy and aid from Louis XIV, who was a Roman Catholic and an espouser of the Jesuits. The English people invited William and Mary across the channel and made them king and queen. In the French and Catholic eyes they were usurpers. The European struggle took the form of a great war between Louis XIV of France and William III, King of Great Britain. This meant war between the French and English in America to determine which people should be masters of North America.

Count Frontenac had been sent by Louis XIV to govern Canada. The ominous signs of Iroquois hostility made it imperative that only a strong man should be sent to rule. Although seventy years old Frontenac possessed wonderful energy and vivacity: friendly Indians adored him; hostile Indians were terrified by him. His special orders were to capture from the English their American Colonies, especially New York. But years before, Champlain had so effectually aroused the ire of the Mohawks that the French were powerless to get very far south of the St. Lawrence River. When Frontenac arrived he had his hands full with defending Canada. The Five Nations had saved New York from the French! But his scheme for conquering the English did not die; it simply dwindled into numerous frontier massacres and raids, one of which was aimed at Corlear.

The abdication of James II had a further direct bearing on the English Colonies by creating religious prejudices. When James II was King of England, his Colonial officers were largely Papists. When news of his abdication reached New York it was followed by confusion and anarchy. The adherents of William and Mary vehemently insisted that the officers appointed by James II had no further authority. In Boston, Governor General Edmond Andros, who had been sent by James II to govern all New England, New York and New Jersey, although a Protestant, had been thrown in prison. His deputy, Sir Francis Nicholson, Acting Governor of New York, was suspected of being a Roman Catholic. (. . . . Our Lieutenant Governor, Captain Nicholson, although a pretending Protestant, yet contrary

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both to his promises and pretences, countenancing the Popish party, denying to exclude both officers in the custom house and soldiers in the fort, being mostly Papists. . . . "Colonial Documents," New York, III, 583-84.)

A suspicion arose that he intended to betray New York into the hands of the French. The people rose in rebellion against the government of Nicholson, who was glad enough to escape from New York. The leader of the insurrectionists was Jacob Leisler, a captain in the militia, a well-to-do merchant and also a deacon in the Dutch Reformed Church. He was given the power of Governor by the popular party and straightway appointed Protestant officers. In a letter to King William and Queen Mary, dated August 20, 1689, he relates the events which led to his appointment and also his activities while in office:

Captain Leisler to King William and Queen Mary.

May it please your Majesties. I humbly leave to your Majesties with possible respect by the express bearer Joost Stoll the Ensigne of your Majesties fort, that the advice of Sir Edmund Andros confinement at Boston has caused here several meetings, where I have assisted in quality as one of the five Captains of the Militia, where the Lieutenant Governor of the fort Capt. Nicholson has proposed several propositions which had but a show for the best of your Majesties Colony, while his violent caridge has discovered his malicious designe, whereof the particulars should be too long, which has moved severall inhabitants to secure the fort to be preserved for your Majesties, and to prevent, that with the great gunns he should not fire the towne as he intended, the fort so seased without violence nor blodshed has been preserved for one month, by the said Captains by turns, having received the day of my watch the happy proclamation of your Majesties to be King and Queen of England, France and Ireland etc. (from Conecticot:) I have immediately proceeded to the proclaiming, which was solemnly effected the 22nd of June when we had miraculous deliverance of a fyre which had been kendeled in three severall places upon the Terret of the Church in the fort six thousand pounds of powder being next under the same roof and suspected to be done by one Papist who had been there before and was discovered by one Neger, and fort, city, and the people were trew God's mercy miraculously saved of that hellish designe, the committees of the nabouring counties and of this city with all the Captains being mett to advise, and order all things necessary to resist the Ennemy, and to conserve this fort, City, land and Protestant Religion, they have thought necessary, to elect one of the Captains to command in the fort till your Majesties order, and

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they have thought me faithfull and able of that charge which I have exerced from the first of July last, to discharge worthely and to the satisfaction of your Majesties; I have made one inventory of all things therein and having perceived the miserable state thereof, I have caused to mend. . . .

News of the events in New York City spread to Albany, at which place the Catholic officials would not recognize Leisler. The people smiled mysteriously in the streets and threw bold glances at their oppressors; while, far and wide, there was a subdued and silent agitation, as if the slightest signal would rouse the whole land from its sluggish despondency.

These religious prejudices soon became known in Catholic Canada, and augmented by the ancient tribal hatred between Algonquins and Iroquois, the differences of Indian alliances and the conflict between England and France further activated the desire to invade the outlying English villages.

Religious partisanship was also rampant at Schenectady, which made the village especially open to attack. There was an inclination on the part of many to favor the issue for which Leisler claimed to be contending; there were others who were opposed to him. Leisler, meanwhile, to further his cause, promised to secure for the citizens of Schenectady free trade with the Indians, the privilege of bolting flour and all the liberties enjoyed by the other communities. Jacob Milbourne, Leisler's coadjutor, in December, 1689, addressed the following communication to Adam Vrooman, of Schenectady:

These are to advise and require all the inhabitants of Schenectady and adjoining places to repair forthwith to the aforesaid City of Albany to receive their Rights and Privileges and Liberties in such manner as if the Government of King James the 2nd had never existed or any of his arbitrary Commissions or any of his Governors illegal acts had never been executed or done.

(Signed) JACOB MILBOURNE

Adam Vrooman declined not only to observe the order, but also refused to give it countenance.

The month of January, 1690, passed and there was no abatement in the widespread terror of a possible attack. Steps were taken, however, to procure a band of scouts to go northward and report any

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information of an approaching enemy. Later a group of Mohawks reported to Albany as follows :

BRETHREN—We have been sent by ye 40 Maquose Souldiers now at Schenectady to acquaint ye that there are come to go out as Skouts towards ye lake and Otter River to wath ye Designs of ye Deceious ye Governor of Canada to see if he will come and Invade our country again and if we discern any progress of his we have four Indians yet wee send forth to give ye and our people advertisement.

The Indians went out on their mission, but did not discover any trace of the approaching enemy. When they returned the wreck of Schenectady had been accomplished.

John Alexander Glen, who was commander and a justice of the peace in the village, advised the inhabitants to take measures for protection and have the entrances guarded. On account of his refusal, however, to espouse the Leisler cause, Glen was in such ill favor that he was not permitted to enter the village. As a result of this disregard of counsel and the pervading apathy among many of the citizens, the gates on the fatal night of February 8-9, 1690, were left open guarded only by snowmen, in spite of the fact that there were twenty-four soldiers under the command of Lieutenant Talmage in the garrison.

Caught thus unaware, the morning saw the village in ashes and the new-fallen snow crimsoned by the blood of the inhabitants.



Three Old Mills

BY HELEN HAMILTON STOCKTON,
"MORVEN," PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Historian of the Princeton Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution



F the three old gristmills near Princeton only one has been in constant use since the War of the Revolution. Among the many reasons given for their closing is the Hessian fly—so-called because brought by Hessian troops during the war—which destroyed the wheat fields in the Eastern States. Mills sprang to life in early settlements for the grinding of the wheat into flour, Indian corn (maize) and oats into meal, grown by the first landowners and farmers. Perhaps even more than the churches they were the centers for meeting and for the exchange of news and gossip. The first of these mills was built by Joseph Worth on Stony Brook in 1714-1715, five years after the Quaker meetinghouse. Stony Brook was the original name of the Princeton settlement, called after the Stony Brook in Long Island by Richard Stockton, the largest landowner. This mill is also of more historic interest than the others because of the part the beautiful old stone bridge over the brook on which it stood played in the battle of Princeton. "On the morning of the 2nd of January 1777, Cornwallis was at Princeton, having spent the night at Morven. He gathered up his soldiers, that he might quickly put an end to the rebellion. He started for Trenton, marching south, crossing a stone bridge three miles out of Princeton by Mr. Worth's mill. 'At last we have run down the old fox and we will bag him in the morning,' said Cornwallis." . . . The morning dawned clear and beautiful as General Washington approached Princeton. Colonel Mawhood was marching south, and Washington north. The Fifty-fifth Royal Regiment was in Princeton; the other two had advanced to the bridge by the mill, where "Washington sends Major Kelley with a company to destroy the bridge and pushes on to Princeton." The Princeton Chapter, D. A. R., have marked the one wall standing today of this old mill with a beautiful tablet designed by the sculptress,

THREE OLD MILLS

Harriet Hyatt Mayor, their Regent, with a design showing the mill as it used to be, with this inscription:

OLD WORTH MILL 1715
PRESENTED BY THE PRINCETON CHAPTER
DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
SPRING OF 1929

This mill for many years was put to an unusual use. On Sunday afternoons, when the great millstones were silent, Mrs. Worth, wife of the owner Joseph, held a Sunday school class there. Outgrowing the mill, it was moved by succeeding generations to the public school building nearby, and from there to a building of its own on the other side of the historic bridge, so that her good work begun in the mill is being continued without a break until today. If we follow the old King's Highway as Washington did, passing through Princeton and Queenston, to Kingston, we will come to another beautiful stone bridge with four arches, built in 1738. This is over the Millstone River, with a weir that runs the old mill. Built on land owned by Barefoot Brinson, who married a daughter of the original owner of the land, the first mill building was burned down, like so many others, and this building is quite modern, although after the old plan—of wood with stone foundations, and in the topmost story there is a hair-raising doorway which apparently opens into space, but which enables the miller to take in the bales and bags of grain brought for grinding, for above it is a crane or derrick. Tradition has it that Washington stopped just at the other side of the bridge and still in sound of the falling water over the weir, to take refreshment—a tankard of ale—at the Bee Hive Tavern, on his hurried march to Pluckemin and so to Morristown.* One interesting feature of this mill was the old cottage barracks built for the use of the millhands—more like those often seen in England than in America—a picturesque long one-story stone building with moss-grown roof, supposed to have been used also as a soldiers' barracks during the Revolution. Although the "barracks" were destroyed a few years ago (1930), the mill still grinds today good

*Letter from General Washington, Pluckemin, January 5, 1777: "The enemy were so much alarmed that they marched immediately to Brunswic without halting, except at the bridges (for I also took up those on Millstone, on the different routes to Brunswic) and got there before day." But Washington "taking his prisoners along with him marched out of Princeton on the road to New Brunswick, crossed the Millstone River at Kingston, and destroyed the bridge there, after his troops had crossed." ("History of Princeton," by John F. Hageman.)

THREE OLD MILLS

wheat flour, which is bought by those living in the country nearby. During the Great War citizens were asked to use flour of home manufacture, and at the end of a drive, the writer often went to this mill during that time, to bring back bags of both whole wheat and white flour. The Kingston mill has been owned for many years by different members of one family, who also owned the two old houses on either side of the highway and which have beautiful hand carved doorways. In one lived the miller and in the other the owner.

The third old mill, "Scudder's Mills," is farther to the southeast, nearer Queenston, but still on the Millstone River. Was it called the Millstone because it turned so many millstones? These stones were often made of what is known as buhr and usually imported from France.* The corn meal which they ground was a most popular food with our ancestors, called *Suppawn* by the Dutch, after the Indian dish, or hasty-pudding by the English. As a rule the millers got one-sixth of the meal they ground, for toll.

An early deed shows that in 1749 there was a mill-pond and a dam with *two* grist *mills*, fulling mill and mill house on the Millstone River, owned at that time by Jacob Scudder, who was the father of Colonel William, the Revolutionary patriot, whose loyalty caused the Hessian soldiers, quartered nearby, on December 31, 1776, to set fire to his property. Besides weaving utensils and press-house, there were at this time large quantities of wheat and corn, amounting in all to twelve hundred pounds. It was soon rebuilt and in more recent times known as the Aqueduct Mill, for it was there (about 1844) the Delaware and Raritan Canal Company built their aqueduct. Again it was destroyed by fire and never rebuilt, but there is quite a little settlement of old houses still there. These have been bought by the Rockefeller Institute and so well restored that one can get a good idea today of how the neighborhood used to look.

The country side in what then was Piscataway Township, Province of East Jersey, was settled by Englishmen, and the mills built there are like those in England of the same date. A celebrated Englishman, on visiting Princeton, said: "Not only are your buildings like our Universities, but your landscape looks like England." This description of an old English mill could well have been written about

*The best stone came from near Cologne. It was as hard as flint, but not so brittle.



OLD BRIDGE OVER THE MILLSTONE RIVER, KINGSTON, BUILT IN 1738



WORTH'S MILL ON STONEY BROOK, AS IT APPEARED JANUARY 2, 1777

THREE OLD MILLS

any of these three old mills near Princeton: "Far away on each hand stretch the rich pastures and the patches of dark earth, made ready for the seed of broad-leaved green crops, or touched already with the tint of the tender-bladed autumn-sown corn. How lovely the little river is with its dark changing wavelets, large dripping willows and the stone bridge. The rush of the water and the booming of the mill bring a dreamy deafness which seems to heighten the peacefulness of the scene. They are like a great curtain of sound shutting one out from the world beyond. And now there is the thunder of the huge covered wagon, coming home with sacks of grain. One can turn one's eyes toward the mill again and watch the unresting wheel sending out its diamond jets of water. The great spaces of the mill, the resolute din, the unresting motion of the great stones, giving a delicious awe as at the presence of an uncontrollable force, the *meal* forever pouring, pouring the fine white powder softening all surfaces, and making the very spider-nets look like fairy lacework, the sweet scent of the meal, all help to make one feel that the mill was a little world apart from everyday life."

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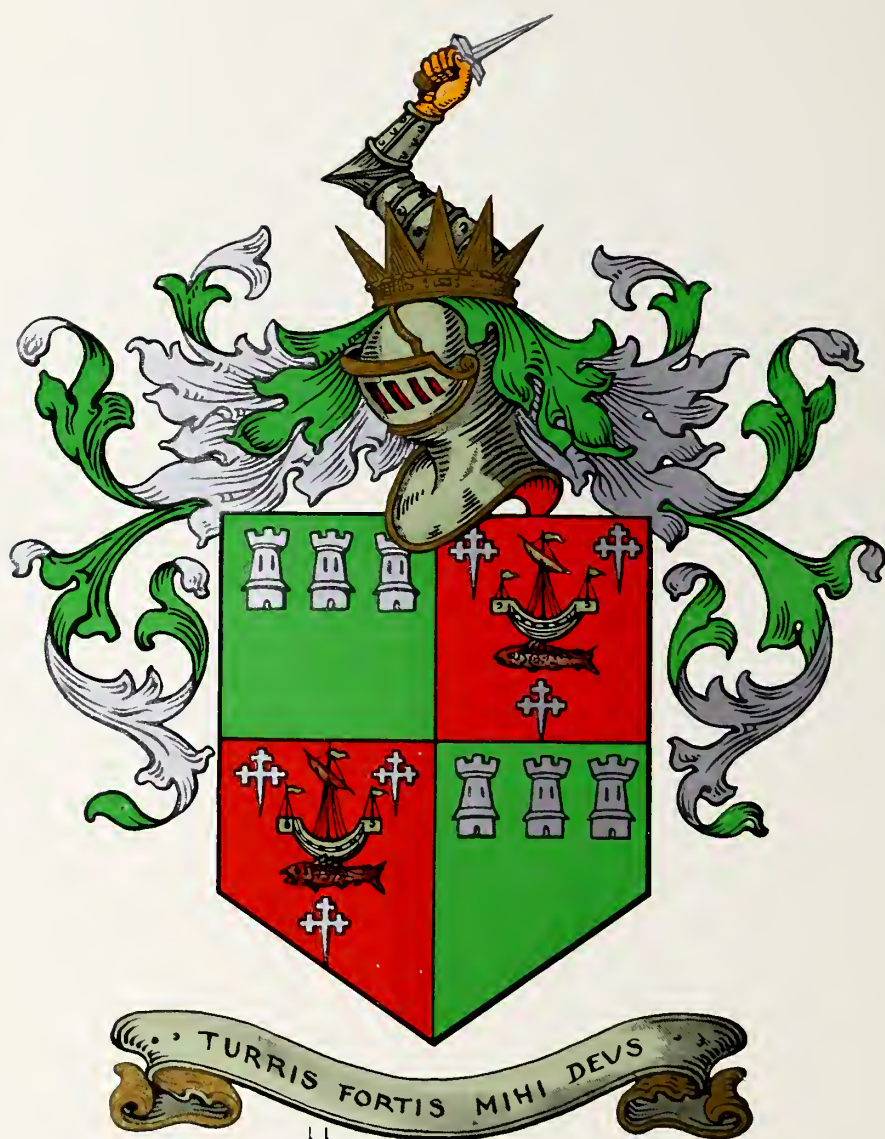


Thomas Burr Crary---A Genealogical Outline With Biographical Notes

BY E. D. CLEMENTS, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND



TO write of Thomas Burr Crary as a successful American of high ideals and accomplishments, a business man whose vision and energy developed new lines of industry important to the whole Nation, and as a leader in the financial and civic advancement of his city, Binghamton, New York, is in effect to show only his profile. A direct view discloses even finer traits, qualities of mind and heart which made Mr. Crary easily one of the best loved men of his day and which have turned his memory into a tradition. He loved his fellowman and believed in his essential goodness. To serve was the mainspring of his existence, to serve without considering the cost to himself and without thought of recognition. Small kindnesses were habitual to him, large generosity second nature. His religion—love of God, of his fellowman, and of all good things—inhered deep in his heart and nature, shone out in his everyday life. His firmness and self-reliance thrust him into a position of leadership, which he was too modest to recognize, and gathered in the ranks of his followers all kinds and conditions of men who remained loyal to him for a lifetime, whom he regarded as his truest friends. When he led Binghamton forward in wealth, in increased and varied enterprises, in civic and philanthropic progress, when he enhanced the gayety of the delightful circle in which he moved, he was in his own eyes merely one of a group of people whom he loved, people who enjoyed, as he did, making the world a better place to live in. In his life traditional family traits found full and complete expression—the hardihood, the courage, the patriotism, the uprightness, and the tenderness and imagination of distinguished Scotch ancestors and of a notable line of American forebears who helped in the building of this country. His material prosperity and his popularity during his lifetime enabled him to play a part that was in keeping with his family record and to exert an influence for good that is still an integral part of his community.



Marquarrie
Cray

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The name Crary is a variant of MacQuarrie, title of a Scotch Highland clan of great antiquity, said to be descended from one of the Dalriadic princes and known to have as ancestor Alpine, Chief or Head of the Clan Alpine, which made the MacQuarries of Royal blood. In 1314 the Chief of the Clan fought under Bruce at Bannockburn. Early possessions were in the Isle of Mull, and a few MacQuarries are yet to be found in Argyllshire. One Lachlan MacQuarrie was a captain in the old 74th Regiment, or Argyllshire Highlanders, under Colonel Campbell, of Barbreck, and he died in 1817 without male issue, last of the MacQuarries of Ulva. But the name was carried by descendants of the clan into France, into the New World, and as far afield as New South Wales, a popular Governor of which was a MacQuarrie, whose name was given to MacQuarrie Island in the Southern Pacific.

Macquarrie (Crary) Arms—First and fourth, vert three towers in chief argent; second and third, gules, a ship and salmon naiant proper between three cross crosslets fitchy argent.

Crest—From an antique crown (in token of Royal descent) an arm embowed, couped at the shoulder, in plate armour proper, grasping a dagger argent, pommel or.

Motto—*Turris fortis mihi Deus.*

(Adam: "The Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands.")

The evolution of the name Crary from MacQuarrie was as follows: MacQuarie-McQuarie-McCrery or Crery-Crary. Tradition has it that the American progenitor of the line, Peter Crary, who commonly spelled his name "Crery," dropped the prefix when he came to the New World, perhaps as a slight disguise to make his way easier than would have been the case with one known to be a loyal follower of Cromwell, as he had been in his old home.

I. Peter (1) Crary came from Scotland about 1663, and settled in 1675 in what is now Groton, Connecticut, then New London, near the head of the Mystic River. He was a member of the old First Congregational Church in Stonington, Connecticut, near which he resided, and had his children baptized there. Something of the energy and enterprise so conspicuous in his descendant, Thomas Burr Crary, are to be found in Peter Crary's record. He was among those who took land in the Quinnebaug country, and in 1699 was an organizer of the town of Plainfield, Connecticut, in the development of which he took an active part. His name and those of his sons appear in the old Plainfield town records as grantors of land in connection with land

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deals, deeds, transfers, etc. Later he returned to Groton, where he spent his remaining years and died in 1708. His will is to be found in the New London, Connecticut, probate records, and his old farm is still the Crary Farm. Many of his descendants are buried in the cemetery half a mile from the house.

Peter (1) Crary married, in 1677, Christobel Gallup, daughter of John Gallup, who was born in England and came to this country in 1633. He became distinguished as an Indian fighter of great courage and sagacity, taking part in the Pequot War, and receiving in reward from the General Court of Connecticut in 1671 a grant of one hundred acres of land; and later, December 9, 1675, at the age of sixty, a captain, he lost his life at Narragansett, one of the bloody battles of King Philip's War. From 1654 until his death he lived in what is now Stonington, Connecticut. The wife of John Gallup was Hannah Lake, whose mother was sister to Elizabeth Read, who married John Winthrop, Jr., Governor of Connecticut. To Peter (1) and Christobel (Gallup) Crary were born: 1. Christobel, born in February, 1679; married Ebenezer Harris. 2. Peter (2), of whom further. 3. Margaret, baptized August 20, 1682; married Ebenezer Pierce, of Groton, Connecticut. 4. John, baptized August 8, 1686. 5. William, baptized November 6, 1687. 6. Robert, baptized May 11, 1690. 7. Hannah or Ann, baptized July 17, 1692; married Nathan Bushnell, of Norwich, Connecticut.

II. Peter (2) Crary, son of Peter (1) and Christobel (Gallup) Crary, was baptized at Stonington, Connecticut, April 30, 1682, and died some time after June 25, 1751, when he deeded land to his son, Nathan.

Peter (2) Crary married Ann Culver, January 11, 1709-10; they lived in Groton, Connecticut, and had children: 1. Peter, born January 6, 1710-11, at Groton. 2. Thomas, born February 2, 1711-12. 3. Ann, born November 29, 1713; married Daniel Woodward. 4. Lucy, born December 29, 1715. 5. Nathan, of whom further. 6. Eunice, born October 26, 1719. 7. Humphrey, born September 7, 1721, died November 14, 1748; married Ann, who died May 3, 1739. 8. Temperance, born November 2, 1723, baptized October 26, 1729. 9. Desire, baptized October 26, 1729.

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III. Nathan Crary, son of Peter (2) and Ann (Culver) Crary, was born October 7, 1717, and died at Groton, Connecticut, March 24, 1798, at the age of eighty-one.

He married (first), in March, 1741, Dorothy Wheeler, who died May 5, 1787, at the age of sixty-six, and they had children: 1. Thomas (1), born October 1, 1744, of whom further. 2. Nathan, born March 6, 1746. 3. Anna, born March 7, 1749; married Jonathan Randall. 4. Isaac, born July 17, 1751. 5. Lucy, born April 28, 1755, died January 18, 1764. 7. Prudence, born April 6, 1757; married Edward Packer. 8. Dorothy, born March 26, 1759; married Timothy Woodbridge. 9. Hannah, born November 1, 1761; married Abner Brownell. Nathan Crary married (second) Ruth Searles, and had children: 10. Captain Jesse, born April 1, 1780, died July 25, 1849; a sea captain. 11. Sarah, born May 25, 1793; married Samuel Dayton.

IV. Thomas (1) Crary, son of Nathan and Dorothy (Wheeler) Crary, was born at Stonington, Connecticut, October 1, 1744, and he lived there on a farm until about 1790, when he moved to Knox, Albany County, New York, where he probably leased a tract of land which he afterward purchased. The younger brother of Thomas Crary, Nathan, was a captain in the War of the Revolution.

Thomas Crary married, January 9, 1772, Mehitabel Mason, born March 25, 1755, died May 21, 1832. He died November 4, 1834, at the age of ninety and, like his wife, is buried in High Point Cemetery, formerly the Whipple Cemetery, at Knox, Albany County, New York. Children: 1. Thomas (2), of whom further. 2. Mary, born March 25, 1777, died January 27, 1866; married a Mr. Hempstead. 3. Mason, born at Stonington, Connecticut, November 15, 1779, died September 20, 1855, aged seventy-six years, after moving to Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. 4. Eunice, born May 25, 1782, died in May, 1869; married a Mr. Tyler. 5. Cynthia, born May 21, 1786, died January 16, 1861; married a Mr. Chesebro. 6. Amos, born May 16, 1788, died December 11, 1869. 7. Andrew, born July 7, 1790, died August 22, 1852. 8. Ephraim, born February 5, 1793, died March 25, 1830. 9. Jabez, born April 1, 1796, at Stonington, New London County, Connecticut, died February 29, 1872; unmarried.

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V. Thomas (2) Crary, son of Thomas (1) and Mehitabel (Mason) Crary, was born on the ancestral farm at Groton, Connecticut, January 11, 1775, and he moved first to Knox, Albany County, New York, and thence to Chenango Forks, New York. In 1800, owing to defective land titles, he moved with his family to the village of Liberty, in what was then the town of Lumberland, Ulster County, New York, but is now Liberty, Sullivan County, New York. Here he leased and later bought the farm two miles from Liberty, which has ever since been the home of some member of the Crary family. He built a house and cultivated a fine orchard, and he also kept a small store, as well as took part in public affairs. He was the first supervisor of the town of Liberty, and he represented Sullivan County in the State Legislature in 1826. His service as associate judge of Sullivan County gave him the title of "Judge Crary," which he long bore. After his death, December 28, 1851, some of his Dutch neighbors went to each of his many beehives and knocking on the hive talked to the bees, urging them to continue their duty for their new master, now that the old was dead. Thomas (2) Crary was buried with his wife in the cemetery at Liberty, Sullivan County.

He married, February 2, 1797, Mary (Polly) Holmes, daughter of Jeremiah and Mary (Denison) Holmes, the former being a sergeant in the Revolutionary War. Mr. Crary's brother, Jeremiah Holmes, a sea captain, had a son who sailed around the Horn over eighty times. A family story, which is a favorite, relates that Polly Holmes was sought by three suitors, of whom Thomas Crary was the favored one. One Sunday the three met while en route for Polly's home, and they decided to draw cuts to see which should be the caller, the other two agreeing to return to their own homes. Thomas (2) Crary drew the lucky cut, and he won the young lady as prize. Polly (Holmes) Crary died March 10, 1862. Children: 1. Calvert, of whom further. 2. Mehitabel Mason, born May 16, 1801, at Liberty, New York, died September 28, 1890; married James Morton.

VI. Calvert Crary, son of Thomas (2) and Mary or Polly (Holmes) Crary, was born at Chenango Forks, New York, August 11, 1798. He grew up to follow agriculture and became one of the prosperous farmers of the section, with well stocked barns, a full cellar, and pastures full of horses, cattle and sheep, in which he



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traded. He broke oxen to the yoke, and his oxen were in demand by his rural neighbors. Calvert Crary built a new home in 1835, some two thousand feet from his father's, using as its nucleus part of an old store. The core of the building was intact in 1916, though the house has had many additions and extensions. He was a strong, stalwart man, an excellent citizen, and he died at Liberty, Sullivan County, June 1, 1878, at the age of eighty.

Calvert Crary married, March 12, 1823, Eliza Hill, born in 1803, at Greenfield Hill, Connecticut, daughter of Joseph and Sarah Banks Hill, educated in the common schools and at Fairfield, Connecticut. She was a vigorous, energetic woman, skilled in the housewifely tasks of her day, such as carding, spinning, weaving. Her last years were spent in total blindness, but her industry continued, her knitting needles flying as she made mittens, socks, etc., for her grandchildren and great-grandchildren. She saw seven generations in her lifetime, remembering her great-grandmother and living to see several of her own great-grandchildren. She died at Liberty, New York, in 1897, at the age of ninety-four. Children: 1. Horace Holmes, of whom further. 2. Mary, born at Liberty, New York, July 21, 1826, died in 1829. 3. Joseph Mason, born December 31, 1828. 4. Mary Ann, born June 31, 1831. 5. Thomas, born June 22, 1834. 6. Denison, born October 12, 1836. 7. George, born October 29, 1839. 8. Jerry, born June 14, 1842. 9. Sarah Esther, born April 24, 1845.

VII. Horace Holmes Crary, son of Calvert and Eliza (Hill) Crary, was born August 29, 1824, in the house built by his grandfather, Judge Thomas (2) Crary, on the farm two miles east of Liberty Village, New York. His boyhood was that of the typical farm youngster of his day. He received the rather meager education afforded by the far from plentiful or well-equipped schools, but was given the perhaps more important opportunity to develop his body on the farm and in the forests, to learn of nature and the world about him, and to gain a keen insight into men and economic possibilities. The boy hunted in the nearby woods, sent his foxes and rabbits to the New York market, and early bought poultry and game which he sold profitably in the city. This occupation he mingled with working on the farm in summertime, with cattle droving, and with auctioning property at the General Trainings, held each year until 1846. Then began his expansion into business enterprises of his own, when

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he set up a short-lived butchery business, with John Davidge, in Liberty. His diversified activities centered in 1850 in the erection of a tannery at Sands Creek, New York, owned and operated by Edson Gregory, John Davidge, Alva Gregory, L. H. Allison, and Mr. Crary. At this same busy time, Mr. Crary was elected supervisor of the town of Liberty, and held office for a year. Reorganization in the tannery company in 1856 brought Mr. Crary into greater power in the enterprise, which took the name of Allison, Crary and Company. The new firm acquired a half interest in a tannery in Wayne County, Pennsylvania, and both enterprises weathered the panic of 1857. In 1862 came another blow. Fire destroyed the tannery and a large stock of bark, insured for only one-third its value, but the leather was uninjured. Again the firm overcame the disaster and rode to financial success on the wave of high prices which accompanied the Civil War. In 1864 the company became Allison and Crary, and two years later Mr. Crary purchased a one-third interest in several thousand acres of land in Warren, Forest and McKean counties, Pennsylvania, where the firm of Horton, Crary and Company was organized in 1866 at Sheffield, Pennsylvania. The tannery there prospered and led to the purchase of a half interest in a sole leather tannery built by J. F. Schoellkopf, of Buffalo, New York. The new alliance also prospered, and extended its activities to include the purchase of pine lands and the operation of a sawmill to manufacture pine lumber, as well as the erection of other tanneries, including the Sheffield Tannery, the Horton Tannery, the Tionesta Tannery, the Forest Tannery, and later, the Westfield Tannery. In 1873 Mr. Crary and his partners built the Hancock Mills, near Hancock, New York. In 1876 the firm name was changed to H. H. Crary and Company, which built a tannery at Harrison Valley, Pennsylvania, associated with Walter Horton and Company. The firms, in 1881, started a leather house at No. 107 South Street, Boston, Massachusetts, to market their products. The number of tanneries in which Mr. Crary had an interest increased. At the same time he began to share in developing the rich natural resources of the Pennsylvania section in which he owned so much property, including, first, natural gas and, later, oil. Meantime his eyes began to trouble him, and necessitated a respite from business, which took the form of travel during the years 1877 and 1878—a winter in Florida, a year in Europe with his wife and

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daughter, and a trip to California. He also, during this period, moved to Binghamton, New York, in 1885, and there he resided until his death in June, 1898. Just before he sold out his interests in 1893, Mr. Crary was associated with nine tanning firms and the mill at Hancock. The annual output of the combined tannery interest was about 1,200,000 sides of sole leather, using 600,000 hides, and some 100,000 cords of bark a year. There was a large export trade, comprising twenty-four and three-fourths per cent. of all the leather shipped out of the port of New York. The whole vast enterprise was sold in 1893 to the United States Leather Company, and Mr. Crary occupied himself thereafter in attending to his personal interests. During his busy and constructive career, Mr. Crary had been associated with more than twenty-five partners, many of them young men who received their training from him, and whose success was in no small degree due to his training and kindly interest. One of these associates was destined to become president of the United States Leather Company.

An understanding of the son would be incomplete without this background picture of a really remarkable father who constructed for himself a brilliantly successful career, and for his community and his associates a group of strongly intrenched and publicly useful business enterprises. He was upright, honest, straightforward, a man of unbounded energy and wide resourcefulness. His wealth was honestly won by the exercise of all his faculties for hard work and for intuitive understanding in regard to business opportunities and wise investments. His vision was the more remarkable in that it benefited communities as well as his partners and his own fortunes. Accompanying his success was a vigorous compliance with the strictest moral tenets, a sincere and generous support of his church, the Methodist Episcopal, and a thoughtful and extensive philanthropy. He was a handsome man, nearly six feet two inches tall, an agreeable companion, and a devoted husband and father. His death occurred at his home on June 10, 1898.

Horace Holmes Crary married, in 1853, at Liberty, New York, Polly Burr, daughter of Bradley and Polly (Sherwood) Burr, both descendants of early settlers of Liberty. Mrs. Crary was a fit mate for her husband, a tall, graceful woman, of strong character, who contributed much to her husband's success, who launched her children with every equipment for success in life, spiritual, physical, and mate-

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rial, and who brought her wisdom, her graciousness, and her altruism into all her community contacts. She was deeply religious, a loyal member of the Methodist Church, and active in its affairs, although her duty to her own children always came first. She was remarkably generous, regarding her wealth as a trust to be expended for the betterment of those less fortunate than herself, and she served as incorporator of the Home for Aged Women and as trustee for eight years. She gave herself with her gifts and thus greatly enhanced their value, and at her death she left generous sums to local welfare organizations. She died while visiting in Colorado, July 7, 1899, at the age of sixty-six. The children of this couple were: 1. Emma, born at Hancock, New York, September 4, 1859. 2. Grace Allison, born at Hancock, New York, January 3, 1865. 3. Thomas Burr, of whom further. 4. Calvert, born at Hancock, New York, April 3, 1868. 5. Mary Eliza, born at Binghamton, August 2, 1876.

(Jerry Crary: "Ancestors and Descendants of Calvert Crary and His Wife, Eliza Hill.")

VIII. Thomas Burr Crary, son of Horace Holmes and Polly (Burr) Crary, was born in Hancock, Delaware County, New York, September 26, 1866. He early gave evidence of the charm which later distinguished him, for a photograph of him at the age of five shows him as a child of beautiful features, his expression combining sweetness and gayety with self-reliance and strength. His happy home life, his dynamic father with the many absorbing business interests and the active participation in civic and religious affairs which early roused the enthusiasm of the son, his sweet and gracious mother whose generosity and wisdom brought happiness to all about her—these boyhood influences shaped the early years of Thomas B. Crary and predestined him to greatness. He was educated in the public schools and at Hancock Academy, completing his studies at Hackettstown Seminary in New Jersey. Even in his school days he showed himself astute in matters of business. Soon his father was initiating him into the complicated and diverse enterprises which he had so successfully built up in Pennsylvania and in various towns of New York. The father never spared himself work, in spite of his position. Neither did the son, who discovered at an early age that the fun—and all his life he loved fun—of having things was getting them, that work was



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a pleasure and an avenue to his chief happiness: contact with real men and constructive coöperative effort. He mastered the tanning business and purchased bark for his father's tanneries, and he learned the ins and out of the natural gas and oil fields so thoroughly that he later built large enterprises on this foundation of knowledge.

When he was thirty-two years old, Mr. Crary launched on his most ambitious project—the enterprise which remained closest to his heart the rest of his life. Associated with M. A. Miller and R. F. Bieber, he incorporated the Nineteen Hundred Washer Company, January 17, 1898, with a capitalization of \$12,000. The company was organized to manufacture and market a washing machine sold to Mr. Crary by the inventor, A. A. Casler, who came from Ohio. This was the third washing machine patented in point of time and the first electrically operated. Soon the plant outgrew its cramped quarters in the little frame building owned by Mr. Bieber in Lestershire, New York, and moved to a one-story brick building on Clinton Street, Binghamton, New York, nucleus of the present large factory buildings of this prosperous concern. By 1904 the plant was turning out five hundred washers a day and was beginning to experience opportunity for foreign trade. A hard blow was suffered in 1905, when fire attacked the big building and threatened to destroy it. Quick action on the part of the local firemen saved it and prevented serious loss, which was covered by insurance. Thus early was tested the courage and optimism of Mr. Crary, whose clouds always had a silver lining, and the steady forward march of the company after the disaster was a testimonial to his prudence and business acumen. By the year 1915 the company was enjoying a prize won at the San Francisco Exposition for the newly invented 1900 Cataract Washer, which received the highest award. The demand for the washer exceeded the output of the company, which from the start financed expansions from profits and had an earned surplus of \$1,264,870. In 1920 the Nineteen Hundred Washer Company owned the Binghamton plant, comprising 111,000 square feet, and a branch factory and selling organization in Canada. Some four hundred employees were busy in the organization and displayed remarkable loyalty and efficiency. Although his was an "open shop," Mr. Crary was too good an employer to have trouble with his workmen, too just in his dealings with them, too considerate of their rights, too ready to reward faithful service, and too well

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known to every man in the place. He spent much of his time in the plant at Binghamton, where he knew all the men by name, treating them as coworkers and setting them an example of tirelessness in working and obtaining results. He was progressive in his ideas of factory management and uncompromisingly insistent on maintaining the quality of the Nineteen Hundred Washer. With his faculty of meeting people in all positions and of putting them at ease immediately, Mr. Crary combined a genuine admiration for worth while men in all stations and was always ready to receive any of his employees who had a grievance or constructive idea or needed help. Thus he bound men to him in indissoluble loyalty, his secretary remaining with him for twenty-three years to the death of Mr. Crary, and for three years more serving the family until the time of his own death, and his confidential office assistant almost as long. When, in 1920, it was decided to expand the company, and new preferred stock in the sum of \$500,000 was issued for the first time in its history, leading banks and brokers sold the entire amount in one business day, so great was the confidence in the business ability of the man who had built up a small local factory to a huge manufacturing concern giving employment and stimulating business to a large part of the community and sending its output to England, France, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, South America, Australia, and even South Africa.

Mr. Crary was far too broad-minded and energetic to limit himself to even so large an enterprise. He was president of the Alden-Batavia (New York) Natural Gas Company, now owned by the Doherty interests; of the Chenango (Oklahoma) Gas and Oil Company; the Akron (New York) Natural Gas Company; the Attica (New York) Natural Gas Company; the Jackson (Kentucky) Gas and Oil Company; the Ontario (New York) Gas Company; the Caledonia (New York) Natural Gas Company; and the Tri-County Natural Gas Company. He was also a director of the Binghamton Street Railway Company, the Light, Heat and Power Company of Binghamton, the Cotton State Lumber Company of Mississippi, the Bayless Pulp and Paper Company of Canada, the Dare County (North Carolina) Lumber Company, and the Binghamton Boiler Compound Company. His interest in Wyoming sheep ranches, in which he was associated with a cousin, Roscoe Crary, took him into office as director of the Fiddleback Company and the Mountain Home

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Company. He was also a director of the Hamlet-Dexter Mining and Milling Company of Colorado. His son is now associated with many of these enterprises in an official capacity.

Mr. Crary was also vice-president and a director of the First National Bank of Binghamton. He had occasion at one time to save the Binghamton Trust Company from embarrassment, and to help steady local financial conditions. An unfounded rumor arose to the effect that the Crary support was being withdrawn from this institution, and depositors began a run. Mr. Crary and his father at once stepped into the breach and deposited a large amount to show their confidence in this bank. So great was his reputation for honesty and responsibility that his action had much to do with reestablishing public confidence.

Mr. Crary's remarkable business success was recognized as of direct benefit to many other individuals and communities. His acumen, his genius for discovering new potentialities for development, his ability to coördinate various lines of business and make them serve each other, his sound judgment of men and affairs, his devotion to work and his faculty for inspiring others to the faithful performance of duty—these traits were largely responsible for his success. He understood the value of advertising and at a critical period in the history of the Nineteen Hundred Washer Company staked his last funds on advertising and thus turned the corner to sure prosperity. He had the complete confidence of his employees, his fellow-townsmen, and the distant bank and business concerns with which he dealt. In business, as in other departments of life, he was invariably fair and just, but he expected to find those qualities in others, and he could be stern enough when others failed him. Although he was described as possessed of the "sweetest disposition" of any man known to one of his friends, he had a temper that was quick and high, though usually under control, a temper which was, in effect, part of the phenomenal driving power of his spirit. When it led him into an untenable position, his withdrawal was sincere and complete.

Such a man, wealthy, dynamic, warm-hearted, public-spirited, was bound to have many interests outside business. His very method of handling his means indicated that, for he put his capital and his own brains and energy not into mortgages and government bonds, but into thriving local enterprises, which stimulated advancement and gave

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employment to other people. He was once a stockholder in the "Binghamton Evening Herald" Company, was said to be actively interested in twenty stock companies, and, as a "producing factor," he was acclaimed by a local journal as one of the best citizens of Binghamton. He desired to be useful and to use his large holdings in such a way that others might have the opportunity to help themselves through the employment he provided.

His public service took many forms. He was for eight years commissioner of police, serving with his usual thoroughness and shrewdness and possessed of the gratitude of the city for his public spirit when he retired from this office. He was appointed by Governor Hughes, on January 5, 1907, with two other Binghamton delegates, to represent the business interests of Binghamton and Lestershire, New York, at a Foreign Commerce Congress for the extension of this country's foreign commerce, held in Washington, District of Columbia, on January 14, 1907, and he was for a time president of the Binghamton Chamber of Commerce. In spite of the prominence into which he was continually being thrust by his admiring fellow-citizens, Mr. Crary was always modest and retiring. He was not a public speaker, did not like appearing on platforms and avoided it whenever possible. But his deeds spoke for him. His generosity and his ready sympathy for want or suffering prompted him to offer his services frequently for that most difficult task—raising money for public causes. He believed in the work of the Girl Scouts, and gave part of his office, rent free, in which to hold their meetings. On one occasion he attended a luncheon meeting of a committee of that organization and found them short of funds. He and a friend, a Binghamton merchant, went out that afternoon and, through the infectious enthusiasm of Mr. Crary and his genius for raising money in a good cause, they soon collected adequate support for the Girl Scouts. This self-imposed mission Mr. Crary thoroughly enjoyed, as he loved doing things *with* people and *for* them. He never lost his boyish capacity for having a good time and was the gayest in any social gathering. He "rubbed people the right way" instinctively, because he liked them and wanted to make them happy. When driving with friends to a civic meeting in another town one day, Mr. Crary suddenly jammed on the brakes, got out of the car and walked back some two hundred yards to a drug store. He had seen a peg-legged man walking along and had thought suddenly

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that he might help the man to greater comfort by securing for him an artificial leg. He learned from the druggist where the man was to be found and at once arranged for him to purchase the new leg, Mr. Crary meeting the expense. The unfortunate and helpless made irresistible appeal to Mr. Crary, and merit struggling against adverse circumstances always won his prompt aid. One winter an Armenian came to his house and asked permission to shovel snow from the walk in return for a meal. His manner attracted Mr. Crary, who watched his faithful performance of the task and determined to help him establish himself in business. The first venture was a fruit stand, financed by Mr. Crary and so successfully operated that the Armenian was able to set up a rug business, again financed by his benefactor. As was so often the case, Mr. Crary's judgment of the man was correct; and he became a substantial merchant.

A director of the Young Men's Christian Association, Mr. Crary generously aided that body and contributed his effort and his influence in raising money for the organization. During one campaign he directed every man in his private employ to suspend his work, if need be, during the rest of the campaign in order to devote all his time to raising money for the "Y." He was president of the Binghamton Industrial Athletic Association and of the Floral Park Cemetery Association for a time. His support was given faithfully to the First Congregational Church, of which he was a member of the board of trustees for several terms. He was a member of the Free and Accepted Masons, in which he held the thirty-second degree in the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, and was affiliated with the Ancient Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, and of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. He also held memberships in the Binghamton Club, the Binghamton Country Club, the Dobson Club, the Rotary Club, the Binghamton Automobile Club, the Thousand Islands Yacht Club, the Frontenac Yacht Club, the Oteyokwa Lake Club, and the American Canoe Association. His favorite group was the Hungry Club, composed of eleven congenial spirits, of prominence in Binghamton, who met regularly for lunch. Despite the informal nature of this club, stronger fellowship could not be found, and in addition to their association in this club, which admittedly had no specific purpose other than social enjoyment, they were invariably held together in common interest in all forward movements of the city.

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No man had higher spirits or greater capacity for enjoyment. Mr. Crary was extremely fond of motoring, and possessed the first electric automobile owned in Binghamton. As a pioneer driver in 1902 he purchased a Pope-Toledo car and subsequently owned and drove the same Pierce-Arrow for 250,000 miles. He enjoyed traveling and covered much territory for business and pleasure. He had his summer home on the St. Lawrence River at Thousand Island Park, New York. This is on Wellesley Island, the third largest of the group, and there he indulged his fondness for boating and fishing during the summer weeks. He had a steam yacht on the river, but was more interested in power boats. In later years he did some golfing. His summer home and his beautiful residence in Binghamton, surrounded by eight acres of lawn and garden, were thrown open to his friends with the warm-hearted cordiality characteristic of this lover of his fellowmen. He was a delightful host, high-spirited, congenial, a lover of practical jokes, a man of ready wit and keen sense of the ridiculous. His friends' children knew him as a sympathetic and delightful companion, one who had shaping influence for good in their lives. He was a young man in heart and appearance to the day of his untimely death at the age of fifty-four.

There was one field of business which was an object of hatred to Mr. Crary, the liquor traffic. One battle he waged against a saloon-keeper who wanted to open a saloon across the street from Mr. Crary's home in the heart of a choice residential section of the city, has gone down in history because of the masterly and determined tactics employed by Mr. Crary. His friends rallied to his aid, and his objective was finally accomplished. According to the Raines law, voters residing within a certain radius might oppose issuance of a saloon license to an applicant. Mr. Crary was not within this radius, but his land was, and he determined to erect over-night a bungalow and people it with tenants who would vote against the license. The order was given to a construction company at four P. M., lumber was delivered at six, huge arc lights were set up, and carpenters worked all night. In the morning there stood a pretty little four-room bungalow, complete, tenanted by a happy family cooking breakfast as efficiently as if established there for years. The battle continued for a short time, but Mr. Crary came off final victor, for his cause was just, and the saloon was driven out of the district.



Louise I. (Brintnall) Crary

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In 1893 Mr. Crary married Louise Sutphen Brintnall, of Binghamton, New York, who was born in Somerville, New Jersey, daughter of a prominent railroad contractor, Phineas L. Brintnall, and his wife, Mary J. (Tunison) Brintnall. Theirs was a singularly happy union, for Mrs. Crary shared her husband's enthusiasm for public service, for helping those who needed help, for bringing comfort and happiness to less fortunately endowed people. She shared also his love for their home and family and friends, his loyalty to the First Congregational Church, and his active support of welfare organizations and movements for community progress. She died January 30, 1924, mourned by great and small in Binghamton. An editorial fitly describes her:

She never turned away any applicant for help. . . .

Great she was, in the things that counted to the expanding circles that never were turned from her door; great in sympathy and understanding, great in the little niceties of living that most of us pass unnoticed, but not great in the sense the majority of people crave and strive for, and wear out their lives for, only to learn at the last . . . that after all is said and done "the paths of glory lead but to the grave." . . .

A few of the quiet benefactions of this rare woman may be cited as reminder for those who may be minded to meditate on the things that made her truly great. For years she had maintained a number of scholarships at Syracuse University. She financed the Y. W. C. A. cafeteria (giving the complete equipment). She gave unostentatiously to many who needed assistance. Mrs. Crary was one of the originators of the Society for the Relief of Cripples and long financed the special surgical work on behalf of these unfortunates. For as many years she backed up her gifts with personal service—unstinted, as evidenced in her work for the Home for Aged Women and the Y. M. C. A.

She was a member of the board of directors of the Young Woman's Christian Association, and on its finance committee, and was a member of the board of managers of the Home for Aged Women. One of the most beloved of her humanitarian activities was directed toward the help of needy crippled children. In association with a few others she engaged the services of a specialist, who performed such surgical work as was necessary to restore the little patients to a normal condition. Her personality and her achievements were a beautiful complement to those of her husband, and their joint influ-

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ence was beneficent and far-reaching. Three children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Crary: 1. Mary Laverne, who died in 1900 at the age of six. 2. Gifford Brintnall, born February 28, 1897, in Binghamton, New York, and educated at Miss Childs' Private School, Binghamton, the Hotchkiss School at Lakeville, Connecticut, and the Binghamton High School. While still in school, he enlisted for World War service, was sworn in and assigned to duty at Fort Slocum, New York, transferred to the General Hospital at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, where he spent a year and a half, and sent thence to the Mayo Clinic, Rochester, Minnesota, where he remained for six weeks, taking a special surgical course. He was last stationed at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, where he remained for ten months, after which he received his honorable discharge. Mr. Crary now resides in Binghamton, New York, where he has succeeded to many of his father's business and civic interests. He has withdrawn from the Nineteen Hundred Washer Company, and from the Caledonia Natural Gas Company and the Tri-County Natural Gas Company. He was a director and secretary of the two latter-mentioned companies until he disposed of his interests in 1920. He is a director of the Kent Timber Company, director and vice-president of the Fiddleback Company, also of the Mountain Home Company, and is a member of the advisory board of the Eastern States Natural Gas Corporation. He is a member of the Binghamton Chamber of Commerce, a director of the Humane Society, president of the Blind Craft Association, a trustee of the Floral Park Cemetery Association, and a member of the First Congregational Church, on the board of trustees of which he has served several terms. Mr. Crary belongs also to the Free and Accepted Masons, in which he holds the thirty-second degree in the Scottish Rite, and is a Shriner; and the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, and United Commercial Travelers; his clubs are: The Binghamton Club; Binghamton Country Club; Lions Club, of which he is a charter member and past president; Dobson Club; Automobile Club; Broome County Sportsmen's Association; Colonial Yacht Club, New York City; St. Petersburg Yacht Club of Florida; American Legion; Veterans of Foreign Wars, of which he is an honorary member; National Alumni of New York, of which he is a life member; Binghamton Aero Club; Young Men's Republican Club of Broome County, New York. Gifford Brintnall Crary married, April



Gifford B. Cary



Elma Irene (Giere) Cray



Louise C. Symons

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5, 1919, Elma Irene Giere, of Rochester, Minnesota, and they have an adopted child, Carolyn Louise, born September 8, 1927. They reside in Binghamton, New York. 3. Louise, born May 20, 1900, a graduate of the Lady Jane Grey School, of Binghamton, New York, and of the Garland School of Boston, Massachusetts; married Arthur E. Symons, of Saginaw, Michigan, June 12, 1926, at Binghamton; residing now in Seattle, Washington, with their children: i. Margaret Louise, born June 4, 1927, in Seattle. ii. Arthur E., Jr., born October 23, 1929, in Seattle. iii. Thomas Crary, born in November, 1930, in Seattle.

"Death," said Goethe, "is a commingling of eternity with time; in the death of a good man, eternity is seen looking through time."

All Binghamton remembers, consciously or unconsciously, Thomas Burr Crary, whose impress on the community ideals and achievements is indelible. His friends remember a lovable personality, a buoyant and happy boy lingering in the strong and able man, a loyal, tolerant, helpful friend. They remember his courage, a courage shown in his fight against the liquor traffic, shown over and over in what he supported and what he worked for, shown, last of all, in his resistance to the typhoid germ which brought his brilliant career to an untimely end just as he reached the full maturity of his powers.

Tom Crary lives in Binghamton in a manner that even his beneficent influence could not accomplish in the flesh. He lives almost as a legend lives, the story of his good works and fineness of spirit told from person to person and from the elders to their juniors, entering inextricably into the very fabric of the common life. No contemporary comment upon his life and work more nearly catches its essence than the tribute to his memory from his church, from which the following is quoted:

With the passing of Mr. Crary, Binghamton loses one of her strongest, most influential, and most genuinely helpful men; our church loses a staunch and loyal member—a man who believed in its mission, gloried in its undertakings, rejoiced in its achievements, and stood always ready to serve it by every means within his power; and a multitude of men and women and children lose one who was ever the embodiment of joy and enthusiasm and buoyant confidence.

Mr. Crary was truly a big man—big in mind, and heart and soul—big in vision, in range of interests, and in accomplishments—big in love, and sympathy, and comradeship. He was loved of all men—loved most by those who knew him best.

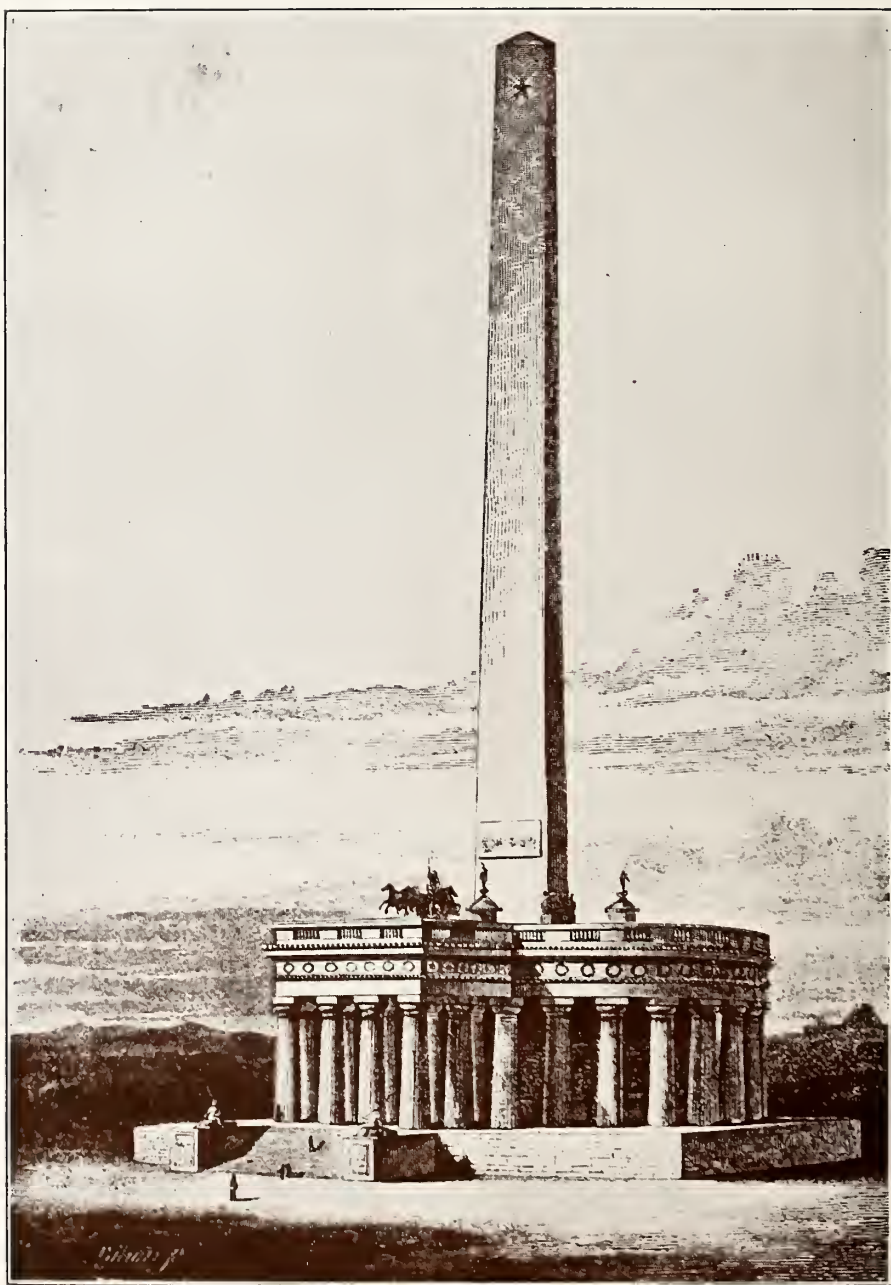
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His life was a four-square life. It had an outlook in all directions. Mr. Crary had a remarkable genius for putting himself in the other person's place and for getting the other person's point of view. Even when weighted down with responsibilities, he yet had time to concern himself with the interests of any who might ask his counsel or who might be in need of help. In his every-day life, he applied the parable of the Good Samaritan.

A noble-spirited, glad-hearted, generous and magnanimous soul has been called to its reward. We who knew him and loved him will never be able to think of him other than in terms of life. "He is not dead. He is just away." The memory of his gracious deeds and loyal services and invaluable counsels will continue throughout the coming years, a source of gratitude and strength and inspiration.

No better description of Mr. Crary's rugged, wholesome, helpful life can be found than that contained in the words of the prophet, Isaiah: "A man shall be as a hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest, as streams of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land."





DESIGN FOR WASHINGTON MONUMENT, WASHINGTON. ROBERT MILLS,
ARCHITECT
(Courtesy New York Public Library)

VOL. XXVIII

JULY, 1934

NUMBER 3

AMERICANA

ILLUSTRATED



THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.

SOMERVILLE, NEW JERSEY, AND NEW YORK CITY

Entered at the Post Office in Somerville, N. J., as Second Class Matter, under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

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The American Historical Society, Inc.

AMERICANA

Published by THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC., formerly published by the National Americana Society. Issued in quarterly numbers at \$4 per annum; single copies \$1. Publication Office, the C. P. Hoagland Company Building, 16 Union Street, Somerville, N. J.

AMERICANA is a Quarterly Magazine of History, Genealogy, Heraldry, and Literature. Manuscripts upon these subjects are invited, and will be given early and careful consideration. It is desirable that contributions should contain not less than two thousand nor more than ten thousand words. Contributors should attach to their manuscript their full names, with academic or other titles, and memorandum of number of words written.

All correspondence relating to contributions should be addressed to the Editor
All communications should be addressed:

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Somerville, N. J., or 80-90 Eighth Avenue, New York City

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AMERICANA

July, 1934



The Mission of John Lamb to Algiers 1785-1786¹

BY FRANK E. ROSS, M. A., WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA



AMERICAN negotiations with Barbary during the operation of the Articles of Confederation represent a peculiar and little known phase of American diplomatic history. Peculiar because of the strange method by which the American agents were appointed. Executive agents have been no novelty in American diplomacy—but rarely has an American agent carried on an important negotiation without credentials from his government. In 1785 the supreme power in the United States, relative to foreign affairs, was vested in the Congress. John Lamb held his commission not from that body, but from the American ministers in Europe.

In 1784 Congress authorized the American ministers in Europe to negotiate peace with the Barbary powers. A year later Congress placed eighty thousand dollars at their disposal.² At first Franklin and his colleagues did little toward carrying out the resolution of Congress relative to Barbary. They were busy establishing peaceful and commercial relations with European nations. However, in March, 1785, John Adams sought the advice of the French Court. He explained to the Comte de Vergennes, French Minister of Foreign

1. The most recent general account is R. W. Irwin, "The Diplomatic Relations of the U. S. with the Barbary Powers, 1776-1816" (1931); Lamb's official letters will be found in the Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 91, Vol. II, in the Library of Congress.

2. "Journals of the Continental Congress," May 7, 1784; February 14, 1785.

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Affairs, that the American ministers had full powers to deal with the Barbary states, but that they could not possibly go there in person. He asked de Vergennes if they should invite Morocco to send a representative to Paris. De Vergennes advised against it. He told Adams that America would have to pay all the expenses of the voyage as well as the maintenance of the agent in Paris; it would be more costly than to send an American consul.³

While the American ministers were deliberating they received word from John Jay, Secretary for Foreign Affairs in New York, that Congress was sending them additional instructions and papers relative to Barbary. John Lamb, who was to bring the documents across the Atlantic, did not arrive immediately. Adams feared he had been captured by the Algerines.⁴ In the meantime the situation relative to Algiers changed completely. Spain made tentative peace with the Dey of Algiers and Algerine war vessels were permitted to pass Gibraltar. William Carmichael wrote to Jefferson from Cadiz, July 19, 1785, that "I am alarmed on account of the Algerines. Their peace with Spain has opened a large field to their piracies."⁵ Carmichael had substantial cause for alarm, as was subsequently borne out: on July 25, 1785, an Algerine xebec captured the schooner "Maria" of Boston three miles southeast of Cape St. Vincent, off the coast of Portugal, and on July 30 the "Dauphin" of Philadelphia was captured. The crews were sold into slavery in Algiers. Adams wrote to Jay apprizing him of the new development: "There will be captives to redeem, as well as treaties to form."⁶

John Lamb was a sea captain of Norwich, Connecticut.⁷ In February, 1785, he had sent a petition to Congress offering his services in the negotiations with Barbary, with which states he had had an "intercourse of five years."⁸ He presented Congress with substantial recommendations from Samuel Huntington, former President of Congress,

3. "Diplomatic Correspondence of the U. S. A., 1783-1789," edition of 1833, II, 286-288; hereafter cited as "Diplomatic Correspondence."

4. C. F. Adams, "The Works of John Adams," Vol. VIII (1853), pp. 253, 301.

5. "Diplomatic Correspondence," II, 379.

6. "The Works of John Adams," VIII, 321.

7. John Lamb, of Norwich, is sometimes confused with his more famous contemporary, John Lamb, of New York, Revolutionary patriot and soldier; Thomas Jones, "History of N. Y. During the Revolutionary War" (1879), II, 343, erroneously credits the Algiers mission to John Lamb, of New York; John Lamb, of Norwich, is apparently the sea captain mentioned in F. W. Caulkins, "History of New London, Connecticut" (1852), pp. 485, 538.

8. Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 42, Vol. IV, p. 368.

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and from Matthew Griswold, Governor of Connecticut.⁹ Secretary Jay reported to Congress on February 10, 1785, that because of Lamb's recommendations "there is Reason to entertain a very advantageous opinion of his Character."¹⁰ Jay's report was accepted and Congress authorized the American ministers in Europe to delegate their powers to negotiate with Barbary, if unable to attend to the matter in person.¹¹ Congress obviously thought Lamb suitable for such an appointment, but issued no commission, as Jefferson wrote to Adams, because "they apprehend it might interfere with measures actually taken by us."¹²

Upon Lamb's arrival in Paris on September 18, 1785, Jefferson talked with him and read his recommendations. Because of the strength of these and the fact that Lamb had followed the Barbary trade for many years, Jefferson proposed to Adams Lamb's appointment to Algiers. "He seems not deficient, as far as I can see, and the footing on which he comes, must furnish a presumption for what we do not see. We must say the same as to his integrity . . . as it is impossible for us to judge of it ourselves. Yet it will be our duty to use such reasonable cautions as are in our power." Two such precautions occurred to Jefferson: First, to send with Lamb a trusted clerk, known to them, who would be "capable of assisting and attending to his proceedings, and who, in case he thought anything was going amiss, might give us information." Second, not to give Lamb credit with the customary American financial agents in Europe—*i. e.*, Van Staphorst and Willink—but to instruct Lamb to draw all drafts upon Adams at London, which would enable Adams "to check them, if you are sensible of any abuse intended."¹³

Adams agreed to Jefferson's suggestions. Paul R. Randall was designated to attend Lamb as his clerk. On October 5, 1785, Adams made out commissions, which he sealed and signed, and forwarded them to Jefferson for his seal and signature.¹⁴ The two ministers also issued detailed instructions for the guidance of the agents. The whole expense of the treaty with Algiers was not to exceed forty thousand

9. *Ibid.*, No. 42, Vol. IV, pp. 372-76.

10. *Ibid.*, No. 80, Vol. I, p. 65.

11. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, February 14, 15, 1785.

12. H. A. Washington, "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. I (1853), pp. 437-39.

13. *Ibid.*

14. "The Works of John Adams," VIII, 318, 321; similar commissions were given to Thomas Barclay and David S. Franks for negotiating with Morocco.

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dollars. Supplementary instructions were provided Lamb for redeeming the American slaves in Algiers. Since news of the captures had not reached Congress before Lamb's departure from America, Adams and Jefferson had no word to guide them. On their own responsibility, however, they authorized Lamb to offer \$200 a head for the captives. In negotiating for such release Lamb was instructed "to consider yourself as acting for the masters of the vessels, as well as for the United States, and you will agree to no terms which they shall not approve. You will take from them their obligations, each for his crew separately, binding themselves and their owners to indemnify the United States for the moneys which shall be paid for their redemption, subsistence, transportation to their own country, and other charges incurred, if the Congress shall be of opinion that such indemnification shall be required."¹⁵

Thus equipped, Lamb proceeded to Spain, where he lingered many long months. Soon Adams began to fume at the delay, and to share Jefferson's distrust of Lamb. "This Gentleman's motions are slow," he wrote to Jay, February 16, 1786. "What can have detained him so long, I know not . . . since the appointment was made, and became irrevocable, I heard such opinions and reports of him as have astonished me."¹⁶ The reports of the clerk did not allay Adams' fears. From Barcelona Randall wrote, February 17, 1786, to express a similar lack of confidence in Lamb.¹⁷ In addition Adams had other reasons for anticipating failure for the mission. It was customary for the European powers to send armed vessels to Barbary with their agents. "Mr. Barclay and Mr. Lamb are armed only with their innocence and the olive branch."¹⁸

Lamb reached Barcelona on February 17, 1786. Unable to procure passage across the Mediterranean, he purchased a vessel of about fifty tons, and sailed for Algiers on March 11, using the Spanish flag for protection. When he arrived at Algiers, March 25, the Dey granted permission to land only upon the request of the Spanish representative.¹⁹

Even before he had an audience with the Dey, Lamb became convinced that peace and redemption of the slaves would require more

15. "Diplomatic Correspondence," II, 412-25.

16. *Ibid.*, IV, 486-88.

17. *Ibid.*, V, 396-98.

18. *Ibid.*, IV, 486-88.

19. *Ibid.*, III, 28, 30; V, 396.

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money than his instructions permitted. Wishing to be rid of his too-watchful clerk, Lamb sent Randall back to Spain on the pretext of carrying dispatches. To Jefferson, Lamb wrote, March 29, 1786, that "It is my duty to advise to abandon the undertaking, as it will be entirely in vain to persevere."²⁰ Randall left Algiers with reluctance within a week after arriving there. From Madrid he wrote to Jay, May 4, 1786, that Lamb had sent him away "repugnant to my inclinations."²¹

Freed of his guardian clerk, Lamb began his negotiations, in the course of which he had three audiences with the Dey. The latter refused to consider a treaty of peace, but expressed his willingness to accept ransom for the slaves. For three captains the Dey asked \$6,000 apiece, for the two mates and two passengers, \$4,000 each, and for the fourteen sailors, \$1,400 each; with eleven per cent. added, according to custom, making a total of 59,496 Spanish milled dollars, a much greater ransom than the Dey had demanded from European nations. At the third audience the Dey lowered his demands to 48,300 Spanish milled dollars, but that sum was far beyond what Lamb could offer.²²

The American slaves all said afterwards that it was generally understood in Algiers that Lamb had orally agreed to accept the Dey's final offer.²³ Whether true or not, there was certainly no written agreement to that effect. Cathcart, one of the slaves, said that no one could have accomplished very much at that time, but that Lamb "was extremely illiterate and vulgar" and made a poor impression on Algerine officials and American slaves alike.²⁴

The attitude of the European consuls toward the Lamb mission is somewhat conflicting. Lamb said that the Count d'Espilly, the Spanish agent, refused to aid him in the negotiations, beyond obtaining permission for him to land. Lamb found the French consul polite, and the British consul "received me as an old friend." The latter told him that he had no orders from London to interfere with the American attempt to make peace with Algiers.²⁵ Later d'Espilly told Carmichael in Madrid that after Lamb left Algiers the British consul

20. *Ibid.*, III, 32-33.

21. *Ibid.*, V, 401-02.

22. *Ibid.*, III, 81ff.

23. *Ibid.*, V, 247-51.

24. Jas. L. Cathcart, "The Captives" (La Porte, Indiana, 1899), p. 41.

25. "Diplomatic Correspondence," III, 81ff.

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had tried to persuade the Dey to seize Lamb's vessel, which had been loaned to d'Espilly. The Dey suggested that the consul attend to his own affairs. Carmichael thought that "the conduct of the British consul must arise from the Court, for their private characters are good, and they are men of liberal and humane principles."²⁶ Richard O'Brien, captain of the "Dauphin," wrote to Carmichael, June 24, 1790, that the Algerine foreign minister had told him the British, French and Spanish had all opposed granting peace to America.²⁷

Unable to make headway with the Dey, Lamb saw the principal minister, who told him nothing could be done until Spain had made a definitive peace with Algiers. He advised Lamb to go to Spain and wait there, and gave him a free pass to return to Algiers later.²⁸ Lamb thought the advice sound and acted upon it.

Jefferson promptly suggested to Adams, May 11, 1786, that instead of remaining in Spain, Lamb be sent to New York to report to Congress. That body could then determine their policy and if they wished to negotiate they could reappoint Lamb, or appoint a new agent, "according to the opinion they shall form on their examination."²⁹ Adams agreed to the plan and Jefferson wrote to Lamb, June 20, 1786, instructing him to report to Jefferson in Paris and then proceed to New York. It was necessary, he said, to refer the whole matter back to Congress, so they could decide "whether they will choose to buy a peace, to force one, or to do nothing."³⁰ A few days later Adams and Jefferson addressed a joint letter to Lamb, June 29, 1786, reiterating Jefferson's instructions, and informing Lamb that "we have no further occasion for your services in Europe."³¹

Lamb, however, remained in Spain. To Carmichael he reported that he had resigned his commission.³² He pleaded ill health for not obeying the instructions from Adams and Jefferson, whom he informed that it would take some time to collect his accounts.³³ Jefferson, becoming alarmed, wrote to Monroe that Lamb, "under the pretext

26. *Ibid.*, III, 121-23.

27. "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," Vol. I (1832), pp. 117-19.

28. "Diplomatic Correspondence," III, 81ff.

29. H. A. Washington, "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," I, 569-70.

30. T. J. Randolph, "Memoir, Correspondence, and Miscellanies from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson" (1829), II, 30-31.

31. "The Works of John Adams," VIII, 405-06.

32. "Diplomatic Correspondence," III, 121-23.

33. *Ibid.*, III, 123-26.

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of ill health, declines returning either to Congress, Mr. Adams, or myself. This circumstance makes me fear some malversation."³⁴ Adams and Jefferson expressed their regrets to Lamb because of his poor health, but advised him firmly that it was "for your own interest, and that of the United States, that you should return to Congress for their further instructions as soon as possible." If he would transmit his accounts, however, they would "adjust it, as far as lies in us, subject to the revision of Congress."³⁵ Lamb replied from Alicant, Spain, October 10, 1786, that "I am not able to take passage by sea or land; I have been confined these three months."³⁶ Jefferson reported to Jay, December 31, 1786, that "I am not without fear, that some misapplication of the public money, may enter into the causes of his declining to return. The moment that I saw a symptom of this in his conduct . . . I wrote to Mr. Carmichael to stop any moneys, which he might have in the hands of his banker. I am still unable to judge whether he is guilty of this or not."³⁷

As early as September 26, 1786, Congress had resolved that the commission and instructions issued to Lamb be "vacated and annulled." Jay was instructed to direct Lamb "immediately to repair to New York."³⁸ Adams and Jefferson forwarded the resolution to Lamb, and informed Jay that Lamb was responsible to Congress for £3,212 and 12 shillings of public money that he had drawn.³⁹

Thomas Barclay, who had a general commission to settle the accounts of all American agents in Europe, read Lamb's letters, and "on the perusal," he reported, "it struck me that an interview with him might be attended with some desirable consequences." Lamb had refused to go to Madrid to meet Barclay, pleading the state of his health. Desiring to avoid confusion and insure a meeting with Lamb, Barclay asked Jefferson to "point out to Mr. Lamb how convenient the opportunity will be for an adjustment of the accounts."⁴⁰ Both Adams and Jefferson agreed to instruct Lamb to settle his accounts with Barclay.⁴¹ In due time Barclay journeyed to Alicant for the day of reckoning with the ailing diplomat. He found that Lamb had gone

34. H. A. Washington, "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," I, 605-06.

35. "Diplomatic Correspondence," III, 145.

36. *Ibid.*, III, 192.

37. *Ibid.*, III, 189-90.

38. "Secret Journals of the Acts and Proceedings of Congress" (1821), IV, 127.

39. "Diplomatic Correspondence," V, 138, 169.

40. *Ibid.*, V, 171-73.

41. *Ibid.*, V, 456.

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to Minorca!⁴² Some months later Lamb wrote to Jefferson, from on board a vessel anchored in Alicant Bay, May 20, 1787, that "I am exceedingly sorry that Mr. Barclay missed me, he writes me that he had authority to settle my accounts."⁴³ Lamb then sailed for America to make belated peace with Congress.

Although Jefferson had a deep and presumably well-founded distrust of Lamb's abilities and of Lamb as a man, he did recognize that there existed a proper cause for the failure of the mission: "I am persuaded," he wrote to Monroe, August 11, 1786, "that an angel sent on this business, and so much limited in his terms, could have done nothing." Nevertheless, "should Congress propose to try the line of negotiation again, I think they will perceive that Lamb is not a proper agent."⁴⁴ Both Jefferson and Adams agreed "that Congress must begin by getting money."⁴⁵ In New York, Jay had also reached a diagnosis: "I am not surprised," he wrote to Jefferson, July 14, 1786, "that our negotiations with Britain and Barbary are unpromising. To be respectable abroad, it is necessary to be so at home, and that will not be the case until our public faith acquires more confidence, and our Government more strength."⁴⁶

42. *Ibid.*, III, 221.

43. *Ibid.*, III, 257-58.

44. H. A. Washington, "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," I, 605-06.

45. "The Works of John Adams," VIII, 408.

46. "Diplomatic Correspondence," III, 14.



Egyptian Echoes In American Architecture

BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM SENER RUSK, WELLS COLLEGE,
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AMERICAN architecture of today has developed an exhilarating enthusiasm for new materials and structural novelties, adapted on the one hand to towers of industry, and on the other to housing, the standardized parts of which are as easily assembled as the parts of a Ford on revolving belts. The designs used, however, are an eclectic combination of styles, at one time historic, and at another startlingly abstract and modern. One of the historic styles used now and again is the Egyptian. Ideologically, Wilhelm Worringer, the German critic of cultures, would see nothing strange in this distant echo. To him American and Egyptian civilizations are alike in that civilization rather than culture is characteristic of the two peoples. Grain elevators and pyramids, he contends, have a psychic as well as a geometrical bond between them. And it is true that throughout the course of American architecture Egyptian elements are found. But unless one is willing to accept the debatable Worringer premises, and, for the sake of a theory, to ignore the vastly more significant influences of Classic and Renaissance forms, one is not likely to accept his conclusions. The designs of grain elevators and pyramids may have characteristics in common, but the similarities may not be as easily explained as the psychographer of cultures would have us believe.

In fact, if one reviews the Egyptian "episodes" in American architecture, one is likely to find them based on such matters as the textbooks current at the time, or on a journalistic headliner as Napoleon's Egyptian campaign, on a feeling of surfeit at classical forms, or on the unconscious use of similar forms with analogous effects.

Robert Mills is the initiator of the style. In the portico of the Monumental Church, Richmond, Virginia, the general appearance of the capitals of the columns is clearly Egyptian. This church was erected in memory of those who died in a theatre formerly on the site and destroyed by fire in 1811. Seventy-two persons, including the

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Governor of the Commonwealth, lost their lives. The building is polygonal and supports a dome. So far Jefferson and Mills' teacher, B. H. Latrobe, are being followed. The portico, however, is conceived as a canopy over an urn symbolic of the tragedy which occasioned the erection of the building. The frieze above the colonnade is marked by lachrymatories in place of the usual triglyphs, and the capitals of the columns are channeled with a profile quite suggestive of the Egyptian lotus-flower forms—a design not inappropriate to a memorial structure.

Mills also—in the Bunker Hill Monument, Boston—used an Egyptian form. The shaft rests on a classic base, it is true; and one must admit that when the cornerstone was laid in 1825 the intention was to carry the shaft higher, and to use more ornamentation. Fortunately, however, economy furthered the cause of æsthetic restraint. It remains an obelisk.*

In the Washington Monument, Washington, it is even more apparent that the delay caused by the slow receipt of funds aided the simplicity seen in the present magnificent obelisk. Mills designed a colonnaded pantheon to surround the base, in the Doric order, and an equestrian statue was to surmount the front portico. This scheme followed an earlier one for an equestrian monument on the same site, and one for a mausoleum in the form of a pyramid. The design as finally completed had been initiated with a drive for funds in 1833 and the choice of Mills' drawings in 1836. The corner stone was not laid, however, until 1848, and the capstone was set in place as recently as 1884. Only a few years ago responsible architects urged that the original design be completed in time for the Bicentennial celebrations of 1933. But the telling power of simplicity in the Lincoln Memorial, in the National Academy of Sciences, and in various proposed buildings, not to mention the silhouette of the distant Capitol, are so rapidly enclosing the monument with the silence of beauty, that it does not seem likely the sheer finality of the present form will ever be disturbed by decorative chatter. Washington is one of the few heroes about whom nothing need be said. One merely calls attention.

The causes for such Egyptian excursions of a leading classicist are to be found, no doubt, in the Napoleonic campaigns, in the idea of

*In the recent volume of the "Dictionary of American Biography," under Mills, Fiske Kimball states that the Bunker Hill Monument was actually designed by Solomon Willard, though Mills believed that his proposed obelisk was used.

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permanence naturally associated with Egyptian designs, and in the long-lived custom of using obelisks for memorial purposes. From the time Baroque architects reared obelisks in Papal Rome, as Imperial architects had done centuries before, to the erection of "Cleopatra's Needle" in Central Park, New York, in 1880, the timeless connotations of Egyptian forms have stirred the imagination of the West.

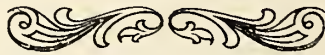
The earliest buildings in America really Egyptian in appearance were apparently Thomas U. Walter's prisons in Philadelphia. The Men's Prison of this Moyamensing group was designed in the manner of "castellated architecture." But the Women's Prison, built 1837-1838, has a brown sandstone entrance in a "simple Egyptian style," as well as the entire western façade. The Debtors' Jail, north of the main prison, also is reminiscent of the Nile. The portico is recessed in the manner of the *Temple of the Sun* on the Island Elephantine. The windows and the cornice have the bead and cavetto crowning of the Egyptian style. Winged disks decorate the main cornice and the doorhead. It is reassuring to learn that the so-called Debtors' Jail has been used merely for the housing of State witnesses prior to a trial.

Between 1838 and 1898 the city prison in New York, commonly called *The Tombs*, was a granite structure covering an entire city block. It was "a pure specimen of Egyptian architecture." The front portico was supported by four Egyptian columns, the entablature having the winged disk in the center of the architrave, a frieze of triglyphs and metopes in the Greek manner, and a cavetto cornice. Such polyglot use of styles force one to see textbooks in the background once more. The windows had the forms of pylons with winged disks and cavettos. The long sides between the corner pavilions, themselves distyle *in-antis*, were treated as curtain walls. The frieze and cavetto of the front portico were continued around the building. Altogether the design deserved a better site and a less gloomy function.

In 1845 the Medical College of Virginia had a Philadelphia architect, Thomas S. Stewart, design a structure for them in Richmond, perhaps the most archæological example of Egyptian work yet built in America. The two columns between *antæ* at the front are as pure Egyptian as textbooks could make them. The cornice terminating in the usual cavetto surrounds the four sides of the building. The ivy-covered walls relieve the effect of massiveness somewhat, but seem strange in a world of pylon and lotus. Palm trees and desert horizons are wanted.

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Most frequently, however, the use of Egyptian forms has suggested memorial ideas. American cemeteries are filled with mausolea of such derivation, and the obelisk is almost as common as the column. Moreover, fraternity houses on the college campuses often use Egyptian forms, suggesting mystery and secrecy. The *Sphinx* on the Dartmouth campus at Hanover, New Hampshire, is an example. But today Egyptian forms are used with originality in one of two ways. They may provide the *decor* for a structure devoted to entertainment, or they may merely suggest by the use of line, plane, and mass Egyptian prototypes. Of the former sort, mention may be made of Grauman's Theatre at Hollywood, Meyer and Holler, architects. Here Egyptology is clearly in a fanciful mood. Of the latter sort we think of the ubiquitous grain elevator where the analogies seem quite unconscious and incidental, and of such structures as the Ryerson Tomb, Graceland Cemetery, Chicago, designed by the "father" of modernism, L. H. Sullivan, or the recent Los Angeles Public Library by B. G. Goodhue. These latter examples are no longer of textbook derivation. They are the expression of maturity in æsthetic appreciation. They do not follow Egyptian forms as a "style"; but on occasion the use of line, mass, and plane recalls similar use by another people, who also were gifted with an understanding of functional abstractions.





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An Uncollected Poem By Bryant

BY TREMAINE McDOWELL,

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LATE in 1845, Seba Smith offered to the American public a gift book under the sentimental title, "Dew-Drops of the Nineteenth Century."¹ This miscellany of prose and verse, part original and part selected, so often bids for the reader's tears that he suspects the dew drops to be none other than the pearly globes of sensibility which moistened the cheeks of both eighteenth and nineteenth century emotionalists. But Seba Smith explains her title in another fashion:

. . . . It was our desire that the brightness of the dew-drop should shine through our pages, while they should at the same time be marked with such plainness and simplicity, that he that runs may read. What is more pure than the drops of morning dew? So it has been our aim to gather into our little fountain nothing but sweet and pure waters; that while they spread over the moral "field of the world," they may "drop as the rain, and distil as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass," awakening the better sympathies of the heart ²

Among "the drops of morning dew" here offered is an original poem by William Cullen Bryant, never included by him in any collected volume of his work—presumably because several lines are doggerel and the rest are threadbare and hackneyed. Mediocre and derivative as the poem is, it should be preserved as evidence that in the year 1845 Bryant was not always, as James Russell Lowell declared three years later in "A Fable for Critics,"

as cool, and as dignified
As a smooth, silent iceberg, that never is ignified.

1. The plates of this volume were later used twice, appearing with a new title-page as "The Gift of Friendship, or Token of Remembrance for 1848," and as "The Keepsake, or Token of Remembrance for 1848."

2. "Dew-Drops," "Preface," iii.

AN UNCOLLECTED POEM BY BRYANT

TO WILLIAM

By W. C. BRYANT

It was but yesterday, my child, thy little heart beat high,
And I had scorn'd the warning voice that told me, thou must die.
I saw thee move with active bound, with spirits light and free,
And infant grace and beauty threw their every charm on thee.

Upon the dewy field I saw thy early footsteps fly,
Unfettered as the native bird that cleaves the radiant sky,
And often as the sunrise gale blew back thy shining hair,
Thy cheek display'd the red, rose-tinge that health had painted there.

Then, withered as my heart had been, I could not but rejoice
To hear upon the morning wind the music of thy voice,
Now echoing in the careless laugh, now melting down to tears,
'Twas like the sounds I used to hear in old and happier years.

Thanks for that memory to thee, my little, lovely boy,
'Tis all remains of former bliss that care cannot destroy:
I listened as the mariner suspends the outbound oar,
To taste the farewell gale that flows from off his native shore.

I loved thee and my heart was blest—but ere the day was spent,
I saw thy light and graceful limbs in drooping illness bent,
And shuddered, as I cast a look upon thy fainting head,
For all the glow of health was gone, and life was almost fled.

One glance upon thy marble brow made known that hope was vain,
I knew the swiftly wasting lamp should never light again:
Thy cheek was pale, thy snow white lips were gently thrown apart,
And life in every passing breath seemed gushing from the heart.

And when I could not keep the tear from gathering in my eye,
Thy little hand prest gently mine in token of reply,
To ask one more exchange of love thy look was upward cast,
And in that long and burning kiss thy happy spirit passed.

I trusted I should not have liv'd to bid farewell to thee,
And nature in my heart declares it ought not so to be,
I hoped that thou within the grave my weary head should lay,
And live beloved, when I was gone, for many a happy day.

With trembling hand I vainly tried thy dying eyes to close,
And how I envied in that hour thy calm and deep repose;
For I was left alone on earth, with pain and grief oppress'd,
And thou wast with the sainted, where the weary are at rest.

AN UNCOLLECTED POEM BY BRYANT

Yes I am left alone on earth—but I will not repine,
Because a spirit loved so well is earlier blest than mine;
My fate may darken as it will, I shall not much deplore,
Since thou art where the ills of life can never reach thee more.³

Who was William? There was no child of that name in Bryant's immediate family; and the death of no child in the family corresponds with the details here recorded. Particularly significant is the fact that no child's death at any time left Bryant "alone on earth." The poet therefore appears to be writing of either an imaginary event or an experience of another, and not of his own personal loss. "To William," then, is a gratuitous excursion into sensibility, in which the editor of the "Evening Post" falls to the tearful level of his fellow-contributors to "Dew-Drops of the Nineteenth Century": Elizabeth Oakes Smith, Lucy K. Wells, and Lydia Maria Child.

3. *Idem*, pp. 185-187.



The O-Ge-Che-Dah, or Head-Men Dance of the Bois Fort Indians

BY ALBERT B. REAGAN, PH. D., OURAY, UTAH



CCASIONALLY the Bois Fort Indians, of Nett Lake, Minnesota, have a Head-man dance, called by them *O-ge-che-dah*. On October 5, 1912, the writer was advised that such a dance was in preparation in a thicket east of the village. Later the Indians gave him special invitation to attend it, and as their Indian Agent, he accepted.

The inclosure in which the dance was held was about forty feet in diameter and had an open space at the southeast side for entrance and exit. It consisted of part canvas and part birch-bark structure raised to about four feet in height, around the interior of which were placed boughs against the wall to serve as seats for the populace, which were permitted to partake in the ceremony. A pole was also erected in the center of the inclosure on which was a crude carving of a bird. A flag, having the mass blue, but having in its upper corner, near the pole, a red square, in the center of which was an eight-corned white star, was also suspended from this pole. Then when all was ready, four special persons were informed by the chiefs of the coming dance and these carried the information to all the members, who are not many at this place. (The writer was told by the Indians that there had been only one other dance like this in twenty years and that was on a terrible stormy day the previous year and that but few attended it.) Thus was the whole of the 5th spent in preparation and in "sending out invitations." The dance began in the early morning of the 6th.

On this date, all the participants entered the circular inclosure and passed around on the left hand within the dancing area. After a moment's prayer they marched out again, still moving to the left. A sham battle was then fought, apparently between the Sioux and Ojibwa, Headman Andy Fields and other Indians representing the Sioux; Mr. Fields was wearing the full headdress of a Sioux warrior.

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The warhoop was given, guns were fired, and there was much shrieking and hallooing and a general mixture of terrible noises and a mixture of men (the women did not join in this ceremony), in all, indicating a bloody and horrible conflict.

Closing the war scene, the braves, joined by the women, marched back to the dance inclosure and entered it as before. A prayer was said, after which all seated themselves in the places designated for them, according to the part they were to play in the ceremonies. The leading medicine man then buried the ceremonial hatchet. Next the "pipe man" arose and carefully lighted the ceremonial peace pipe, a huge pipe with stem three feet in length, all made of serpentine slate. After he had lighted it he turned it around in a pivotal motion as he held it horizontal to the earth, balanced over his left thumb and forefinger. As he thus turned it around slowly, he paused with it each time as the extended stem would swing to an inter-cardinal direction, beginning with the "northeast corner of the earth." As he thus paused each time he said a word of prayer. Four times he swung it to the entire "corners" of the earth. Then he passed it around to each Indian within the inclosure and each one, men, women, and children (and even babies) took a whiff of the smoke. And thereafter at lull times in the dance it was performed with and passed around in the manner here mentioned.

After the first ceremonial smoke the dance began. It consisted of a crow-hop ceremony to a vigorous stamping dance, usually of the stationary type, though occasionally the actors danced to the left around the entire circular dancing space. For the most part, however, it seemed to be more of a jig dance by special members. Headman Andy Fields, with his war bonnet, however, danced almost continuously. At intervals, as the dance progressed, speeches and prayers were made and the peace pipe was smoked as before.

General notes on the dance here follow: (1) In this ceremony all usually enter the dance inclosure who wish and should an undesirable person enter who is not a member, the dance only stops till that person is put out of the inclosure. (2) With this society the chief medicine men of the Grand Medicine Lodge are the chief actors and the songs sung in it and in the Grand Medicine Lodge are the same or similar. (3) Several small tamborine-like drums, similar to those used in the moccasin game ceremonies, are used. (4) Presents are

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given to the headmen of the order because they stand between men and the manito and intercede for them. (5) The actors lift their hands skyward in prayer as they wave trophies and medicine bags as gifts to the manito and hold their hands palms upward when receiving answers to their prayers. They then scatter from their hands toward the ground to show that in answer to their prayers they give as they have received, the ground in each place where the dance is held being considered sacred. (6) The *O-ge-che-dah* teaches that all men are children of the Great Father and that one must be faithful to the teachings of the Great Manito. (7) It always begins with a sham battle and ends with a smoke of the pipe of peace. (8) Its flag shows that its members are friends of the Great Manito. (9) It is a headman society, also a peace, good will dance.

These were the special headmen and headwomen of the occasion: Tenclaws, O. M. Benner, Jim Smith, Charles Strong, William Johnson, William Boney, Joe Canada, John Nett Lake, Mrs. Charles Farmer, Mrs. Stephen Benner, All Day, and O. M. Johnson; and these all received outing flannel and calico as presents from the other members of the society, except the last two mentioned, these receiving blankets instead of outing flannel.

Below are appended notes on the dance of October 6, taken as the dance progressed: Headman Andy Fields, the chief singer, carried a tomahawk. Chief Moses Day held the stem of his pipe of peace in his right hand, which he continued to wave as he danced. He also held a fox skin in his left hand, waving it skyward to the manito at every gesture point in the ceremony, as he yelled: "*Hay, yay, hi, ho.*" Tenclaws and wife each carried a pipe of peace. Stephen Benner, Jim Smith, and some others wore sleigh bells. All Day, who had his cheeks painted, danced a part of the time with a red "cane," with "scalloped" (rayed) feathers attached to the unlooped end. He also danced a part of the time with an initiation arrow which was three feet in length and two inches in width, which ended on its dart end with four tapering notches. Besides having a tassel of hair at its top end, this arrow also had suspended tassel feathers in its middle. O. M. Johnson, who had a martin skin lapel suspended from his arm, flashed a dirk knife with his right hand and brandished a war club with his left. Mrs. John Nett Lake danced with a gun. Charles Day wore a blue Canadian blanket; Charles Farmer and William Boney had

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green blankets; while Andy Fields, Jim Martin, and Susie Red Sack Nett Lake had red blankets. Andy Fields and Chief Moses Day had medicine headwear, Mr. Fields' being strictly a Sioux war bonnet. Andy Fields passed the "*konahpamik*" shells around to the "pipe man" and to each medicine person. Then, in company with his wife, he prepared the large peace pipe and took it around the ring by the south to the "pipe man." The latter then took it around the whole dance circle to each person within the inclosure. Then there were "two songs," which were followed by the dog feast.

Below is the chief medicine man's explanation of the dance: "The dance inclosure you saw had only one exit. This was due to the fact that the day was stormy and only one entrance was allowed for the purpose of keeping out the wind. Customarily, however, there are four entrances (and exits). The outer concentric circle of the dance inclosure represents the horizon. The bird on the pole in the center of the inclosure was blue, as was the pole on which it was sitting. The bird represents the thunderer, the thunder bird himself. When the wind causes it to cloud up, this bird causes it to rain. The flag on this center pole is the flag of the Great Spirit. It has an eight-pointed star in a red field, which is an oblong in a blue field. It represents good and good will to men. The pipes are the pipes of the gods of the four winds. Sometimes all of the dancers smoke while dancing to appease the gods of the four winds. The staffs on which to hang drums, called *wagangebecheganan*, have four medicine bags suspended from each one. The pole with the many ribbons on it represents the medicine tree of the Great Spirit. Any one who wishes puts calico and other goods on this pole; they are placed on it as an offering to the gods for the healing of the sick.

"Usually when we have the dance we have the inclosure as you saw it. At other times brush is piled outside the inclosure. Only men are then allowed to enter, as are women occasionally, but girls and women generally must sit outside the brush pile and look on from there. When we danced the other day you saw clothes and eatables given away. You also saw that one dog was eaten. These were offerings to the manito.

"The (imaginary) overseers of the dance and of the society itself are *Wahbong*, *Shawanong*, *Negabeanong*, *Kewatenong*, and *Bagamagan*. The first four represent the semi-cardinal directions and the

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four winds, and the last is the Great Spirit. *Wahbong* (*wabun*) is the morning god. He has a drum called *Tay-way-y-gan*. He lives in the eastern sky and is the sky spirit there. He is also the East Wind. *Shawanong* is the south manito, the god of the warm south wind. *Negabeanong* is the west manito. He is the god of the sunset sky and the west wind, the god of the good rains. *Kewatenong* is the god of the northern skies and the north wind, bringing the cold stormy weather of winter. Bagamagan, the Great Spirit, has horns and his head is red like the sun. He gave the Indians the war club to defend themselves.

"The dance is a headman dance and is held to give presents to the headmen and headwomen of the tribe, as these represent the people to the manito. When we begin the dance we fire off guns and pretend to be fighting. The dance, therefore, is also held to celebrate the old fight time and the establishment of peace, the no fight time, for we smoke the pipe of peace."





E. E. Ellsworth

Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth

"The Knight Without Fear and Without Reproach"

BY DR. CHARLES A. INGRAHAM, CAMBRIDGE, NEW YORK

HE interest in particular individuals, no matter how worthy of honor and study, has very much declined in recent years, the attention of the people having been through the World War and other vast enterprises drawn to mass movements to the neglect of personalities, individuals having been engulfed in great and fast-moving events. For many years after Ellsworth's death there was a well-worn path in the turf surrounding his monument at Mechanicville, New York, but today there is nothing there to indicate that this shrine of patriotism is ever visited, a mute token of the decline of veneration for the great names of our history.

Elmer Ephraim Ellsworth was born at the hamlet of Malta, Saratoga County, New York, seven miles south of Saratoga Springs, on April 11, 1837. The small cottage still stands in which he first saw the light and where the earlier years of his life were spent. He was from the first of unusual mental endowment, of an alert and original mind, studious and fond of reading. His parents were worthy but ever in embarrassing pecuniary circumstances, his father following the trade of a tailor for a livelihood and engaging in other employments to eke out a living. The family moved to the neighboring village of Mechanicville while Elmer was about thirteen. Here he attended the district school and organized the Black Plumed Riflemen, of Stillwater, the historic village not far north of Mechanicville. Young Ellsworth would parade his little corps of boys down through the streets and perform with them athletic feats like forming "human ladders," by which, standing on each others' shoulders, they would scale to second stories of buildings. Though the young commandant was short and slight he was able to go through the manual of arms with a heavy musket with wonderful ease and precision. He had an ambition to enter West Point Military Academy, but his father was unable to furnish the funds necessary for his preparation and he began

COLONEL ELMER E. ELLSWORTH

selling newspapers on the trains and later was employed as a clerk in Troy.

In 1853 at the age of sixteen he drifted to Kenosha, Wisconsin, and attended the high school there for a time, and returning to Mechanicville soon secured a clerkship in a dry goods store in New York, leaving this employment to accept a place with a party of engineers who were improving the channel of Hellgate, whom he accompanied to Chicago and went into the patent soliciting business with Arthur F. Devereux, of Salem, Massachusetts. His stay in New York had been two years, where he acquired a better knowledge of military tactics in attending at every opportunity the drills of the 7th Regiment. He was about eighteen when with his brother Charles he went to Chicago, where he was destined to acquire his fame. So far, his life had been marked by frequent change, a shifting about from one employment to another, but ever with one supreme object in view—to provide a release for his parents from their impecunious circumstances. Before me is a photostat copy of a manuscript in the New York State Public Library detailing his mother's recollections of his youthful days, showing him to have been of unusual intellectual endowment and of a high moral bent, which characterized his entire career.

After three years in the business referred to, he having been a partner with Mr. Devereux, through an unfortunate financial occurrence he lost all and was again left penniless and undone. This occurred in 1858 when Ellsworth was at the age of twenty-one. About this time he made the acquaintance of Dr. Charles A. DeVilliers, a French military surgeon who had served in the Crimean War with Zouave troops. He informed Ellsworth of the details of the drill, uniform and discipline of this famed military system, which immediately appealed to him and he resolved to obtain full information of this spectacular method and put it into practice; for he was a lover of the dramatic and unusual. The military tactics then in use in the United States admitted of little opportunity to achieve unusual skill, but the Zouave style furnished a field for almost unlimited proficiency. DeVilliers was an excellent swordsman and he gave Ellsworth points on his art until he became one of the best fencers in the city; he applied himself assiduously, also, to perfecting himself in the manual of arms, using Scott's and Hardee's books as guides, improving on them as he deemed expedient, and exhibiting his so-called "lightning drill" before

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his friends. He thus became known as a master of military affairs and was invited to drill the Rockford City Grays, of Rockford, Illinois, which he accepted and won distinction as a drill-master. Here he met Miss Carrie M. Spafford, a daughter of Mr. Charles H. Spafford, a prominent man of the city, and they became engaged with the proviso that the marriage should be deferred until Ellsworth should have a sufficient income. Mr. Spafford recommended him to take up the study of law, which he agreed to do, but having had an invitation to drill the Governor's Guard, of Madison, Wisconsin, he assumed command of that company in October, 1858, and remained in this capacity until about Christmas of that year.

Ellsworth now returned to Chicago and took up the study of law as a means of preparing for his union with Miss Spafford, a profession which it is easy to see he had no capacity or liking for and that it was done merely as an expedient for a desired end. He found an opening in a law office, where he studied and received a pittance for copying legal papers, entirely insufficient for his support, so that he was for days and weeks compelled to exist on crackers. These unhappy experiences are graphically told in his diary which was begun on his twenty-second birthday, April 11, 1859. Unable to resist the temptation to accept the command of the National Guards Cadets, of Chicago, he at last consented and named the corps the United States Zouave Cadets and began introducing the drill and the uniform of the French system of that name, which he had acquired from Dr. DeVilliers and books relating to the subject. Thus he had engaged in the employment which had been his life's ambition, though with the intention of yet pursuing the study of law, but as time went on the legal studies were for the time being abandoned, while his entire energies were given to the development and perfection of the Zouave Cadets; for his ambition was to make the corps the best drilled company in the country and to consist of young men devoid of any taint of immorality, total abstainers from intoxicating drinks and free from the vices into which young men are so easily led. The company soon began to attract attention throughout Chicago and to receive complimentary notices in the press; they established fine quarters in the Garrett Block, where crowds came to observe their exhibition drills, featuring the unique Zouave system, which was entirely new to this

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country, with its many elaborate and intricate movements requiring strength, endurance and skill in the evolutions.

Ellsworth's ambition was not only to have his company shine as superior in drill, but he aimed to develop his young men physically, intellectually and morally, a mark which the many military companies disregarded. The rules for the cadets, which every member was required to sign, embraced these purposes, but February 22, 1860, a more strenuous set of regulations was adopted, which was called the "Golden Resolutions," which were exceedingly exacting regarding the conduct of the cadets, prohibiting drinking and even entering drinking places, gambling rooms and other immoral resorts. The introductory remarks of Ellsworth to these resolutions, and the rules themselves, exhibit his aptitude for literary expression, very remarkable for one who had enjoyed so few educational advantages. The same may be said of all his writings, diary, documents connected with his military affairs and his letters, particularly those to his fiancée, Miss Spafford; the last are models in their way and constitute a record of his activities from the time of his engagement to her in 1858 to the last missive hastily penned a few hours before his death. In these remarkable epistles, abounding in spontaneous exhibition of his real nature, rich in humor and expression of devoted affection, together with detailed accounts of his military and other employments, his anxieties, aspirations and victories, all with the laying bare of his inmost thoughts and meditations, serve to convey a better exposition of his many-sided character than a lengthy treatise might afford.

The United States Agricultural Society having offered a prize of a stand of colors, Ellsworth's cadets won the award in a competitive drill on the society's fair grounds, Chicago, on September 15, 1859. The United States Zouave Cadets were therefore proclaimed the champion company of the Nation, for the contest had been open to the entire country; but a great deal of adverse criticism was engendered by the claim, particularly from military companies in the East, who ridiculed the alleged pretension, claiming that the society which awarded the prize was a local organization and that only one other company had competed. The cadets were now in a very prosperous condition, having large and pleasant quarters fitted up for social and recreational purposes, and having on the roll several hundred men, though the drill corps comprised but about fifty cadets. Governor

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William E. Bissell, of Illinois, now appointed Ellsworth assistant adjutant-general and paymaster-general of Illinois, offices which had no salaries but conveyed considerable honorary prestige. Governor Bissell was also a son of the Empire State and had he lived would doubtless have been of further aid to Ellsworth, but two months after the appointment by him of the United States Zouave Cadets as Governor's Guard they were called to act in that capacity at his funeral. Promptly responding to the criticisms of companies which had expressed dissatisfaction with the award to Ellsworth's Zouaves, he published a challenge to any military company in the United States or Canada, specifying the terms which should govern the contests and prefacing the challenge with explanatory remarks from which I quote the following:

Having received the colors and not caring to wear honors until fairly and unquestionably our own, we determined, before claiming the championship, to give an opportunity to all who desired to avail themselves of it, to contest our right to that honor. Hence this challenge, which arose not from a spirit of arrogance or bravado, but from a sense of fairness and honor, we trust will ever govern our actions in our military capacity, and without which we should consider even the championship of the United States and Canada a poor honor.

This bold proposition, which was widely published, evoked more scorn and ridicule than ever from the newspapers, so that Ellsworth responded with an offer to pay the entire expenses of any company in the United States or Canada to and from Chicago which would come to that city and win the colors, but none had the courage to make the trial. Ellsworth, now thoroughly aroused, determined to tour the country and show the people what his company could do and leave no excuse to the recalcitrant companies for not entering the competition, depending upon the press and military experts to voice the supremacy of his men in drill. After long and arduous preparation the Zouave Cadets, accompanied by the Light Guard Band, left Chicago on July 2, 1860. It was not an imposing corps, for officers and men numbered but fifty and for the most part they were slight of build, but in strength, agility, endurance and machine-like precision they were unequaled by any military company in the country. Besides, they were of puritanical moral development, absolutely free from the vices prevalent in the military companies of the day and which were winked at by the people generally; but when Ellsworth's modest and gentle-

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manly corps appeared on the parade grounds of many cities, they invariably created a sensation and made a record of marvelous skill in their elaborate and intricate movements, which everywhere aroused spontaneous enthusiasm. Not a small part of the interest they evoked was due to their Zouave uniform, brilliant in color and unique in fashion, entirely different from anything ever seen before. It is described as follows by Mr. George H. Fergus, one of the cadets:

A bright red chasseur cap with gold braid; light blue shirt with *moiré* antique facings; dark blue jacket with orange and red trimmings; brass bell buttons, placed as close together as possible; a red sash and loose red trousers; russet leather leggings, buttoned over the trousers, reaching from ankle half way to knee; and white belt. The jacket did not button, was cut low in the neck, without collar. Easy-fitting, high-laced shoes, with thick, broad soles were worn, thus making up a remarkably brilliant as well as comfortable uniform.

The company had in its treasury insufficient funds to carry it through its schedule of twenty cities, and Ellsworth was opposed to exhibition drills where entrance fees would be charged, but when New York City was reached he was compelled to adopt this measure and so great had become the fame of the cadets that enormous audiences greeted them in the Academy of Music, so that they were rendered free of financial worries; in Boston their treasury was further replenished and throughout the remainder of their tour they were in easy circumstances. The cities visited, in consecutive order, were: Adrian, Michigan, Detroit, Cleveland, Rochester, Syracuse, Utica, Troy, Albany, New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Salem, West Point, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Springfield.

Notable features of these visits were the receptions given the cadets, the entertainment accorded by the local companies, the addresses of welcome and the responses of Ellsworth. In these extemporary talks the young commandant exhibits the facility of verbal expression which he possessed and the propriety and grace of well-chosen remarks. It would be too long a recital to describe all these events, every one of which was dramatic and full of interest and I will deal with but a very few. At New York, where the company arrived by steamer from Albany on July 14 early in the day, they were given a salute of artillery. They breakfasted at the Astor House, gave an

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exhibition drill in City Hall Park at 3:30, which was attended by high municipal and military representatives, together with a great concourse. In the evening they were entertained at dinner by the officers of the 6th Regiment and Sunday found them in Trinity Church listening to the services of that venerable shrine. Another drill was given Monday afternoon at Madison Square before a great crowd, and on Tuesday, having received an invitation from Brooklyn, they went there escorted by a company of the 13th Regiment, where they gave a drill at Fort Greene. The people of Brooklyn were charmed with Ellsworth and his company and remained ever after their loyal friends. West Point was visited on July 26, where they gave a drill before the faculty and cadets of the United States Military Academy, Colonel Richard Delafeld being then superintendent. General Winfield Scott was present, also Major William J. Hardee, then commandant, authors of the standard books on tactics. It was a very trying ordeal for these young men, taught only by their self-instructed commandant, but they were not flustered and went through their complicated movements in their usual flawless manner and concluded with exhibiting the systems of Scott and Hardee with a precision that elicited praise from those distinguished authorities. The officers at West Point had specially invited the cadets to visit them and they were escorted thither by a company of the 7th Regiment. Washington was visited on Saturday, August 4, their escort being the Washington Light Infantry with the Marine Band. A drill was given before President Buchanan and his niece, Miss Lane, at the White House, after which the President addressed the company in felicitous words, which were responded to briefly by Ellsworth. The company then marched along Pennsylvania Avenue, crowded with spectators, to their train and returned to Baltimore.

The Zouaves arrived in Chicago on Tuesday night, August 14, having been absent forty-three days. Never, perhaps, had the city vented itself with such wild and spontaneous enthusiasm. The town was illuminated while the mayor, common council and other dignitaries joined the great procession midst torch lights, bands and every demonstration of joy and took their way to the Wigwam, already filled to capacity. The cadets were seated on the platform, all showing the stress under which they had served on the tour, their uniforms somewhat draggled and themselves with sunburnt and lined faces. The

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mayor gave a fine complimentary speech to which Ellsworth fittingly responded, after which the company were given a banquet at the Briggs House, thus appropriately ending what was perhaps the most unique, dramatic and successful tour of the kind ever carried through. The organization did not long exist after its return, but disbanded, some of the cadets becoming officers in the regiment Ellsworth raised in Illinois and offered to the Governor, but which he could not accept as war had not yet been declared.

Abraham Lincoln had hitherto expressed a desire for Ellsworth to enter his law office, and now he did so, not perhaps as an enthusiastic student, but rather as a means of reaching the acme of his ambition, to gain the hand of Miss Spafford. Moreover, he had a fond scheme of unifying the militia, then in a loose and unorganized condition, into a strong national system with uniform tactics and discipline. As a beginning he prepared a bill incorporating his ideas and had it introduced in the Legislature of Illinois, and though it failed of being enacted it was a credit to Ellsworth's ability along the line of military affairs on a wide field. His intimate association with Mr. Lincoln increased the high opinion entertained for him by that great man and in the campaign for the presidency he employed himself in speaking for him on the stump, showing him to be a forceful and interesting champion of the Republican candidate. After the election he was invited by the President-elect to accompany him on the trip to Washington and served as superintendent of precautionary measures. On reaching the Capital his intimacy with Mr. Lincoln continued and he became almost a member of his family and a companion of his secretaries, John Hay and John G. Nicolay. The President had been deeply impressed with Ellsworth's scheme of reconstructing the militia of the country and he desired to constitute him head of a department designed to introduce the militia reform which he advocated. To this end he was appointed second lieutenant that he might be eligible to the position, but the plan met with opposition from established military quarters, and the Civil War having begun, Ellsworth resigned his commission and went to New York to raise a regiment from the firemen of that city. But the following unsigned order by the President attests the confidence he reposed in Ellsworth and the military reform he recommended:

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EXECUTIVE MANSION, March, 1861.

To the Secretary of War.

SIR: You will favor me by issuing an order detailing Lieut. E. E. Ellsworth of the 1st Dragoons, for special duty as adjutant and inspector-general of militia affairs, for the United States, and, so far as existing laws will admit, charge him with the transaction, under your direction, of all business pertaining to the militia, to be conducted as a separate bureau, of which Lieut. Ellsworth will be chief: with instructions to take measures for promoting a uniform system of organization, drill, equipment, etc., of the U. S. militia, and to prepare a system of instruction for the militia, to be distributed to the several states. You will please assign him suitable office room, furniture, etc., and provide him with a clerk and messenger, and furnish him such facilities in the way of printing, stationery, access to records, etc., as he may desire for the successful prosecution of his duties; and also provide, if you please, in such manner as will best answer the purpose, for a monthly payment to Lieut. Ellsworth, for this extra duty, sufficient to make his pay and emoluments equal that of a major of cavalry.

Through his associations with the firemen of Chicago, Ellsworth having observed their courage and celerity, believed this class of men peculiarly adapted for soldiers and he was thus led to put his faith into practice by recruiting the New York Fire Zouaves (11th New York Volunteer Infantry), 1,200 men enlisting in two days. The regiment, which was among the first troops to reach Washington, created much interest and enthusiasm in New York and was presented with several stands of colors, notably a flag from Laura Keene, the actress. Laura Keene was the stage name of Mary Moss, and she was born in London, England, in 1845. She came to this country in 1852 and filled an engagement at Wallack's Theatre, New York. For several years she was employed in theatrical enterprises in that city and wrote the play, "Our American Cousin," in which she was appearing as a star in Ford's Theatre, Washington, when the assassination of President Lincoln took place, to whom she immediately rushed and ministered. It is probable that this act, exhibiting her kindly nature, will distinguish her name longer than her professional achievements. Her presentation letter follows:

To the Firemen Zouaves of New York.

BROTHER SOLDIERS: I have the honor to present you a flag, which I am well assured you will carry in such a manner as to shed glory on our country and honor on the Zouaves.

LAURA KEENE.

New York, April 26, 1861.

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The Fire Zouaves arrived in Washington on May 2 and were sworn in on the plaza east of the Capitol on the 7th, President Lincoln being present; on the 24th the regiment proceeded by steamers down the Potomac to attack Alexandria from the east, while a land force marched to strike the town from the west. The regiment disembarked at daybreak, but the Confederates had evacuated the place; Colonel Ellsworth, with a small detachment, started through the city designing to interrupt communications from the town; his way led him past the Marshall House, a hotel from the roof of which a rebel flag, plainly visible from the White House, had been long flaunted. He ascended to the attic, leaving guards at strategic places in the house, and removed the flag. Coming down the stairs, the proprietor of the hotel, James W. Jackson, confronted the party with a double-barreled shotgun and aiming at Ellsworth, fired, striking him in the breast, causing his instant death. Corporal Francis E. Brownell, who was in the lead, with Ellsworth behind him carrying the "bastard flag," shot the assassin in the face and plunged his bayonet through him, for which deed he was heralded over the North as "Ellsworth's Avenger." He was a young man of Troy, from whence he had gone to New York and enlisted in the Fire Zouaves. He died in 1894, holding the rank of first lieutenant in the United States Army. The tragedy was concealed from the Zouaves and the body was immediately conveyed to Washington on one of the steamers which had brought the regiment down; it was deemed imprudent to acquaint the men of the death of their colonel, fearing the dire result which might ensue to the town. But when at last the rough but valiant men heard the terrible news their grief was deep and vehement.

The funeral of Ellsworth was held in the East Room of the White House at the request of the President and throughout the North a great wave of grief and indignation swept over the people. The newspapers teemed with eulogistic words concerning the young hero who had immolated himself on the altar of his country and a determination was formed to emulate his patriotic spirit.

A guard of eight Zouaves had been detailed to accompany the remains to Mechanicville, among whom was Corporal Brownell. At New York the body lay in state in the Governor's room of the City Hall for several hours and was visited by many thousands. Thence it proceeded by steamer up the river to Albany, where it lay in state

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for a short time in the Capitol. Mechanicville was reached on May 27, where a large assemblage had congregated, among which was a delegation from the Black Plumed Riflemen of Stillwater, who as boys had been trained by Ellsworth. A violent storm of wind and rain prevailed as the procession moved towards the cemetery with minute guns being fired from the hill west of the village. After fitting ceremonies at the grave the casket was lowered, the Zouaves fired three volleys over it and themselves filled the grave of their beloved commander. It is in the Ellsworth plot on the bluff overlooking the Hudson valley towards the east.

On the thirteenth anniversary of the burial of Colonel Ellsworth a monument was dedicated at his grave on the 27th of May, 1874. It was a notable occasion with an imposing military parade and addresses by eminent men. The monument is of Quincy granite twenty-five feet high and surmounted by a bronze eagle with spread wings. On the four sides of the base are appropriate inscriptions and emblems, the front bearing a bronze medallion of Ellsworth; another side recites that the State of New York contributed out of the public funds towards the erection of the monument.

Memorials and souvenirs of Ellsworth are deposited in many libraries of the country, a large collection being in the Bureau of War Records, Capitol, Albany, New York, which contains the uniform of Ellsworth worn at his death, the rebel flag he was taking from the Marshall House, his life-sized full-length oil painting and the great ebony-framed, engrossed copy of the Resolutions of the Common Council of New York, adopted on the day following his death, and presented to his parents. The sentiments expressed in the Resolutions derive additional impressiveness from their artistic setting. The chaste ornamental work of the penman, and the great black frame, with its elaborate carvings, profoundly emphasize the words of the instrument. The Chicago Historical Society has an extensive collection, prominent among which is the flag offered by the United States Agricultural Society and won in a competitive drill by Ellsworth's company on September 15, 1859.

In this limited review it has not been possible to introduce many interesting and essential phases of Colonel Ellsworth's career, particularly additional information concerning the high estimation President Lincoln set upon him, his grief at his death and the beautiful letter of

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condolence he wrote his parents. The names of these two eminent patriots and martyrs are forever joined with an indestructible bond of fellowship of purpose, of absolute loyalty to the flag and of exalted personal honor. Unlike in certain ways as it was possible to be, Lincoln tall and stalwart of frame, Ellsworth short and slight of build; Lincoln slow and deliberate in his intellectual processes, Ellsworth quick and impulsive in his mentality; Lincoln plain and simple in all his activities, Ellsworth dramatic by nature and a lover of display, they were yet the same in honorable ambition and a high desire to serve their country. The younger was assassinated at the beginning of our great fratricidal strife, firing the North with the spirit of war; the elder perishing likewise by an assassin at its successful ending with slavery forever banished from the land, which great event he was chiefly instrumental in achieving.



Christopher Columbus Baldwin's Diary*

EDITED AND ARRANGED BY JOHN NELSON, WORCESTER,
MASSACHUSETTS



NO better picture of a by-gone period of history may be found than that contained in the frankly written diary of an observing and industrious chronicler of events as they occurred in his own life and about him. When Worcester County, Massachusetts, was entering upon its second century, Christopher Columbus Baldwin was keeping such a journal, which is now one of the precious possessions of the American Antiquarian Society.

Mr. Baldwin was a Worcester County man through and through. He was born in Templeton, in the village of Baldwinville, which was named for his family; prepared for Harvard College at Leicester Academy; and, after graduating at Cambridge, studied law in Worcester, and practiced his profession in that town, and Barre and Sutton. In 1832, when he was thirty-two years old, he was made librarian of the Antiquarian Society.

His diary shows him a man of an extraordinary range of interests. First of all, he was a profound and indefatigable antiquarian and genealogist. To spend a day in a graveyard copying epitaphs was supreme happiness. He had a bent for natural history, and enjoyed hunting and fishing. He was fond of society, and was on an intimate footing with the socially prominent families of the towns where he made his residence. He was a favorite with ladies, and delighted in dancing. With his cronies he was a good fellow, though, for his day, very abstemious in his habits. His journal proves him a wit. He was a shrewd observer of men and women, and of the affairs of his community and the world in general. Finally, he was a writer of ability.

The diary is all too short. It covers the period, with one year missing, from January 1, 1829, to August 20, 1835. On this latter day, as he was journeying through Ohio on a tour of the West, the

*This and the following article are from Mr. Nelson's compilation "Worcester County—A Narrative History," which is scheduled for publication this summer by The American Historical Society, Inc.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS BALDWIN'S DIARY

stage-coach on which he was a passenger was overturned and he was killed

We are devoting a chapter to abstracts from the Baldwin Diary—a paragraph or two here and there—in the belief that no better way could be found for giving the reader a conception of what Worcester County was like and how its people lived one hundred years ago. Worcester then had 4,173 people, Barre 2,502, and Sutton 2,186.

WORCESTER TOWN IN 1829.

February 27, 1829—Attend ball in the evening at Mr. Thomas' public house; sixteen ladies and nineteen gentlemen present. Nero Powers on the Fiddle and old Peter Rich on the tamborin are the musick. No musick from abroad could reach us on account of the going. Ladies in gay dresses and musick always pleases me. Pay \$3.00.

March 2—March meeting; am candidate for town clerk; people will not vote for me because I have no wife! Jupiter Tonans! Men are judged by their coats and not by their motives.

April 11—The Canal-boat "Washington," the first to be built in Worcester, is carried through the street on wheels from near the Gaol to the basin near the Distillery, where it is to be launched. April 13. At 10 o'clock it is launched. Emory Washburn, Esq., makes a speech on the occasion, writes a song, and Emory Perry sings it. Have a collation aboard, ride to the Red Mill and return.

May 2—Have a justice's court with Emory Washburn, and he has gone to Springfield to examine Miss —— to see whether he can put up with her faults for \$25,000, and take her for a wife.

May 14—Warm and pleasant. Go into the woods with Rejoice Newton, Esq., for trees to ornament the burial-ground by the Common. Joseph Turner, Caleb Newton, Thomas Kinnicutt, Esq., and Luther Burnett go with me. We return with seventy trees. 15th. Set out the trees in the burial-ground.

June 19—Attend court which rises at 9 a. m. According to immemorial use the members of the Bar in Worcester devote the afternoon to *rolling nine pins*. It is usual for court to rise on Friday but it fell this time on Saturday. Have a very pleasant time, and don't lose any money. I bet only one fourpence a game.

July 24—Henry K. Newcomb invites me to go to Hopkinton Springs—a very pleasant place. Meet much company; roll nine pins,

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS BALDWIN'S DIARY

swing, hang the ring, talk to the ladies, walk with them, drink and laugh. Return at night.

August 3—Ride with T. Kinnicutt, Esq., to Millbury, in company of Gov. Lincoln, Daniel Webster, Hon. Mr. Hunt of Brattleboro, and with them and other gentlemen at the Governor's. I have never seen any men who said so many good things as Mr. Webster.

September 5—Court rises. Rode to Ram's Horn pond in Sutton or Millbury, a reservoir of the Blackstone Canal, in company with Hon. J. Davis, John W. Lincoln, and William Lincoln. All go in the Colonel's wagon with two horses and his new harnesses. Bring back many grapes, and, notwithstanding my headache, had a pleasant time.

1831—CAMPAIGN AGAINST COSTLY MOURNING

January 17, 1830—Attend meeting. Funeral sermon on the death of Mrs. Paine by Dr. Bancroft; afternoon a sermon on mourning apparel by Mr. Hill. Attend oratoric in evening. Go with Miss Bartlett of Springfield. Great Complaint has existed for a long time against the practice of wearing expensive mourning apparel, occasioned by the death of friends or relatives. The first person who ventured to make an inroad upon fashion and discourage such an expensive and embarrassing custom was the Hon. Nathaniel Paine, the Judge of Probate, for the County of Worcester. The aged rarely take the lead in the work of innovating upon long established usages. Judge Paine, however, must enjoy the fame of having been first to set an example in this particular. He did it on an occasion when no one, who was acquainted with his estimable and excellent lady, could impute to it a wrong motive. It appeared very odd and singular to see the family the next day, which was Sunday, attending church without any appearance of mourning. They wore their usual dress and the example was well thought of by all excepting a few elderly women who regarded the change as pagan and heathenish and would by no means consent to its adoption. The Reverend Mr. Hill preached on the subject on Sunday afternoon, and he made a furious attack upon the fashion of mourning. Rev. Mr. Going preached to his people on the same subject.

February 2—Cloudy; not cold. Good sleighing. Invite Miss Elizabeth Green to ride with me to Wesson's in Westboro. Accompanied by Emory Washburn, Esq., with Miss Giles of Fitchburg, and

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Henry K. Newcomb with Miss Helen Bigelow of Petersham, daughter of Hon. Lewis Bigelow. Leave Worcester at 4 p. m. and return between nine and ten. Have an exceedingly fine time.

February 5—Very pleasant and very cold. A sleigh ride is got up to go to Westboro. Mr. Newcomb induces me to attend. Ride with him and Mary and Catherine Robinson in a four-horse sleigh. Leave Worcester at 3 and return at 10. Between 20 and 30 in the party. Most all married people. Mulled wine was prepared for the ladies and flip for the gentlemen, but *by mistake* the flip is carried to the ladies and they do not find their error until our flip is mostly gone, when they pronounce it very unpleasant stuff!! I find that I have been very dissipated this week, and form a resolution to be more sober.

February 6—Thermometer this morning at 8 o'clock stands 10 degrees below zero. Oliver Harrington's store at New Worcester is burnt. Alarm given at about 10 at night. Thermometer 10 degrees below zero. I attend the fire. Get very wet. Freeze my ears and both cheeks. Work the engine with difficulty. Return at 2 o'clock. Intensely cold. Many freeze themselves.

WASHINGTON BIRTHDAY BALL

February 22—Washington's birthday. Ball in evening. I do not attend. It has been the invariable practice in this town for many years, on the 22d of February, the birthday of Washington, to have a public ball. I have been here seven years and a like observance of the day has not been omitted. During my residence here, I have, until now, at every ball with the exception of three, taken part as one of the managers. This year I did not attend. I am told that the number was small, being only about twenty couples. The expense to each has always been three dollars. The music generally consists of two fiddles, a clarionette, or bugle, and a base viol. The entertainer furnished this under direction of the managers. The party retires about one o'clock, sometimes earlier, and sometimes later.

March 24—I am requested by Gov. Lincoln to procure some one to go in pursuit of a runaway, Joseph Willet, a Canadian Frenchman. Joseph Lovell engages to catch him and overtakes him this side of Concord, N. H., when he obtains from him \$400 in silver. He left town leaving debts to that amount.

April 20—Do not attend meeting. Dine with Judge Paine and spend the evening with Judge Parker and Hon. Samuel Hoar of Con-



WORCESTER COUNTY'S SECOND COURT HOUSE

Which stood on Court Hill, Worcester, from 1751 to 1801. Sold to make place for new court house, it was hauled by twenty yoke of oxen to Trumbull square, where it was the home of three generations of the Trumbull family. Doomed again, in 1899, its timbers and finish were purchased by Miss Susan Trumbull, and the mansion was rebuilt on Massachusetts Avenue, where it stands today, a simple, dignified Colonial residence set in an old-fashioned garden. The old arched court-room, occupying the entire southern left side of the second floor, is in every ancient detail as it was when learned and austere judges in wig and crimson gown, dispensed justice. In this very doorway, Gen. Artemus Ward, chief justice, challenged and rebuked the participants in Shays' Rebellion, here encamped.



THE OLD DAVID MAYNARD HOUSE IN WESTBOROUGH

Built in 1698, known as example of "mansion house" of the late 17th century

Photo by Dr. C. H. Reed

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS BALDWIN'S DIARY

cord. Talk about phrenology. Mr. Hoar is a convert to the phrenological doctrine from having read Coombe on the "Constitution of Man." I have paid some attention to the subject and am disposed to embrace it to a limited extent.

MR. BALDWIN MOVES TO BARRE

May 1, 1830—Saturday. Pleasant. Resolve to leave Worcester and establish myself in business in Barre. There are too many lawyers here either to be profitable or reputable—there are above twenty. My earnings here are worth five hundred a year, and it costs that sum to live, and the business of the profession is daily growing less. Many go out a maying, and more to see the girls.

May 4—May training, and rains all day; and soldiers appear bad enough.

May 12—Wednesday. Take stage for Barre. Have lived in Worcester seven years on the 19th of June next coming, and they have all been years of great happiness. Reach Barre at 5 o'clock, and commence boarding with Archibald Black, Esq., at nine shillings a week. Take tea with E. James, Esq. There are now three lawyers in the place.

June 4—Pleasant and cold. Received a quantity of cake from William Pratt Esq. of Shrewsbury, who was married to Miss Elizabeth Sikes on 25th May. Take tea at Mr. Ezra Jones' and ride horseback with Miss James to Petersham. In the evening serenade a Mr. Rice, who was married yesterday. This is customary here to pay a salute to those embarking in matrimony. He gets up and entertains the company. June 28—Writing an oration. (For Fourth of July), and a dull time I have of it, having been directed by the committee of arrangements not to mention Jacksonism or anti-Jacksonism, Adams, Clay or Calhoun, Masonry or anti-Masonry, orthodoxy or heresy, nor anything touching politics, religion, or domestic life.

July 3—Cloudy and intensely warm. Rains a little in the morning and about 4 o'clock rains again. Deliver my speech, it being Saturday. The meeting-house is crowded and about 200 sit down at the table, which is spread under a bower. Everything goes off well and happily.

July 5—Monday. In the afternoon the ladies gave a public tea party in the same bower which was used Saturday. One hundred and

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thirty partake and about the same number of gentlemen. Many excellent toasts were given. Musick followed each toast and the whole goes off pleasantly. I have never seen so many pretty faces together before. The ladies contributed as each one felt disposed. Some brought cake, some pies, some cherries, others furniture for the table, and all, good feeling and cheerful faces and merry hearts. Seth Lee, Esq., delivered a speech in the evening on temperance in the brick meeting-house and had fifteen hearers.

NOTE—Statistics of Barre, 1830. Palm Leaf Hats. There are two stores here which procure large numbers of these hats braided by females. I am informed that the number of hats sold by each firm in the year now past, which have been manufactured on their account, is upward of one hundred thousand! One palm leaf is sufficient for a hat. These are brought from one of the West India islands and are sold here to the braiders at eight cents a leaf. The cheaper sort of hats are braided for twenty cents each. The principal market for them is New York, whence they are carried south.

OPENS LAW PRACTICE IN SUTTON

November 5—Col. Sam. Ward carries me to Sutton where I am to remain. I dine with Mr. Sibley (Jonas L. Sibley, his new law partner) and remain there over night. 11th. Commence boarding at noon with Mrs. March. I give \$2 per week, including washing. 15th. It rains yet! and, damn me, I believe it will never stop raining. I ride down to Millbury with Mr. Sibley.

November 19—Cloudy, and in afternoon and night snows. Read Boswell in forenoon, and afternoon attend meeting and hear Rev. Mr. Maltby. In the evening walk up to the Street to hear Rev. Lyman Maynard of Oxford preach. He is the son of Harvey Maynard of Templeton and is about my age. We used to go to school together, and he was our standard fiddler at all the junkets. He is now very much respected as a preacher of the doctrine of Universal Salvation. We do not hear him. We spend the evening in the tavern and drink, smoke, eat a supper of poached eggs and coffee, and hire a four-horse stage to bring us home. This was a bad way to spend Sunday night and I am satisfied it was a great error in me to do so. L. B. Putnam, E. Putnam, E. Clark, Esq., and Mr. Sumner were with me, or rather I with them. We get back at 11 o'clock.

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NOTE—Square-toed boots and shoes were first worn in 1828 and 9, and in 1830 they have become in general use, and what is quite amusing is that even the sedate and sober yeomanry undertake to say that the fashion is a good one and that they have adopted it from convenience and economy, when in truth they do it from sheer pride. But another fashion is about to be introduced and the square toe one is to give place to picked toes. I have seen several of the pioneers of fashion with boots having toes very pointed and they look fierce enough.

BALDWIN—1831

March 12, 1831—Meet Mr. Chester Harding the painter, and have a conversation on phrenology. He is a full believer and convert to the doctrine, and has taken the dimensions of all the most distinguished heads in the country, such as the members of the Supreme Court of the U. S., Daniel Webster's etc. The largest head is that of Judge Marshall (Chief Justice John Marshall), and the next is that of Mr. Webster.

ELIAKIM DAVIS HAS HIGH SHERIFF ARRESTED

March 16, 1831—There is great excitement in Worcester about the arrest of the High Sheriff, Calvin Willard, Esq., upon the complaint of old Eliakim Davis of Fitchburg. He was born in Rutland in 1739. Eliakim has been famous for between twenty and thirty years for his undaunted love of litigation. Perhaps no man ever lived who had manifested throughout so great a fondness for contention. He has been imprisoned again and again for perjury, maintenance and defaming the names of honest citizens, and yet no sooner is he set at liberty than he gets into some scrape for which he is severely punished. He has squandered a good estate in quarreling with his neighbors and, notwithstanding his poverty, still succeeds in getting funds to carry on his suits. He left Rutland in 1820, or thereabouts, and moved to Fitchburg, where he married a respectable widow lady, with a small real estate, and, from his litigious temper, has become a terror to all the people of the town. His love of the law seems to have become a passion, and every other feeling is made subservient to it. I do not think he would steal or cheat, and I believe he is temperate in his habits. A perfect history of him may be found on the record

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of the Court of the County of Worcester, where he has regularly appeared at every term for nearly or quite thirty years. In all civil suits he appears as plaintiff, but in criminal matters he is generally on the defensive.

April 1, 1831—At the Tremont House, Boston with William Lincoln of Worcester, where I have been since the 25 of March. We have spent our time copying old papers relating to Worcester and Sutton, which we found in the garret of the State House.

April 2—We spent the day in walking about the town, examining the odd-looking *tips* and dandies who appear in the middle of the day in the principal streets for exhibition. They are indeed worthy of being gazed at. At 10 in the evening we start for Worcester in the mail stage and reach there at 5 a. m. And have an amusing ride, from the company of an Irishman and a woman who tried to pass for his wife. I put on the Irish brogue, and succeeded in making my fellow passenger believe me a countryman. I agreed with him, and more than once offered to help him whip the rest of the passengers, who treated him rather unceremoniously. This gave him great courage, and he talked loud and stormy. At length I unluckily spoke without brogue, and he had no sooner discovered the imposture than he swore he would lick me, and my friend Lincoln had to hold his hands to save me from a pounding.

April 19—In the evening I attend a party at Emory Washburn's, Esq., in Worcester. This is his first party since he began keeping house. There are more people present than can conveniently be accommodated. My toes are trod upon, and I am suffocated with heat. The party, however, goes off very well.

April 25—(In Boston) I go to the Tremont Theatre and hear Mr. (Junius Brutus) Booth in the character of Sartorius, in the play of that name. The afterpiece was William Thompson and was received with great applause. It being Booth's benefit the house was filled. Booth appears finely.

June 1, 1831—From the first to the 21st of June I do nothing but collect materials for my history of Sutton. I visited most of the old families, and they obligingly gave me all their old letters, deeds, wills and the like, and I have now filled a large chest with them. The task at times is very pleasant and entertaining, and then tedious and perplexing; for I am obliged to sit patient and hear the whole of the

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Revolutionary war fought over inch by inch, and occasionally intersperse such praises and admiration of patriotic suffering as shall lead prattling old age into some untold danger. By this means I get much that otherwise would be lost.

July 25, 1831—I make the following wager with my partner, Jonas L. Sibley, Esq., to wit I am to give him a good eight dollar hat if Andrew Jackson shall be reëlected president of the United States, and if he shall not be reëlected, he is to give me two good eight dollar hats, always provided that he, the said Jackson, shall be living at the time of the election.

JONAS L. SIBLEY

CHRIS. C. BALDWIN.

Attest: SUMNER COLE.

(Jackson was reëlected, which cost Mr. Baldwin one hat).

July 25, 1831—There is now in Sutton an attempt at an awakening or revival on the subject of Religion. Religious meetings are held almost daily. They are held in different parts of the town. On Sunday a prayer meeting was held at the meeting-house at sunrise. I understand that it was thinly attended, the number not exceeding twenty. This effort at an awakening was first announced about the beginning of May. I believe that it makes but slow progress. I impute this to the intelligence of the people, who seem to be many years in advance of the clergyman.

A RED HOT PRAYER

Mr. Maltby, the present pastor, is full of zeal and is the most rigid sect of the Calvinistic school. I heard him use this language in his prayer, or something of similar import: "The whole human race are odious in Thy sight. Thou wantest power to punish them according the enormity of their transgressions. Thou are surrounded with saints and angels shouting praises and hosannas, whose enjoyments and pleasure multiply as the volumes of smoke ascend from the pit of torture and increase with the tortures and agonies of the damned spirits in Hell." I have no doubt that he is honest in his feelings and acts from the purest motives. He will not suffer the singers to meet for practice on Sunday, and his reason is that conscience will not suffer it. This is all the reason given. I go to hear him only about once in six or eight Sundays.

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August 2, 1831—I go fishing with Dr. D. S. C. H. Smith upon Singletary Pond. We take about an hundred and fifty fish, being mostly perch, bream and pout. They are caught as fast as the hook can be baited. They are prodigiously abundant. They are small, but taste very well when well cooked. I have been several times of late with Dr. Smith and have taken about a peck basket full each time. There are large pickerel in the pond, but are difficult to be caught from the great quantity of small fry which furnish them with abundant food.

September 28, 1831—Rev. Nathaniel Emmons, D. D., of Franklin was this day married to the widow Abigail Mills of Sutton. He was born May 1, 1745, and is now in his eighty-seventh year. His dress was antique enough, having on a cocked hat, silk satin breeches, with large silver knee and shoe buckles, silk vest, made after the fashion of the olden time, with a kind of flap and cut off at the corners, and a single-breasted coat. with straight collar and large buttons. His appearance was very comely and imposing. His head is bald, completely so above the ears, and of the best shape. What hair is left upon his head is perfectly white. He is yet unbroken, and active as men ordinarily are at 75. Mrs. Mills was the widow of the Rev. Edmund Mills, formerly minister of Sutton. She was born in 1764, and is sister of Rev. Dr. Zephaniah Swift Moore, former president of Williamstown College.

FIRST CENTENNIAL OF WORCESTER COUNTY

October 4, 1831—Go to Worcester with Mr. Sibley. This day is celebrated in commemoration of the close of one hundred years from the incorporation of the County and organization of its courts. Hon. John Davis delivers the address, which was two hours and one half long. Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D. D., makes the first prayer, Rev. George Allen of Shrewsbury the last one. Rev. Rodney A. Miller reads from the scriptures. The Boston Cadets are present and perform escort duties, and our little Historical Society is greatly honored. (Worcester County Historical Society organized in 1831.)

The Cadets visit town to pay their respects to Governor Lincoln. They breakfast with him this morning. Their dress is white broadcloth, trimmed with gold lace. Each uniform cost ninety dollars. One-half of the crown of their caps is black and the upper half red.

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The plume is placed in the center of the top of the cap, made of beautiful white feathers and so large as to almost cover the top of the cap. The caps have no brim except in front and are of most prodigious height, and in the shape of a bell, muzzle up. Their appearance is very splendid and magnificent. The band of musick accompanying them consists of twenty-four distinguished musicians. They perform delightfully. They play in the meeting-house before and after prayer, and Emory Perry, leader of the singing in Dr. Bancroft's Society and the most distinguished singing master in the County, sings the "Pilgrim Hymn," written by Mrs. Hemans.

Adjutant-General William H. Sumner from Boston and three of the aides-de-camp of Gov. Lincoln, as also Major-Gen. Nathan Heard of Worcester, with his aids, Thomas Kinnicutt of Worcester and William Pratt, Esq., of Shrewsbury, all in full uniform. They sit directly under the pulpit, facing the audience, and make a bold appearance. The aids of the Governor are Col. Josiah Quincy, son of the President of Harvard College, Pliny Merrick and Emory Washburn, Esq., of Worcester. Gov. Lincoln is in citizen's dress. The judges of the Supreme Judicial Court are all present, who have adjourned their sitting to join in the festivities of the day. The Worcester Light Infantry and Rifle Corps assist the cadets in the escort duties.

The procession reformed on leaving the meeting-house: the band first, then the Cadets, then the Worcester companies, then his Excellency Gov. Lincoln with his aids, then the committee of arrangements, eight of us; then the author of the address and the three ministers, then the judges, and then the ignoble vulgus. In this way the procession returned to the tavern of Jones Estabrooks (Central Hotel) and went to dinner, and there we had a most glorious time.

The dinner was very good and was composed of a variety of articles, to wit: Soup, roast beef, roast pork, boiled mutton, roast turkey and ducks and geese, boiled turkeys, fowl, accompanied by oysters, pies of many sorts, and "last but not least," an abundance of tolerable wine.

(A great reception was given by Governor Lincoln at his residence, which stood on Main Street on the site of the present Lincoln House block at the corner of Elm Street, a beautiful garden in front of it. Mr. Baldwin tells of the reception.)

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The time was spent by such as had a taste that way in dancing cotillions, and very few, young or old, who had any opportunity, failed of improving it. The oldest I saw dancing was the Hon. Daniel Davis, Solicitor General of the Commonwealth, who is now very near eighty years old. The ladies were all very pretty and many of them were very handsome. And most of them, old as well as young, joined in the dance.

It was indeed a singularly odd spectacle to see all the grave and learned judges of our highest tribunal "tripping the light fantastic toe." The Chief Justice (Lemuel Shaw) weighs at least two hundred and fifty pounds. It is customary for these reverend seniors to join occasionally in such diversions, and Mr. Solomon Davis never omits an opportunity of the kind. Even the Chief Magistrate (Governor Lincoln) mingled in the mazes of the dance and acquit himself as happily in the business as in the management of the more weighty concerns of government.

October 5—In the evening, at a meeting of the Historical Society, am chosen to make a report of all the proceedings of the 4th, which report, with a bottle of wine and other appropriate articles, are to be enclosed in a tight and safe box, made for the purpose, and committed to the care of the American Antiquarian Society, and there remain unopened until the end of one hundred years, when they are to be brought forth and examined.

(The "tight and safe box" disappeared, no one knows where, but its contents, bottle of wine and all, reposed in the archives of the Antiquarian Society safely through the hundred years. In the autumn of 1931, the second centennial year of Worcester County, the contents were examined by members of the learned society, and the interesting old documents were read, including a toast offered by Chief Justice Shaw in his own handwriting. The cork was pulled from the black bottle of Madeira wine, which, to the astonishment of all, had lost none of its bouquet. Therefore it was recorked, and put away, to be retained in the Society's custody for another century, and to be opened again in October of the year 2032.)

December 4, 1831—In the evening I returned to Worcester, bidding adieu to Sutton where I have lived a year in a pleasant and agreeable manner.



FIRST PARISH CHURCH, UNITARIAN, LANCASTER

Dedicated in 1717, designed by Charles Bulfinch, architect of Boston State House

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1832—GOES HUNTING IN TEMPLETON

March 31, 1832—I remained with my father at Templeton until the last day of March. I spent the greater part of my time in hunting. My companion was Asa Hosmer, Jr., who is a hunter by profession. He does nothing but hunt, and has made it his whole business for above ten years, and what is remarkable, he gets a good living by it. He told me that last year he caught over eight hundred dozens of pigeons in Templeton, and that this was not one-half the number taken in the town. (These were the passenger pigeons, once prodigally plentiful, and now extinct.) Mr. Joseph Robbins and a person by the name of Parks, in Winchendon, caught thirteen hundred dozens; and a Mr. Harris of that town about seven hundred dozen more. They have taken nearly the same number for several years past. They find a market for them in Boston, Worcester, Providence and their vicinity. They sell from one dollar and fifty cents to two shillings per dozen, and the feathers sell for enough more to pay all expenses. (They were caught in nets, chiefly at night.)

Innumerable thousands of pigeons have been seen during the fore part of this month of this year in various parts of New England; an appearance which, with our ancestors, would have created the most alarming apprehensions. It is said that their flight portends a bloody war. I can well remember that in the spring of 1811 a flock passed over Templeton that was many hours in sight, and so large as to cover the whole horizon. They first appeared about half an hour before sunrise, and continued until after ten o'clock. They were going to the north-east. All the old people said it was a sign of war; and, whether the pigeons had anything to do with the affairs of men or not I cannot tell, but this is nevertheless true, that the United States did declare war against England within fourteen months from that time. And many old ladies gave accounts of the great flocks that appeared in 1774, the year before the Revolution. And it is said in a manuscript account of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, in 1675 and 1676, that the flight of pigeons there the year previous was reckoned an alarming omen.

Let me return to my hunting. We had a hound with us and our main business was for hunting. But whether owing to want of proper skill or lack of game, we caught only one fox and that one I shot when the hound was in full chase and within three rods of his tail. Tho'

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the labor of pursuit be hard, yet it is a princely entertainment to see the sport go on. I enjoyed it very much, and I am not surprised that it is so much thought of among the lovers of the chase. The fox and hound were, beyond question, made for each other, and both for man.

I will here mention what I should have said in connection with the pigeons. When the pigeons appeared so thick in 1811, there was another omen about the same time which was declared to be a sure sign of war, and filled the minds of the people with as great a panic as the pigeons; and that was the very great abundance of boar pigs.

(But no war followed Mr. Baldwin's pigeon flight of 1832.)

ATTENDS COMING-OUT PARTY

April 13, 1832—In the evening I attended a party at His Excellency Gov. Lincoln's. It was given for the purpose of introducing the senior class of misses in the Female High School into company. They were all over 15. One party of the same kind was given while I was in Templeton a fortnight ago, and they are to be given every week by different families during the summer. The number of young ladies present from the school might be about fifteen, many of whom were very pretty and interesting. Some of them are natives of Worcester, but a great part from out of town. We employed about two hours in dancing, tho' we had no musick but from a piano, which was played upon by the Lady of Dr. John Park.

July 3, 1832—I devoted this day to pleasure. I visited the Springs at Hopkinton, fifteen miles from Worcester. (Then a fashionable resort.) Deacon Benjamin Butman, George T. Rice and Dr. Oliver H. Blood, with their wives, composed the company. The vacant seat in my chaise was filled by Miss Lucy Ricketson Williams from New Bedford, who has a brother here in Worcester, a student at law in the office of Hon. John Davis. We started at eight in the morning and reached Brigham's in Westboro about ten, where we had strawberries and cream, with ice and soda. We arrived at the Springs about twelve, and spent the whole day in rolling nine pins, swinging, waltzing, playing bagatelle, bathing and the like. The ladies mingled in all our sports. At seven we started for Worcester, and visited on our return the garden of Mr. Blake, at Westboro, where we saw plenty of strawberries, grapes and odd ornaments. It was very warm during the whole day; but the evening was very delightful. The

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moon shone bright and the evening gale came fresh from the flowers and new-made hay, bringing delicious odors. My fellow travelers entertained me with many songs. We get to Worcester about nine in the evening.

July 22, 1832—I took a long walk in the evening with Mr. and Mrs. Papanti. She entertained me with an account of her ancestors. She was born in the city of New York, and judging from her looks, about 1800. She is not handsome and yet she has an engaging face, and is, withal, a very interesting lady. Her manners are lady-like and her conversation extremely entertaining. This would follow, almost of course, from her manner of life, which for some ten years was spent upon the stage. She never appeared in anything important except comedy. I have seen her in many characters, and while in Boston she was rather a favorite with the theatre-going people. She sings very finely, and her musical accomplishments gave her a happy celebrity.

Mr. Papanti is a native of Italy; he was born near Florence. He is now teaching a dancing school, and his wife is keeping a school for musick for young ladies. They were introduced into the town by his Excellency Gov. Lincoln, whose daughters, Penelope and Anne, are under her instruction in musick and dancing. They are much caressed by a part of the people, while neglected by others because of their former connection with the theatre. They attend Dr. Bancroft's Church (Second Parish) and add greatly to the singing. She plays upon her harp and he upon a French horn, which, with two flutes, a base viol and violin, make very good musick.

1833—TAKES SEVEN GIRLS A-SLEIGHING

December 21, 1833—The snow is reputed to be two feet deep on a level. The sleighing is, however, very fine and I made the most of it as shall fully appear. I employed Sam. Congdon to give me and the young ladies a ride. I invited seven to accompany me. We rode in a large double open sleigh with three seats, and our load, including the driver was composed of nine. I would not have any gentleman with me. If there is any fun in riding with one pretty face, must there not be plenty of fun in riding with seven? What a chattering they made! Women like, they all talked at once! Heavens! What a racket! Yet the ride was delightful. I enjoyed it very much. We left town at two in the afternoon and returned at sundown. We went

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to Leicester, and the whole expense of my expedition was four dollars and twenty-five cents.

September 15, 1833—Henry Knox Newcomb arrived in town a few days ago from Key West, by way of New Orleans, and asked me to bear him company on a visit to his father, the Hon. Judge Newcomb, at Greenfield. I thought best not to miss such an opportunity of seeing the Connecticut River; so I closed with his obliging proposal. We left town on Saturday morning. Our carriage was what is called a Carry-all; a vehicle very similar to a hack or private coach, only the fore end is open, and, like a hack, large enough for four persons. Our load consisted of myself, my friend Newcomb, his brother's wife and baby, and Miss Lucy Lincoln, the adopted daughter of the late Lieut. Governor Lincoln, of Worcester, making five souls in all, with plenty of baskets, band-boxes, budgets, and such trumpery as ladies are wont to bother the gentlemen with.

Our carriage was drawn by two horses, and as our appearance was somewhat imposing from our having much silver upon our tackling and carriage, and making us look like some well estated gentleman, I could not but remark to my friend that if the people who stared at us so particularly, could look into our purses, we should be laughed at as two poor Devils. He insisted, however, that if we looked serious, nobody would ask us how much money we had got. The appearance of wealth always makes people look genteel, and exacts respect from strangers.

At Templeton, my native place, we stopped our equipage and ordered dinner. I was asked many questions here by people whom I knew, and when they looked at my new superfine broadcloth cloak, and our carriage, God knows, I felt cheap enough. I had to relate to them two amusing stories to keep them from asking questions as to the ownership of our carriage and horses. The keeper of the tavern gave us good cheer, and to make appearance correspond, I was going to order a bottle of wine, but my companions declining drinking, I concluded to postpone that entertainment to another time.

After dinner we pushed on our journey and about eight o'clock in the evening reached a tavern. Before making arrangements for the night, we alighted and examined the premises to see that our quality should not suffer by having slept in a vulgar house. Newcomb was spokesman, and he catechised the landlady as to her beds, whether

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the sheets had been changed, what she would give us for supper; and from the resolute manner of his examination, one would have supposed him an officer of the police in pursuit of stolen property. To do him justice, however, he did his errand like one who was accustomed to good entertainment. The only part I performed in this comedy was to ask the landlady to let me see her cook our beefsteak which we had bespoken. This she complied with, not, however, without letting me understand that she thought me an indifferent cook.

CATTLE SHOW BALL GALA FUNCTION

October 7, 1833—Cattle Show Day. The address before the Society by Hon. Solomon Strong of Leominster, one of the Judges of the Common Pleas. I did not hear it. I spent the day at Antiquarian Hall, having no taste for bulls and rams and the like. According to custom there was a grand ball in the evening. It has for the last ten years, with one exception, been held at the Central Tavern. But this year the hall was engaged to another set of dancers and we were compelled to seek out a new place. We finally took the Town Hall and arrayed it for the purpose. The ladies with divers gentlemen were a long time in fixing it up. The columns were wound with wreaths of laurel and the windows and doors hung with festoons of the same material. Curtains and pots of flowers, with many pretty little conceits and devices invented by the ladies, were arranged to produce the best effect and to set off their charms to best advantage. The north upper hall was turned into a dressing parlor for the ladies and the south one for the supper table. The supper was provided by James Worthington, keeper of the Worcester Hotel.

The party assembled for the dance at seven o'clock in the evening. The ladies were collected by the managers. This has been always the practice since I have lived in Worcester, which is ten years last June. Hacks are hired at the expense of the person providing the supper, and one manager in each hack goes to each house, receives a lady, or ladies, and carries them to the hall, where the other managers are in attendance. And at the end of the dance, they go home the same way.

There were more than an hundred ladies and gentlemen present. The hall was large enough to permit eight sets of cotillions at once. I made the most of my opportunities at dancing, an exercise of which I

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am extremely fond. To accommodate some of ye elder prigs, we were under the necessity of dancing alternately a cotillion and a contra dance. The people from the city have an impression that contra-dances are vulgar, they ignorantly supposing that they are *country* dances, when they are called *contra* dances from the position of the dancers on the floor. But those from the city, in contra-dances, seem to go wrong on purpose, lest it be supposed by going right, they had been accustomed to country company. So true it is that many people imagine that true politeness is the production only of the little spot they chance to live in, forgetting the remark of Dr. Goldsmith that "Fools are polite only at home; the wise are polite the world over." Our musick on the occasion consisted of a Base-violin, a Kent bugle, clarionet, octave flute and two violins.

December 25, 1833—I dined at Dr. Bancroft's with Hon. Joseph G. Kendall and George Folsom, Esq. I had the happiness to meet my old friend, Miss Lucretia Bancroft, fourth daughter of the Rev. Dr. Bancroft. She is now on a visit from Boston where she is in charge of a small school. She is one of the most intelligent and talented females with whom I am acquainted. After dinner we went into the back parlor and took a few games of whist. The Doctor and his wife played at backgammon. There is perhaps not another minister in the County who would tolerate card playing in his own house. He would not be willing, I think, to have it done too often. But how much difference there is among the clergy in their opinions of play and amusement! He plays at backgammon almost every weekday of his life; and yet he is a diligent student. And for purity and integrity, I know of no clergyman who stands higher.

December 28—More dissipation! My friend William Lincoln (Historian of Worcester) came and invited me to accompany him to Millbury. He carried Sarah Bancroft and I carried Rebecca Curtis. We went in the afternoon and returned at evening. We stayed at Whitcomb's Tavern about an hour and drank mulled wine, a kind of stupefying beverage, made of eggs, sugar and hot wine. It is a species of flip.

VISIT FROM HENRY CLAY

November 5, 1833—I was visited by Henry Clay at the Antiquarian Hall this morning in company with the committee. (Which greeted him on a political visit to Worcester). There was a party in

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the evening at Gov. Lincoln's, to which the whole public had the opportunity of going; and from the looks of the people there, one would suppose that few let slip so good a chance. The house was literally crammed. Mrs. Clay was present, and so far as I could see, was a plain, unostentatious, sensible woman of about fifty years of age. He is about fifty-seven, over six feet high, slender in make, and a little stooping, with a face pretty well marked, though not remarkably so. His forehead is large, but narrow at the top, his mouth satirical, with a *large* and generously marked nose. He is rapid in conversation, full of anecdote, and swears most insufferably. But this last quality is common to all Kentuckians.

November 12, 1833—Upon Mr. Salisbury's return with his new wife, he invited me and William Lincoln to introduce the people of the town to them, which we did in the evening. . . . As I have had some experience in this business, I must give an account of it. I have officiated in this capacity in almost all cases since my residence in town where the new married couple have lived here. I am tempted to put down the catalogue. But it would occupy too much room.

The process of introducing is in this way. The new married couple, through their friends (sometimes on the evening after marriage and always within a week or so) give notice that they will be happy to be visited by anybody and everybody at eight o'clock on such an evening. Though the invitation is to everybody it is understood to extend only to such as may expect to exchange visits. The calls are made at eight and after. The new married couple take a sort of military position in one corner of the room, flanked by the bride's maids and the bride's *men*, and the person introducing their friends receives them at the door and leading them up, announces their names. The names of the new married couple are not mentioned, but only those who pay the visit; because those who make the visit know very well beforehand whom they are going to see. Usually before ten, the company retires, after having drank wine and eaten the wedding cake. It is customary to make a free use of the cake, and a large quantity of letter paper is furnished for individuals who may wish it, to wrap up a piece of cake in, to carry home. Some want it for friends, some to eat it, and others to put it under their pillows to sleep on, *thinking it may produce* new matches.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS BALDWIN'S DIARY

March 17, 1835—Eden Augustin Baldwin, my nephew, came from Templeton today, having been sent here by his grandfather, with the request that I would put him to the Baptist School in this town or send him to Leicester Academy, as I might think most for his advantage. I concluded to send him to Leicester, though I was inclined to put him to the first named, and should have done so had it not been for their regulations about board. No tea, coffee or milk are given to the pupils who board in the institution. In my judgment this is a bad arrangement. If a boy be not treated well at school he will hardly know what he has a right to expect when he becomes a man.

SEES FIRST RAILWAY TRAIN

August 1, 1834—This is my birthday. Alas! how swift the year has flown. This day I am thirty-four years old. I saw today for the first time a Rail Way Car. What an object of wonder! How marvellous it is in every particular! It appears like a thing of life. The cars came out from Boston with about an hundred passengers and performed the journey, which is thirteen miles, in forty-three minutes. I cannot describe the strange sensations produced on seeing the train of cars come up. And when I started in them for Boston, it seemed like a dream. I blessed my stars that such a man as Robert Fulton had lived to confer on his fellow mortals an improvement so valuable as his application of steam engines to driving boats, and that this had suggested the application of the same power in moving carriages on land. We reached Boston about half past eleven. I put up at the Tremont House.

July 3, 1835—The Rail Road from Westboro to Worcester was this day finished, and one of the engines passed over the road for the first time. Some of the directors of the corporation came up in it.

July 4, 1835—The road was publicly opened today, and the first train of cars reached Worcester at half-past ten in the forenoon. The streets were thronged with people from the adjoining towns at an early hour, and these, with our own population, presented a larger multitude in the town than I have ever before witnessed. Few of them had ever seen carriages moved by steam, and their curiosity was very great. The sides of the road were lined with people for nearly a mile, all equally eager to have a glimpse of the novel and marvellous spectacle. It being the 4th of July, which is, perhaps, our greatest

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holyday in the year, made the collection of people greater than it might otherwise have been. The females were almost as numerous as the males.

That I might witness the entry of the first train of cars to the greatest advantage, I invited Hon. Joseph G. Kendall, Clerk of the Courts, who is my fellow boarder, to accompany me in a wagon to a high ground above Pine Meadow (East Worcester), where the road may be seen for nearly a mile. We were told that the cars would arrive in Worcester at half past eight, and we accordingly, that we might lose no part of the interesting exhibition, took our station upon the hill at ten minutes past eight. I must remark here that my lameness is such that I can only hobble along, and walking in any way is extremely painful to me, owing to my rheumatic complaint.

I therefore sat in the wagon and held the horse. The day was a very warm one, and as I had no protection from the sun, I was nearly roasted. The cars came at half-past ten instead of half past eight!! What a poor time I had of it! Mr. Kendall left the wagon and sat under the shade of a tree. When the cars came in sight, my horse took fright, and I was compelled to get out of the wagon and had great difficulty in holding him. He reared and jumped most furiously, and when he was so far recovered to permit me to look around the train of cars had reached their destination!

TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT IN ITS INFANCY

May 2, 1832—A meeting of the Temperance Society for the Worcester South District was held at the hotel today. I should not have mentioned this had I not noticed certain things which very much disgusted me. The delegates from many of the towns sat down at the public dinner table. They have signed the constitution of the Society, and profess to be samples of sobriety and regularity. I observed, however, that every one of the Society drank very freely of Cyder, and that which was of the very worst and most unpalatable sort. I am not a member of any Temperance Society, yet I should regard myself as not much better than a drunkard to be found drinking such intolerable stuff as this Cyder. If it were good, there would be some apology for them. But as it is shockingly bad, it only shows what they are accustomed to when at home. If they will drink such Cyder in the dry tree, what may we not expect them to do in the green?

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I saw three clergymen who sat near me at the table drink the first tumbler and were well towards the bottom upon the second when I got up. Yet these reverend gentry have left their flocks to come here to give us a specimen of their temperance and self-denial. I would not say anything if I drank ardent spirits or even Cyder. But I totally abstain from both and drink wine only when it is offered me. Good wine I am fond of; yet I cannot relish it beyond the second glass.

September 19, 1833—This day met at Worcester the Massachusetts State Temperance Convention. The delegates came from all parts of the Commonwealth, and were nearly five hundred in number. Altogether, they composed a body of great respectability, both as to virtue and intelligence. Plenty of ministers, lawyers and doctors among them. A satirical observer, however, if so inclined, might here and there pick out a red nose, which would contradict the sincerity of the convert to the doctrine of abstemious drinking. It is one of the faults of the day to occupy so much of our time in recommending the practice of virtue that we have not time left us to perform it. We are nothing but *hearers* without being doers. So true it is that when mankind undertakes a reformation they are always running into extremes. In the evening there was a party at Gov. Lincoln's, which was attended by many members of the convention.

TAVERN KEEPERS GO ON STRIKE

April 1, 1855—This is a day of excitement. At the March town meeting a vote was carried by the town to instruct the selectmen not to approbate any innholder for licenses to retail ardent spirits. This comes of the temperance reform, and is now the subject of deep interest. The town is divided into three parties, *viz*: the rigid advocates of temperance, the friends of retailers, and the neutrals, who will not belong to either party. Our innholders find themselves closely pressed by the vote of the town and have had a caucus, at which they determined that they would not take out licenses for any purpose, but would take down their signs and close their houses on the 1st of April.

Accordingly, this morning, the signs to all the taverns, except the Temperance House, nine in number, were taken down, and the houses all shut against travellers. I saw several ladies sitting in the portico of one of the houses, who had arrived in a stage; there were many gentlemen in the same plight. But none of them were permitted to

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enter the house. A table was set in the portico, with several decanters filled with cold water set upon it, which I took to be an emblem of temperance. The travellers looked cross, and the dear ladies in particular. The public sympathy was such as to justify the tavern keepers, and this enraged the temperance party.

April 6, 1836—The town is now more full of excitement than has been known since 1812. There was a strong disposition to bring temperance into politics. The late attempt to instruct the selectmen has awakened many fears that the leaders of the temperance reform design to make it a political subject. Several who were members of the Society for Promoting Temperance have directed their names to be withdrawn. Wherever two men are seen together, the subject of conversation is temperance. In many instances they have become so furious as to almost come to blows. I perceive that whoever speaks upon the subject manifests his passions at once. In this respect the friends of temperance are as *intemperate* as their opponents. Every body is getting mad, and what is cause of especial madness with me is that I am already as mad as the *maddest*.

(The Taverns soon were given their ardent spirits licenses.)



Farm and Home Life A Century Ago

BY JOHN NELSON, WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS



R. G. STANLEY HALL, who was president of Clark University from its foundation through the long period when it was one of the world's great centers of psychological research and study, held for many years an abiding interest in old New England customs and the manner of living of the people, and particularly the country people. He pursued his avocation with the thoroughness which characterized him. His investigations were based primarily upon the experiences of his own boyhood, when he passed his vacations on an ancient farm in the little old Massachusetts town of Ashfield, which was typical of many of the small Worcester County towns of that period.

Much of his information was gathered from men and women who were old when he was young, and whose memories harked back to the early years of the last century. In this way he accumulated a great mass of valuable detail, which otherwise might have been lost, of the self-contained, self-sufficient existence of a Yankee village and a Yankee farm of the old days—of the home industries by which they converted the products of field and pasture and woodland to fill their needs; of their homes and what was in them; of their raiment and its manufacture and of their food and its cooking; of their simple, pleasant social life in the family and with their neighbors, and of their wholesome amusements.

President Hall embodied much of the knowledge which he had accumulated in a paper read before the American Antiquarian Society in 1890, presenting a picture of deep interest to anyone who would know how the forefathers lived. We are reprinting from the Society's proceedings of forty years ago, with permission, a large part of Dr. Hall's paper, as follows:

BOY LIFE IN A MASSACHUSETTS COUNTRY TOWN THIRTY YEARS AGO

By G. Stanley Hall

Between the ages of nine and fourteen, my parents who then lived in a distant town very wisely permitted me to spend most of the school-

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less part of these five years, so critical for a boy's development, with a large family on a large farm in Ashfield of this State. Although this joyous period ended in 1860, the life, modes of thought and feeling, industries, dress, etc., were very old-fashioned for that date and were tenaciously and proudly kept so. In more recent years, as I have come to believe that nowhere does the old New England life still persist more strongly or can be studied more objectively, I have spent portions of several summers, with the aid of a small fund placed in my hands for the purpose, in collecting old farm tools, household utensils, furniture, articles of dress, and hundreds of miscellaneous old objects into a local museum, a little after the fashion of the museums of Plymouth, Salem and Deerfield. I have interviewed all the oldest inhabitants for details of customs and industries. My vacation interest grew into a record partly because so many facts of the early life and thoughts of old New England are still unrecorded and are now so fast passing beyond the reach of record, with the lamented decay of these little old towns, partly because despite certain evils this life at its best appears to me to have constituted about the best educational environment for boys at a certain stage of their development ever realized in history, combining physical, industrial, technical with civil and religious elements in wise proportions and pedagogic objectivity. Again: this mode of life is the one and the only one that represents the ideal basis of a state of citizen voters as contemplated by the framers of our institutions. Finally, it is more and more refreshing in our age, and especially in the vacation mood, to go back to sources, to the fresh primary thoughts, feelings, beliefs, modes of life of simple, homely, genuine men. Our higher anthropology labors to start afresh for the common vulgar standpoint as Socrates did, from what Maurice calls the *Ethos*, and Grote the *Nomos* of common people and of a just preceding and a vanishing type of civilization, to be warned with its experience and saturated with its local color.

I have freely eked out the boyish memory of those five years with that of older persons; but everything that follows was within the memory of people living three years ago. Time allows me to present here but a small part of the entire record, to sample it here and there, and show a few obvious lessons.

I begin with winter, when men's industries were most diversified, and were largely in wood. Lumber—or timber—trees were chopped

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down and cut by two men working a cross-cut saw, which was always getting stuck fast in a pinch which took the set out of it, unless the whole trunk was pried up by skids. Sometimes the fallen trees were cut into logs, snaked together, and piled with the aid of cant-hooks, to be drawn across the frozen pond to the saw-mill for some contemplated building, or, if of spruce, of straight grain and few knots, or of good rift, they were cut in bolts, or cross-sections of fifteen inches long, which was the legal length for shingles. These were taken home in a pung, split with beetle and wedge, and then with a frow and finished off with a drawshave, on a shaving-horse, itself home-made. These rive shingles were thought far more durable than those cut into shape by the buzz-saw which does not follow the grain. To be of prime quality these must be made of heart and not sap wood, nor of second growth trees. The shavings were in wide demand for kindling fires.

Axe-helves, too, were sawn, split, hewn, whittled, and scraped into shape with bits of broken glass, and the forms peculiar to each local maker were as characteristic as the style of painter or poet, and were widely known, compared and criticized. Butter-paddles were commonly made of red cherry, while sugar lap-paddles were made by merely marking whistle wood or bass, and whittling down one end for a handle. Mauls and beetles were made of ash nots, ox-bows of walnut, held into shape till seasoned by withes of yellow birch, from which also birch brushes and brooms were manufactured on winter evenings by stripping down seams of wood in the green. There were salt mortars and pig-troughs made from solid logs, with tools hardly more effective than those the Indian uses for his dug-out. Flails for next year's threshing; cheese-hoops and cheese-ladders; bread-troughs and yokes for hogs and sheep, and pokes for jumping cattle, horses and unruly geese, and stanchions for cows.

Some took this season for cutting next summer's bean and hop poles, pea bush, cart and sled stakes, with an eye always out for a straight clean whip stock or fish pole. Repairs were made during this season, and a new cat-hole beside the door, with a laterally-working drop-lid which the cat operated with ease, was made one winter. New sled neaps, and fingers for the grain cradle, handles for shovels and dung-forks, pitch-forks, spades, spuds, hoes, and a little earlier for rakes. Scythes and brooms were home-made, and machines and men

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of special trades were so far uncalled for. Nearly all these forms of domestic wood work I saw, and even helped in as a boy of ten might, or imitated them in play in those thrice-happy days, while in elder pop-guns, with a ringing report that were almost dangerous in-doors; hemlock bows and arrows, or cross bows, with arrow-heads run on with melted lead (for which every scrap of lead pipe or antique pewter dish was in great demand) often fatal for very small game; box and figure 4 traps for rats and squirrels; wind-mills; weather-vanes in the form of fish, roosters or even ships; an actual saw-mill that went in the brook, and cut planks with marino and black and white Carter potatoes for logs; and many whittled tools, toys and ornamental forms and puppets—in all these and many more, I even became in a short time a fairly average expert as compared with other boys, at least so I then thought. How much all this has served me since, in the laboratory, in daily life, and even in the study, it would be hard to estimate.

The home industry in woolen is a good instance of one which survives in occasional families to this day. Sheep, as I remember, could thrive on the poorest hay, or orts, the leavings of the neat cattle. In summer they could eat brakes and polipods, if not even hardhack and tansy, and would browse down berry briars and underbrush, while their teeth cut the grass so close that cows could hardly survive in the same pasture with them. The spring lambs were raised in the shed by hand, sometimes as cossets by the children, who often derived their first savings therefrom. Sheep washing day was a gala day when, if at no other time, liquor was used against exposure, and shearing which came a week or two later, was hardly less interesting. A good shearer, who had done his twenty-five head a day, commanded good wages, seventy-five cents or a dollar a day; while the boys must pull the dead sheep, even though they were only found after being some weeks defunct. Fleeces for home use were looked over, all burrs and shives picked out, and they were then oiled with poor lard. "Bees" were often made to do this.

Carding early became specialized and carders were in every town, but the implements were in each family, some members of which could not only card, but could even use the fine, long-toothed worsted combs in an emergency. The rolls were spun at home, novices doing the woof or filling, and the older girls the warp, which must be better. It

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was taken from the spindle sometimes on a niddy-noddy held in the hand, at two rounds per yard, but more commonly on a reel, in rounds of two yards each. Every forty rounds was signalized on a reel by the snap of a wooden spring or the fall of a hammer, and constituted a knot, four, five, seven, or ten of which (in different families and for different purposes) constituting a skein, and twenty knots making a run. Four seven-knotted skeins of filling, or six of warp, was a day's work, though now, I am told, few young women can accomplish so much without excessive fatigue.

The yarn doubled if for stockings, after being washed clean of grease, next went to the great dye-tub in the chimney corner. Butter-nut bark for every-day suits, indigo for Sunday suits, and madder for shirting was the rule. There were also fancy dyes and fancy dyeing; braiding, binding tightly or twisting in a white thread to get the favorite hit or miss; or pepper-and-salt effect, a now almost incredible ingenuity in making up figures and fancy color effects for loom patterns in girls' dresses. Next the filling was quilled and the warp spooled, the former ready for the shuttle, and the latter for the warping bars (both of these latter being often home-made) to which it went from the scarn or spool-frame. In warping, the leese must be taken with care, for if the order of the threads is lost they cannot be properly thumbled through the harnesses and hooked through the reed, and are good for nothing but to make into clothes lines and the piece is lost. A raddle also acts in keeping the warp disentangled and of proper width before the lathe and tenters can hold it. Sometimes blue and white shirt-formed frock cloth was woven, sometimes kerseys and plaid dress patterns of many colors, or woolen sheets, and even woolen pillowcases which were as warm and heavy, although coarser than those the olfactorial zoölogist Jäger advises, and sells to his followers. The complication of harnesses and treadles required to weave some of the more complicated carpet, and especially cover-lid patterns, evinced great ingenuity and long study, and is probably now, although the combinations were carefully written down, in most communities a forever lost art. On coming from the loom the cloth was wet for shrinkage, and the nap picked up with cards of home-grown teasels and sheared smooth on one side, although in those days this process had already gone to the local fuller. Coarse yarn was also spun from tag-locks which was of course home carded. Knitting was easy,



MT. WACHUSETT, TOP OF THE WORLD OF WORCESTER COUNTY

Photo by Dwight A. Davis

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pretty visiting work. Girls earned from two to three York shillings a pair for men's stockings, paid in trade from the store, which put out such work if desired. Shag mittens were knit from thumbs or the left-over ends of warp. Nubias and sontags were knit with large wooden needles, and men's gloves, tidies, and clock stockings with ornamental open work in the sides were knit with one hook, and the tape loom held between the knees was kept going evenings.

Domestic flax industry still lingers in a few families. The seed was sown broadcast and grew till the bolls were ripe, when it was pulled and laid in rows by the boys and whipped, in a few days, to get the seed for meal. After laying out of doors for some weeks till the shives were rotten, it was put through the process of breaking on the ponderous flax-break. It was then swingled, hatchelled, and finally hanked. It was then wound on the distaff made of a young spruce top, and drawn out for spinning. Grasshopper years, when it was short, this was hard, and though ticking, meal-bags, and scratchy tow shirts could be made, finer linen products were impossible. After weaving it must be bleached in a good quality of air.

However it was with adults, child life was full of amusements. Children were numerous in every neighborhood, and though they were each required to be useful, they were in early years left much to themselves and were at home in every house, barn, or shed, within a mile, or more. There was, of course, coasting, skating, swimming, gool, fox and hounds, and snow-balling, with choosing of sides, lasting for a whole school term, with elaborate forts; cart wheel and men o' morn's in the snow; collar and elbow, or square hold wrestling, with its many different trips, locks and play-ups—side and back hold being unscientific; round ball, two and four old cat, with soft yarn balls thrown at the runner. The older girls and boys spent the hour's noon-ing in the school-house and either paired off for small games or talks, or played "Here we stand all round this ring," "Needle's eye," "Kitty corners" or "Who's got the button." As in the age of Shakespeare the queen's maids of honor played tag, so here all children, and even adults often played child's games with gusto.

In the family, as they gathered about the stove, or sometimes about the grand old fireplace in the back kitchen, with its back-log, crane, pot hooks and trammels, there were stories of the old fort, of bears, wildcats, Indians and Bloody Brook, and other probably

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unprinted tales perhaps many generations old. There were some who could sing old English ballads that had come down by tradition and which had never been in print in America, and more who could sing a comic song or pathetic negro melody. Lord Lovel, Irving, Bunyan, "The Youth's Companion" and many Sunday-school books were read aloud. A pair of skates was earned by a boy friend one winter by reading the entire Bible through, and another bought an accordeon with money earned by braiding the plain sides of palm-leaf hats where no splicing was needed, for the women at a cent per side. All families allowed the game of fox and geese, a few permitted checkers, and one, backgammon, which was generally thought to be almost gambling. Dominoes were barely tolerated, but riddles, rebuses and charades were in high favor by old and young and were published in all the local weekly papers. It was here that I learned that card playing, which I had often seen before but did not much understand nor care for, was very wrong, and a boy friend was taught old sledge, and euchre, up over the horse sheds on Sundays between services, by an older son of the officiating minister. There were hull-gull; cats-cradle with two series of changes, string and knot puzzles, odd and even, and most of the games, and many more than those in Mr. Newel's charming and largely original book, entitled "The Plays and Games of American Children," connecting many of them conclusively with the sports and pastimes of the English people in the merry olden time of Brandt. One maiden lady, whom we all loved, could spell "The Abominable Bumble Bee with his Head Cut Off," in an inverse House-that-Jack-built fashion, with a most side-splitting effect.

There were beech and chestnutting parties; raisings; and days set apart for all the men in the district being warned out by the surveyor to gather and work on the roads with teams. Work was easy, as it was for the town, and stories were plenty. There were huskings, with cider and pumpkin pie, and games on the barn floor, when it was cleared of corn; paring bees, with bobbing, swinging a whole paring thrice around the head, thence to fall on the floor in the form of the fancied initial of some person of the other sex, and counting seeds to the familiar doggerel—one I love, two I love, three I love and say, four I love with all my heart, and five I cast away, etc. Here the apples were quartered and strung, and hung in festoons to dry, all over the kitchen. There were quilting bees for girls about to marry,

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where the men came in the evening and partook of the new species of rice pop-corn, served in two large milk pans, with perhaps the most delicious home-made spruce and wintergreen beer. Spelling schools in which the parents took part, and where the champion spellers of rural districts, after exhausting several spelling books, agreed to spell each other down on an abridged Worcester's dictionary. There were weekly evening singing schools in winter, and several of us taught ourselves or each other to play the accordeon and fiddle by rote, to dance single and double shuffle on a board, and the steps of waltz, polka, and schottish. Even square dances were attempted to our own music, if we could get a caller-off. This latter was here a stolen sweet, as was the furtive reading of the thrilling tales of Sylvanus Cobb in the "New York Ledger"—sets of which were smuggled around among the boys and read after retiring, or in sheep shed, hay mow, or attic, on rainy days. I must not forget the rage for trapping and hunting, by which we learned much of the habits of crows, hawks, muskrats, woodchucks, squirrels, partridges and even foxes, and which made us acquainted with wide areas of territory. In a regular squirrel hunt organized by choosing sides, and a dinner to the victors paid for by the vanquished party, as determined by counting tails, boys of my age were not old enough to participate. We made collections, however, for whole seasons, of heads, legs, wings, and tails, as well as of woods, leaves, flowers, stones, bugs, butterflies, etc.

The dull days in haying time brought another sort of education. The men of the vicinity strolled together in a shed, and sitting on tool bench, grindstone, manger, wagons, chopping blocks, and hog spouts, discussed crop prices, ditching, walling, salting cattle, finding springs with witch-hazel, taxes, the preaching, the next selectmen, fence-viewer, constable, and, I suppose a little earlier, wardens, leather-sealers, deer reeves, surveyors of shingles and clapboards and of wheat, field drivers, tithing men, clerk of the market, and pound-keepers. And they discussed as well the good brooks and ponds for trouting, or snaring pickerel with brass wire loops and a white-birch-bark light at night, and every sort of gossip. The old uncles who came to be the heroes of current stories, and who were in a sense ideal men, were shrewd and sharp, of exceeding few words, but these oracular, of most unpromising exteriors and mode of speech, with quaint and eccentric ways which made their quintessential wisdom very surprising

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by the contrast; while in weather signs and in drugs the old Indian was sometimes the sage. At the opposite extreme was the unseasoned fellow who can be fooled and not get the best of it if he was "run" or played some practical joke. Absurd exaggeration told with a serious air, to test the hearer's knowledge or credulity, were the chief ingredients of this lowery-day wit. Thus the ass's head was not unfrequently clapped on some poor rich fellow, green from the city, or some larger town, suspected of the unpardonable sin of being "stuck up."

In this air a good "nag" has great viability. As a boy here, *e. g.*, I often played hunt, snapping a disabled old flint-lock musket at every live thing in field and forest, for which an adult neighbor used to "run" me unmercifully before the whole shed. Years after, when I was home on a college outing, he had not forgotten it, and for perhaps a dozen summers since, I have met it. On a recent evening, when walking with a dignified city friend, he met me with the same old grind, "Hello, huntin' much this summer with Philander's old gun?" as he slapped his thighs and laughed till the hills rang, and, though I did not hear him, I am no less certain that he said to the neighbor with him, when they had ridden well by, that I was always a pretty middlin' good sort of a fellow after all, and wasn't stuck up. The joke will no doubt keep fresh another quarter of a century if my friend lives, and there are many more of the same kind. Another grind at my expense illustrates the inventive cleverness of this old Yankee type. As one of the speakers at an annual dinner in honor of the old town Academy, I had been several times introduced as a specimen of the former students of the Academy. One night at the crowded post office this shrewd old farmer told, in my presence and for my benefit, the story of old Joe W., who went on the road as a drummer for the old tannery. He said Joe had just experienced religion, and was just then so all-fired honest that he selected, as the samples he was to sell from, pieces of sole leather a trifle below the average quality, instead of above, as an honest drummer should do. He was afraid to hope that Professor N., who presided at the dinner, had experienced religion, but leastways he was so all-fired honest that he leaned over backwards worse than old Joe in calling me out as a sample Academy boy, for although I was middling smart there was not a boy of them who wasn't a plaguey sight smarter than I was. Another of his stories was of Stephen and Ann. They were courting, and she had sat in his lap in the kitchen one

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Sunday evening for some hours, when she suddenly asked if he was not tired. He gallantly replied, "Not a mite, Ann, keep right on settin'. I was awful tired an hour ago, but now I am numb." "That is the way I believe with Rev. P——'s hearers when his long sermons end."

Then there was the story of old Deacon S., who sold home-made cider brandy or twisted cider, at the rate of twenty-five cents per gallon, but who always used to get his big thumb into the quart measure, which had lost its handle, displacing its cubic contents of brandy. There was another tale of Capt. A., who being cheated in a horse trade by Mr. B., called all his sons and grandsons together solemnly, as if for family prayers, told them the circumstances, and enjoined them to cheat B. back to the amount of six dollars, and if they did not live to do it to teach their children and grandchildren to cheat his descendants to the end of time; but a few months later, after another trade with B., the captain convened his family again to say that the score had been paid with interest, and to release them from the covenant. There was the story of Uncle G., who began his courtship by "creepin' in, all unbeknown," behind his best girl, stealing up close behind her as she was washing dishes, hat on and chair in hand, with the salute, "Well, Sal, feel kind'r sparky to-night?" to which she coquettishly but encouragingly replied, "Well, reckon p'raps a *leetle* more sorter than sorter not"; and how at last, the minister being away, they rode together on one horse twenty miles alone, and were married. There was the legend of old Squire V., who used to be a great favorite with the girls. Driving up to the town clerk's door one day he told him to have him "published" the next Sunday with Miss B., and drove off. Soon he returned and desired the name changed to Miss C., and finally, after several changes and some minutes of profound deliberation, settled on Miss H., whom he married. There was the tale of the turning of the Deerfield River by the two great but mystic ancestors of one family in town. It once flowed down the gap in Mr. P.'s pasture, through the pond and over the plain of the village, and was stipulated as the northern boundary of the possessions of these pioneers. They were ambitious and had noticed that new settlers and their depredations followed rivers, so they hired hundreds of Indians to dig with sharpened sticks, day and night, one entire summer, till the stream at length washed over down a more northerly

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valley so suddenly as to sweep away the dusky maiden beloved by one of the pioneers; with many other romantic incidents. There was the story of the old horse jockey G., who in his travels found a negro of great strength but so simple as to agree to work for him a hundred years, on the expiration of which time the old jockey was to give him all the property and serve him a century; and who cured him of the inveterate habit of sucking eggs by showing him a dozen, apparently freshly laid, in his bed one morning just after he had risen, and frightening him out of the practice by convincing him that he had laid the eggs while he slept. There was the story of the old cat ground up in the mill with dreadful caterwaulings, and the two bushels of good rye required to grind the mill-stones clean again. Another, was of the case, famous in history, of the non-conforming Baptist deacon who would not pay his town tax to support the Congregational preaching, and whose apple trees were dug up by the constable and sold for payment; of the deacon's going to Boston to the General Court, and of his return with a barrel of cider brandy drawn on two poles strapped together, one end of each in the hold-backs and the other end dragging on the ground. There were stories of a noted lady pioneer in the cause of female education, who solicited domestic utensils and produce of every kind for a young ladies' seminary, following the men into stable and around hay mow in her quest; of old Heeber, suspected of witchcraft, who lived apart and was buried outside the cemetery; of old Sloper, who had no friends, and vanished so mysteriously that gradually a detailed story of his murder by a prominent, but not beloved citizen, was evolved; of the old church, stone-cold in winter, with two services and sermons from ten to four, and in summer with the rocks black at nooning with people, mostly members in close communion, eating their Sunday dinner and picking caraway or meetin-seed; of the waste of timber, or the greed of individuals in shacking hogs on the then extensive undivided land or common, and even of the secular variations of the compass to account for the disparity between the old surveys of boundary lines and new ones.

Evenings in the kitchen were spent with light work and gossip, unremitting. Candles in olden times before cotton, it is said, were made by loosely spinning tow-wicking. Candle rods were then whit-tled out or cut from cattails, on which wicking for a dozen candles was put, and they were hung over the back of an old, high, straight-backed

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chair tipped down, and dipped every few minutes in beef, or better, mutton tallow melted in the tin boiler. Of course, candles grew faster on cold days, but were more likely to crack. Good iron candlesticks were rare, and at balls and parties potatoes were used, and wooden blocks. The evolution, I have heard, was first a "slut" or linen rag in fat, or a bowl of woodchuck's oil with a floating wick through a wooden button. Later came a square strip of fat pork with a thin sliver of wood thrust through to stiffen it and serve as a wick. Fire could still be made by friction of wood in an emergency. The best-raked fire would sometimes go out, and then fire must be borrowed from a neighbor. Those who wished to be independent obtained tinder-boxes with flint and iron, smudged tow and punk. Home-made matches, with brimstone and saltpetre, would catch readily, but friction matches were a great novelty. One of these friction matches, also home-made, of spruce lumber, by the boys, was "drawed" by their incredulous father who, when he found it would really go, put it carefully in his pocket for future use.

The ideal hearth and fireplace of olden times was indeed the centre about which the whole family system revolved. On the swinging crane, evolved from the earlier wooden lug-pole, hung from pot-hooks, chains and trammels, several species of iron pots and brass kettles, in front of a green back-log, so big and long that it was sometimes snaked in by a horse. Below, attached to the upright part of the andirons, was the turnspit dog, revolved by hand, and sometimes, at a later date, by clock-work, for fancy roasts. There were roasters and dripping pans, and the three-legged spider, in which bread was baked, first on the bottom, and then, tipped up to the coals, or else the top was done by a heavy red-hot iron cover. Here rye used to be roasted and mortared for coffee, which was later boiled in water and maple molasses.

On the shelf or beam above the fire stood the foot stove; a horn of long, and another of short paper lamplighters; a sausage stuffer; tin lanthorn; mortar; chafing dish; runlet; noggin; flatirons, perhaps of new fashion, hollowed for hot iron chunks; tinder box; tankard; and coffee pots; and high above all a bayoneted flint gun or two, with belt, bayonet sheath, brush and primer. Overhead on the pole hung always a hat or cap on the end, and perhaps a haunch of dried beef, with possibly a ham, a calf's rennet stretched with a

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springy willow stick inside; pumpkins cut into long ringlets; bundles of red peppers; braided seed corn and dried apples, the latter also perhaps half covering the roof and south side of the house.

About the fireplace stood, or hung the bed-warmer, the tongs, and long "slice," a hollow gourd or crook-necked squash; candle holders with long tin reflectors; bellows; wooden holders; toasting irons; smoking tongs; pewter porringer; spoon moulds; trivet; skillet and piggin; a tin kitchen; a tin baker and steamer; a flip iron; the big dye tub always in the corner, and the high-backed settle in front. Near by stood the cupboard, displaying the best blue crockery, and the pewter, kept bright by scouring with horsetails (*equisetæ*); sealed measures, and a few liquids, and perhaps near by a pumpkin Jack-o'-lantern, with an expression when it was lighted in the dark as hideous as that of the head of an Alaskan totem-post.

The grandma was both nurse and doctor, and the children had to gather for her each year a supply of herbs. Chief among these were pennyroyal, tansy, spearmint, peppermint, catnip, thoroughwort, motherwort, liverwort, mugwort, elecampane, opodeldal, burdock, mayweed, dogweed, fireweed, ragweed, pokeweed, aconite, arnica, scratch-grass, valerian, lobelia, larkspur, mullein, mallow, plantain, foxglove or nightshade, osier, fennel, sorrel, comfrey, rue, saffron, flag, anise, snakeroot, yarrow, balmony, tag alder, witchhazel, and bloodroot. Each of these, and many more, had specific medicinal properties, and hung in rows of dried bunches in the attic, and all grew in Worcester County towns. In Mr. Cockayne's *Leechdom, Wort-cunning and Starcraft*, a remarkable collection of Anglo-Saxon medical prescriptions, I have identified the same symptoms for which the same herb was the specific, showing how this unwritten medical lore survives and persists unchanged.

The attic floor was covered a foot deep with corn on the ear, to be shelled winter evenings by scraping across the back of a knife driven into a board; the cobs being fed out to stock, or used for baking and smoking fires. Here, too, were tins and boxes, and barrels of rye and barley, and, later, oats, wheat and buckwheat. In the corner stood, or hung, perhaps, a hand-winnow, a tub of frozen cider apple sauce, an old hat and wig block, a few woodchucks' skins to be made into whiplashes, a coon skin for a cap, a hand still for making cider brandy or twisted cider. So, too, the cellar, shed, hog-house, barn,

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sheep and horse barn, sugar-house and corn-house, were stored with objects of perennial interest to boys.

The "sense of progress," which a recent psychologist writer calls a special, though lately evolved, sense, was by no means undeveloped. Men loved to tell of old times, when maple sap was caught in rough troughs made with an axe, and stored by being simply turned in their places; to show the marks on old maple trees, where their grandfathers tapped by chipping with a hatchet and driving in a bass-wood spout made at a blow with the same iron gouge that prepared for its insertion; and to describe how, later, the rough unpainted tubs with unbarked hoops, and, because smaller at the top, so hard to store and carry, and so liable to burst by the expansion of the ice on freezing, were superseded by the Shaker pails. The old days when sap was gathered by hand with a sap yoke, and stored in long troughs and boiled out of doors in a row of kettles on a pole or crotches, were talked over, with complacent pity, perhaps, while modern pans on a new arch and in a new sugar-house were kept going all night during a big run which had filled every tun and hogshead, while the best trees were running over.

Hour-glasses, especially to spin by, and dials, were sometimes used, and there were many noon-marks at intervals over the farm. In many families, even where coal and kerosene stoves are used, along with wood, oven-wood is still cut for the old brick oven, which Christmas time, at least, if not once every week or two through the winter, is heated, and then swept out with a wet birch broom. First, the rye and Indian bread is made up in a bread trough and then put on the broad, meal-sprinkled peel, with hands dipped in water to avoid sticking, and very dexterously thrown in haycock and windrow shapes, perhaps on cabbage leaves, onto the bottom of the oven. When this was done it was still so hot that pies could be baked, and, last of all, a bushel of apples was thrown in and the week's baking was over. Many could then tell of the time when, with pudding or mashed potatoes and milk for the meal, no table was set, but each took a bowl of milk and helped himself from the kettle on the stone; or again, the family gathered about the well-scoured table, with no individual plates or butter knives, or waiting on the table, but each took a slice of bread and helped himself from the meat dish, or dipped the brown bread into the pork fat with forks. Wooden, pewter, then earthen plates,

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was the order of evolution. So, in the dairy, milk used to be set in wooden trays, then in thick, brown earthen bowls, before the modern milkpans came into vogue.

The evolution of the skimmer from the clam shell, through a rough wooden skimmer; of churning, from a bowl and paddle onto the old dasher churn; of straining milk, from the linen rag strainer, up; of bails, from the ear and peg fashion, on; the history of the artistic forms of butter balls, and the stamps used; the very gradual development of the scythe-snath, which no artist ever represents correctly, to the present highly physiological and very sharply discriminated forms, as well as of the hoe and pitchfork; why are not these and the growth of the corn-sheller, hen-coop, plough, mop, the story of the penstock, the broom, from a bush or bundle of twigs, up through the birch broom with fibres stripped both up and down; of window transparencies, from the hole and oiled paper, etc., as scientific anthropological themes, as the evolution of the fish-hook, arrow-head and spear? Why is not the old soap-making process, with the lye, strong enough to support an egg, dripping from the ash barrel on the circularly grooved board or stone, and the out-of-doors boiling and basket straining, etc.? Why is not the old-fashioned, semi-annual geese-picking day, with the big apron, great vase-shaped goose basket, and the baby's stocking drawn over the goose's head to keep it from biting? Why is not cheese-making, when the milk from three families was gathered in a big tub, coagulated with a calf's rennet, broken up into curds and whey by the fingers, scalded, chopped, salted, perhaps saged, hooped, turned, and pared of those delicious curds, and daily greased all summer? Why is not the high festivity of road breaking in winter, when all the men and oxen in the neighborhood, often twenty yokes of oxen in one team, turned out after a long storm and blow to break out the roads which the town had not discontinued for the winter, to church, stores, doctor and school, when steers were broken in, sandwiched between the yokes of old cattle, where often up to their backs in a drift, with a sled to which ploughs were chained to each side and a dozen men and boys on it, they could only wait, frightened and with lolling tongue, to be shoveled out? Why are not the antique ceremonies and sequelae of butchering day, and the fun and games with pluck and lights and sausages, which city-bred boys were told, and said to believe, are caught like fish? Why are not the process of making pearlash and birch vinegar; cider-making; the manifold

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summer beers and other domestic drinks, etc., quite as worthy of investigation, of illustration in museums, as the no more rapidly vanishing customs of savage tribes?

At the time of which I write many domestic industries were more or less specialized. Farmers' sons often went away to learn trades. Broom making was the evening occupation of one member of the family I knew, and I saw the process of planting, breaking, tabling, hatchelling, for the seed was worth about the price of oats; bleaching with brimstone in a big bin down cellar, etc. Tying was the most interesting process. It included arranging the hurls, braiding down the stalks on the handle with wire, pressing in the great vise, and sewing with a six-inch needle, thimble through by leather palms. I was allowed to sandpaper the handles, and once in a time of stress, when a man was making forty plain Shaker brooms per day, even to put on the gold leaf.

The local tanner allowed us to run among his vats and see the hides salted, pickled, washed and limed, and, best of all, skived over the big beam. This tanner told me he believed his eighteen months in tanning ox hide and the six weeks required by modern chemical methods, represented about the relative durability of the two leathers. His trade has lasted on, despite such competition, because his townsmen have something the same idea. Within boy-range, too, was a cooper's shop, a gunsmith, a family who made baskets, a small carding mill, turning shops where wooden spoons, bowls, sieve rims, pen handles, plain broom handles, etc., were made, a general tinker and solderer, besides carpenters, blacksmiths, shoe and harness makers. Some farmers specialized, more or less, in sheep; others in young cattle, or pigs and horses. Some were always lucky with corn, others with rye or wheat, buckwheat, potatoes, grass, etc., to which they had mainly settled after much experiment, or to which the traditions of the farm or family inclined them. Thus, in fine, there were many grades of progress and versatility.

I have alluded to but few of the occupations of these people. Their commonest industries (in 1890)—planting, fertilizing, gathering each crop—have been revolutionized by machinery and artificial fertilization, within twenty-five years. These, and their religion and beliefs, and domestic social customs, methods of doing their small business, are all fast changing. The women are haggard and worn with their work, the men are sometimes shiftless, and children are very

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rare. The heart of these communities has left it, and only the shell remains. The quaint, eccentric characters that abound in these towns, types of which may be found faithfully depicted in Mary E. Wilkins' "A Humble Romance," to which Senator Hoar kindly called my attention, or, in Mary B. Claflin's "Brampton Sketches," kindly sent me by Col. Stoddard, or, in a few of the sketches in "Profitable Tales," by Eugene Field, are for the most part types of degeneration well recognized by alienists and characterized by Morel. These are quite different from the no less rustic characters in De Gaspe's "Old Canadians, or the Work of Du Pray's School." Did the earlier generations work too hard in digging stumps and stones, and laying the hundreds of miles of heavy stonewall and clearing the timber? Were the conditions of life too severe? Is our race not adapted to the new conditions of climate, soil, water, and, as Dr. Jarvis said, is it still a problem whether the Anglo-Saxon race can thrive in its new American home, or is this but an incident, an eddy in the great onward current of progress? I have no answer, but I know nothing more sad in our American life than the decay of these townlets.

Nowhere has the great middle class been so all-controlling, furnished so large a proportion of scientific and business leaders, been so respectable, so well combined industry with wealth, bred patriotism, conservatism and independence. The farm was a great laboratory, tending, perhaps, rather more to develop scientific than literary tastes, cultivating persistency, in which country boys excel, if at the expense of versatility. It is, says Prof. Brewer, the question with city parents what useful thing the children can do, while in the country, where they are in great demand on the farm, they are, in a sense, members of the firm. Evenings are not dangerous to morality, but are turned to good account, while during the rowdy or adolescent age the boy tendency to revert to savagery can find harmless vent in hunting, trapping and other ways less injurious to morals than the customs of city life.

Some such training the heroes of '76 had; the independent conditions of communities like this was just the reverse of that of the South at the outbreak of the Rebellion; such a people cannot be conquered, for war and blockade would only drive them back to more primitive conditions, and restore the old independence of foreign and even domestic markets. Again, should we ever have occasion to educate colonists, as England is now attempting, we could not do so better than by reviving conditions of life like these.

The Old Worcester County Gardens

BY JOHN NELSON, WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS



ARDENS and the flowers which grow in them have a place in history that is far from trivial. They offer an index of the character and tastes and sentimentalities of a people. Civilized folk love their flowers, and each race has a garden flora all its own, overlapping, of course, but in its entirety strictly national. The simple, even pitiful little flower beds of the early settlers, and the lovely colorful and fragrant gardens which evolved from them, were naturally a transplanting from Old England. The thoughts of homesick English women, and, we may not doubt, homesick English men who sternly concealed their yearnings, turned to the gardens of the homes they had abandoned, where, perhaps, generations of their kinfolk had loved and tended the flowers. So the immigrants, in the midst of the struggle to make homes for their families and themselves, were quick to plant the seeds and roots of their old garden intimates. No one can gainsay that the Colonial gardens played their own little part in the creation of these United States of America.

Alice Morse Earle, whose youth was passed in her native city of Worcester, gave much of her lifetime to research into the manner of living of the early American generations, and the writing of books which constitute one of the most important contributions that have been made to the literature of the subject. In her volume "Home Life in Colonial Days," published in 1898, is a chapter entitled "Old-Fashioned Flower Gardens," which is delightfully descriptive as well as filled with detailed information of the gardens of our long-gone grandmothers. We are reprinting, with permission, large portions of the chapter, with the thought that it is distinctly a bit of Worcester County history, as follows:

Adjoining the street through which I always, in my childhood, walked slowly each Sunday, on my way to and from church, was a spot to detain lingering footsteps—a beautiful garden laid out and tenanted like the gardens of colonial days, and serene with the atmosphere of a worthy old age; a garden which had been tended for over half a century by a withered old man and his wife, whose golden

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wedding was spent in the house they had built, and in the garden they had planted when they were bride and groom. His back was permanently bowed with constant weeding and pruning and planting and hoeing, and his hands and face were brown as the soil he cultivated. The "hot-glowing" crimson peonies, seedlings which the wife had sown in her youth, had become great shrubs, fifteen or twenty feet in circumference. The flowering shrubs were trees. Vigorous borders of box crowded across the paths and towered on either side, till one could scarcely walk through them. There were beautiful fairy groves of fox-gloves "gloriously freckled, purple, and white," and tall Canterbury bells; and at stiffly regular intervals were set flowering almonds, St. Peter's wreath, Persian lilacs, "Moses in the burning bush," which shrub was rare in our town, and "laburnums rich in streaming gold, syringas ivory pure." At the lower ends of the flower borders were rows of "honey-blob" gooseberries, and aged currant bushes, gray with years, overhung by a few patriarchal quince and crab-apple trees, in whose low-spreading gnarled branches I spent many a summer afternoon, a happy visitor, though my own home garden was just as beautiful, old-fashioned, and flower-filled.

The varying grades of city streets had gradually risen around the garden until it lay depressed several feet below the level of the adjoining streets, a pleasant valley—like Avalon—

Deep-meadowed, happy, fair, with orchard lawns,
And bowery hollows crown'd with summer seas.

A flight of stone steps led down to it—steps very steep, narrow, and slippery with green moss, and ladies'-delights that crowded and blossomed in every crack and crevice of the stones. On each side arose terraces to the street, and in the spring these terraces flushed a mass of vivid, glowing rose-color from blooming moss-pink, forming such a glory that pious church-going folk from the other end of the town did not think it wicked to walk thither, on a Sunday morn in May, to look at the rosy banks that sloped to the valleyed garden, as they had walked there in February or March to see

Winter, slumbering in the open air,
Wear on his smiling face a dream of spring,

in the shape of the first crocuses and snowdrops that opened beside a snowdrift still lingering on a shaded bank; and to watch the first

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benumbed honey-bees who greeted every flower that bloomed in that cherished spot, and who buzzed in bleak March winds over the purple crocus and "blue flushing" grape-hyacinth as cheerfully as though they were sipping the scarlet poppies in sunny August.

The garden edges and the street were overhung by graceful larches and by thorny honey-locust trees that bore on their trunks great clusters of powerful spines and sheltered in their branches an exceedingly unpleasant species of fat, fuzzy caterpillars, which always chose Sunday to drop on my garments as I walked to church, and to go with me to meeting, and in the middle of the long prayer to parade on my neck, to my startled disgust and agitated whisking away, and consequent reproof for being noisy in meeting.

What fragrances arose from that old garden, and were wafted out to passers-by! The ever-present, pungent, dry aroma of box was overcome or tempered, through the summer months, by a succession of delicate flower-scents that hung over the garden-vale like an imperceptible mist; perhaps the most perfect and clear among memory's retrospective treasures was that of the pale fringed "snow-pink," and later, "sweet william with its homely cottage smell." Phlox and ten-weeks stock were there, as everywhere, the last sweet-scented flowers of autumn.

At no time was this old garden sweeter than in the twilight, the eventide, when all the great clumps of snowy phlox, night-rockets, and luminous evening primrose, and all the tangles of pale yellow and white honeysuckle shone irradiated; when,

In puffs of balm the night air blows
The burden which the day foregoes,

and scents far richer than any of the day—the "spiced air of night"—floated out in the dusky gloaming.

Though the old garden had many fragrant leaves and flowers, their delicate perfume was sometimes fairly deadened by an almost mephitic aroma that came from an ancient blossom, a favorite in Shakespeare's day—the jewelled bell of the noxious crown-imperial. This stately flower, with its rich color and pearly drops, has through its evil scent been firmly banished from our garden borders.

One of the most cheerful flowers of this and of my mother's garden was the happy-faced little pansy that under various fanciful folk-

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names has ever been loved. Like Montgomery's daisy, it "blossomed everywhere." Its Italian name means "idle thoughts"; the German, "little stepmother." Spenser called it "pawnee." Shakespeare said maidens called it "love-in-idleness," and Drayton named it "heartsease." Dr. Prior gives these names—"Herb Trinity, Three Faces under a Hood, Fancy Flamy, Kiss Me, Pull Me, Cuddle Me unto You, Tickle my Fancy, Kiss Me ere I Rise, Jump Up and Kiss Me, Kiss Me at the Garden Gate, Pink of my Joan." To these let me add the New England folk-names—bird's-eye, garden gate, johnny-jump-up, kit-run-about, none-so-pretty, and ladies'-delight. All these testify to the affectionate and intimate friendship felt for this laughing and fairly speaking little garden face, not the least of whose endearing qualities was that, after a half-warm, snow-melting week in January or February, this brightsome little "delight" often opened a tiny blossom to greet and cheer us—a true "jump-up-and-kiss me," and proved by its blooming the truth of the graceful Chinese verse—

Ere man is aware
That the spring is here
The plants have found it out.

Another dearly loved spring flower was the daffodil, the favorite also of old English dramatists and poets, and of modern authors as well, when we find that Keats names a daffodil as the thing of beauty that is a joy forever. Perhaps the happiest and most poetic picture of daffodils is that of Dora Wordsworth, when she speaks of them as "gay and glancing, and laughing with the wind." Perdita, in "The Winter's Tale," thus describes them in her ever-quoted list: "Daffodils that come before the swallow dares and take the winds of March with beauty." Most cheerful and sunny of all our spring flowers, they have never lost their old-time popularity, and they still laugh at our bleak March winds.

Bouncing-bet and her comely hearty cousins of the pink family made delightful many a corner of our home garden. The pinks were Jove's own flowers, and the carthusian pink, china pink, clove pink, snow pink, plumed pink, mullein pink, sweet william, maltese cross, ragged robin, catch-fly, and campion, all made gay and sweet the summer. The clove pink was the ancestor of all the carnations.

The richest autumnal glory came from the cheerful marigold, the "golde" of Chaucer, and "marybud" of Shakespeare. This flower,



OLD POTTER HOUSE

Built in the Revolutionary period by John Potter, famous character of Brookfield and Captain in Washington's army. Man of many trades, he built this house with his own hands, even to the nails, latches and hinges. The mansion stood in North Brookfield until a few years ago when it became a dominant unit of Storowton, the old-time Yankee village on the grounds of the Eastern States Exposition, Springfield.

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beloved of all the old writers, as deeply suggestive and emblematic, has been coldly neglected by modern poets, as for a while it was banished from modern town gardens; but it may regain its popularity in verse as it has in cultivation. In the farm gardens it has always flourished, and every autumn has "gone to bed with the sun and with him risen weeping," and has given forth in the autumn air its acrid odor, which to me is not disagreeable, though my old herbal calls it "a very naughty smell."

A favorite shrub in our garden, as in every country dooryard, was southernwood, or lad's-love. A sprig of it was carried to meeting each summer Sunday by many old ladies, and with its finely dissected, bluish-green foliage, and clean pungent scent, it was pleasant to see in the meetinghouse, and pleasant to sniff at. The "virtues of flowers" took a prominent place in the descriptions in old-time botanies. The southernwood had strong medicinal qualities, and was used to cure "vanities of the head."

"Take a quantity of Suthernwood and put it upon kindled coales to burn and being made into powder mix it with the oyle of radishes and anoynt a balde place and you shall see great experiences."

It was of power as a love charm. If you placed a sprig in each shoe and wore it through the day when you were in love, you would then also in some way "see great experiences."

In the tender glamour of happy association, all flowers in the old garden seem to have been loved save the garish petunias, whose sickish odor grew more offensive and more powerful at nightfall and made me long to tear them away from their dainty garden-fellows, and the portulaca with its fleshy, worm-like stems and leaves, and its aggressively pushing habits, "never would be missed." Perhaps its close relation to the "pusley," most hated of weeds, makes us eye it askance.

There was one attribute of the old-time garden, one part of nature's economy, which added much to its charm—it was the crowding abundance, the over-fulness of leaf, bud, and blossom. Nature there displayed no bare expanses of naked soil, as in some too-carefully-kept modern parterres; the dull earth was covered with a tangle of ready-growing, self-sowing, lowly flowers, that filled every space left unoccupied by statelier garden favorites, and crowded every corner with cheerful, though unostentatious, bloom. And the close juxtaposition, and even intermingling, of flowers with herbs, vege-

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tables, and fruits gave a sense of homely simplicity and usefulness, as well as of beauty. The soft, purple eyes of the mourning-bride were no less lovely to us in "our garden" because they opened under the shade of currant and gooseberry bushes; and the sweet alyssum and candytuft were no less honey-sweet. The delicate, pinky-purple hues of the sweat peas were not dimmed by their vivid neighbors at the end of the row of poles—the scarlet runners. The adlumia, or mountain fringe, was a special vine of our own and known by a special name—virgin's bower. With its delicate leaves, almost as beautiful as a maidenhair fern, and its dainty pink flower, it festooned the ripening corn as wantonly and luxuriantly as it encircled the snowball and lilac bushes.

Though "colored herbs" were cultivated in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as carefully as were flowers—striped hollies, variegated myrtles, and bays being the gardener's pride—yet in our old American gardens few plants were grown for their variegated or odd-colored foliage. The familiar and ever-present ribbon-grass, also called striped grass, canary grass, and gardener's garters—whose pretty expanded panicles formed an almost tropical effect at the base of the garden hedge; the variegated wandering jew, the striped leaves of some varieties of day-lilies; the dusty-miller, with its "frosty pow" (which was properly a house plant), fill the short list. The box was the sole evergreen.

Our mothers and grandmothers came honestly by their love of gardens. They inherited this affection from their Puritan, Quaker, or Dutch forebears, perhaps from the days when the famous hanging gardens of Babylon were made for a woman. Bacon says: "A garden is the purest of human pleasures, it is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man." A garden was certainly the greatest refreshment to the spirits of a woman in the early colonial days, and the purest of her pleasures—too often her only pleasure.

Quickly, in tender memory of her fair English home, the homesick good-wife, trying to create a semblance of the birthplace she still loved, planted the seeds and roots of homely English flowers and herbs that grew and blossomed under bleak New England skies, and on rocky New England shores, as sturdily and cheerfully as they had sprung up and bloomed by the green hedgerows and door-sides in the home beyond the sea.

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In the year 1638, and again in 1663, an English gentleman named John Josselyn came to New England. He published, in 1672, an account of these two visits. He was a man of polite reading and culture, and as was the high fashion for gentlemen of his day, has a taste for gardening and botany. He made interesting lists of plants which he noted in America, under these heads:

1. Such plants as are common with us in England.
2. Such plants as are proper to the country.
3. Such plants as are proper to the country and have no names.
4. Such plants as have sprung up since the English planted and kept cattle in New England.
5. Such Garden-Herbs among us as do thrive there and of such as do not.

This last division is the one that specially interests us, since it is the earliest and the fullest account of the gardens of our forefathers, after they had tamed the rugged shores of the New World, and made them obey the rule of English husbandry. They had "good store of garden vegetables and herbs; lettuce, sorrel, parsley, mallows, chevril, burnet, summer savory, winter savory, thyme, sage, carrots, parsnips, beets, radishes, purslain, beans"; "cabbage growing exceeding well; pease of all sorts and the best in the world; sparagus thrives exceedingly, musk mellons, cucumbers, and pompions." For grains there were wheat, rye, barley, and oats. There were other garden herbs and garden flowers; spearmint, pennyroyal, ground-ivy, corander, dill, tansy; "feverfew prospereth exceedingly; white sattin groweth pretty well, and so doth lavender-cotton; gilly flowers will continue two years; horseleek prospereth notably; hollyhocks; comferie with white flowers; clary lasts but one summer; sweetbryer or eglantine; celandine but slowly; bloodwort but sorrily, but patience and English roses very pleasantly."

Patience and English roses very pleasantly in truth must have shown their fair English faces to English women in the strange land. Dearly loved had these brier-roses or dog-roses been in England, where, says the old herbalist, Gerard, "children with delight made chains and pretty gegawes of the fruit; and cookes and gentlewomen make tarts and suchlike dishes for pleasure thereof." Hollyhocks, feverfew, and gillyflowers must have made a sunshine in the shady places in the new home. Many of these garden herbs are now common weeds or roadside blossoms. Celandine, even a century ago, was "common

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by fences and among rubbish." Tansy and elecampane grow everywhere. Sweetbrier is at home in New England pastures and roadsides. Spearmint edges our brooks. Ground-ivy is a naturalized citizen. It is easy to note that the flowers and herbs beloved in gardens and medicinal waters and kitchens "at home" were the ones transplanted here. "Clary-water" was a favorite tonic of Englishmen of that day.

The list of "such plants as have sprung up since the English planted" should be of interest to every one who has any sense of the sentiment of association, or interest in laws of succession. The Spanish proverb says:

More in the garden grows
Than the gardener sows.

The plantain has a history full of romance; its old Northern names—*Wegetritt* in German, *Weegbree* in Dutch, *Viebred* in Danish, and *Weybred* in Old English, all indicating its presence in the much-trodden paths of man—were not lost in its new home, nor were its characteristics overlooked by the nature-noting and plant-knowing red man. It was called by the Indian "the Englishman's foot," says Josselyn, and by Kalm also, a later traveller in 1740; "for they say where an Englishman trod, there grew a plantain in each footstep." Not less closely did such old garden weeds as motherwort, groundsel, chickweed, and wild mustard cling to the white man. They are old colonists, brought over by the first settlers, and still thrive and triumph in every kitchen garden and backyard in the land. Mullein and nettle, henbane and wormwood, all are English emigrants.

A trade in flower and vegetable seeds formed a lucrative and popular means by which women could earn a livelihood in colonial days. I have seen in one of the dingy little newspaper sheets of those days, in the large total of nine advertisements contained therein, the announcements, by five Boston seedswomen, of lists of their wares.

The earliest list of names of flower-seeds which I have chanced to note was in the "Boston Evening Post" of March, 1760, and is of much interest as showing to us with exactness the flowers beloved and sought for at that time. They were "hollyhook, purple Stock, white Lewpins, Africans, blew Lewpins, candy-tuff, cyanus, pink, wall-flower, double larkin-spur, venus navelwort, brompton flock, princess feather, balsam, sweet-scented pease, carnation, sweet williams, annual stock, sweet feabus, yellow lewpins, sunflower, convolus minor, catch-fly, ten

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week stock, globe thistle, globe amaranthus, nigella, love-lies-bleeding, casent hamen, polianthus, canterbury bells, carnation poppy, india pink, convolus major, Queen Margrets." This is certainly a very pretty list of flowers, nearly all of which are still loved, though sometimes under other names—thus the Queen Margrets are our asters. And the homely old English names seem to bring the flowers to our very sight, for we do not seem to be on very friendly intimacy, on very sociable terms with flowers, unless they have what Miss Mitford calls "decent, well-wearing English names"; we can have no flower memories, no affections that cling to botanical nomenclature. Yet nothing is more fatal to an exact flower knowledge, to an acquaintance that shall ever be more than local, than a too confident dependence on the folk-names of flowers. Our bachelor's-buttons are ragged sailors in a neighboring State; they are corn-pinks in Plymouth, are ragged ladies in another town, blue bottles in England, but cyanus everywhere. Ragged robin is, in the garden of one friend, a pink, in another it flaunts as London-pride, while the true glowing London-pride has half a dozen pseudonyms in as many different localities, and only really recognizes itself in the botany. An American cowslip is not an English cowslip, an American primrose is no English primrose, and the English daisy is no country friend of ours in America.

What cheerful and appropriate furnishings the old-time gardens had; benches full of straw beeskepess and wooden beehives, those homelike and busy dwelling-places; frequently, also, a well-filled dove-cote. Sometimes was seen a sun-dial—once the every-day friend and suggestive monitor of all who wandered among the flowers of an hour; now known, alas! only to the antiquary. Sentiment and even spirituality seem suggested by the sun-dial, yet few remain to cast their instructive shadow before our sight.

One stood for years in the old box-bordered garden at Homogansett Farm, at Wickford, in old Narragansett. Governor Endicott's dial is in the Essex Institute, at Salem; and my forebear, Jacob Fairbanks, had one dated 1650, which is now in the rooms of the Dedham Historical Society. Dr. Bowditch, of Boston, had a sun-dial which was thus inscribed:

With warning hand I mark Times rapid flight
From life's glad morning to its solemn night.
And like God's love I also show
Theres light above me, by the shade below.

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Another garden dial thus gives, "in long, lean letters," its warning word:

You'll mend your Ways To-morrow
When blooms that budded Flour?
Mortall! Lern to your Sorrow
Death may creep with his Arrow
And pierce you'r vitall Marrow
Long ere my warning Shadow
Can mark that Hour.

These dials are all of heavy metal, usually lead; sometimes with gnomon of brass. But I have heard of one which was unique; it was cut in box.

At the edge of the farm garden often stood the well-sweep, one of the most picturesque adjuncts of the country dooryard. Its successor, the roofed well with bucket, stone, and chain, and even the homely long-handled pump, had a certain appropriateness as part of the garden furnishings.

So many thoughts crowd upon us in regard to the old garden; one is the age of its flowers. We have no older inhabitants than these garden plants; they are old settlers. Clumps of flower-de-luce, double buttercups, peonies, yellow day-lilies, are certainly seventy-five years old. Many lilac bushes a century old still bloom in New England, and syringas and flowering currants are as old as the elms and locusts that shade them.

Another pathetic trait of many of the old-time flowers should not be overlooked—their persistent clinging to life after they had been exiled from the trim garden borders where they first saw the chill sun of a New England spring. You see them growing and blooming outside the garden fence, against old stone walls, where their up-torn roots have been thrown to make places for new and more popular favorites. You find them cheerfully spreading, pushing along the foot-paths, turning into vagrants, becoming flaunting weeds. You see them climbing here and there, trying to hide the deserted chimneys of their early homes, or wandering over and hiding the untrodden foot-paths of other days. A vivid imagination can shape many a story of their life in the interval between their first careful planting in colonial gardens and their neglected exile to highways and byways, where the poor bits of depauperated earth can grow no more lucrative harvest.

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The sites of colonial houses which are now destroyed, the trend, almost the exact line of old roads, can be traced by the cheerful faces of these garden-strays. The situation of old Fort Nassau, in Pennsylvania, so long a matter of uncertainty, is said to have been definitely determined by the familiar garden flowers found growing on one of these disputed sites. It is a tender thought that this indelible mark is left upon the face of our native land through the affection of our forebears for their gardens.

The botany tells us that bouncing-bet has "escaped from cultivation"—she has been thrust out, but unresentfully lives and smiles; opening her tender pinky-opalescent flowers adown the dusty roadsides, and even on barren gravel-beds in railroad cuts. Butter-and-eggs, tansy, chamomile, spiked loose-strife, velvet-leaf, bladder-campion, cypress spurge, live-for-ever, star of Bethlehem, money-vine—all have seen better days, but now are flower-tramps. Even the larkspur, beloved of children, the moss-pink, and the grape-hyacinth may sometimes be seen growing in country fields and byways. The homely and cheerful blossoms of the orange-tawny ephemeral lily, and the spotted tiger-lily, whose gaudy colors glow with the warmth of far Cathay—their early home—now make gay many of our roadsides and crowd upon the sweet cinnamon roses of our grandmothers, which also are undaunted garden exiles.

Driving once along a country road, I saw on the edge of a field an expanse of yellow bloom which seemed to be an unfamiliar field-tint. It proved to be a vast bed of coreopsis, self-sown from year to year; and the blackened outlines of an old cellar wall in its midst showed that in that field once stood a home, once there a garden smiled.

I am always sure when I see bouncing-bet, butter-and-eggs, and tawny lilies growing in a tangle together that in their midst may be found an untrodden door-stone, a fallen chimney, or a filled-in-well.

Chickory or blue wood was, it is said, brought from England by Governor Bowdoin as food for his sheep. It has spread till its extended presence has been a startling surprise to all English visiting botanists. It hurts no one's fields, for it invades chiefly waste and neglected land—the "dear common flower"—and it has redeemed many a city suburb of vacant lots, many a railroad ash heap from the abomination of desolation.

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Whiteweed or ox-eye daisy, a far greater pest than gorse or chickory, has been carried intentionally to many a township by homesick settlers whose descendants today rue the sentiment of their ancestors.

While the vallied garden of our old neighbors was sweet with blossoms, my mother's garden bore a still fresher fragrance—that of green growing things; of "Posies," lemon-balm, rose geranium, mint, and sage. I always associate with it in spring the scent of the strawberry bush, or calycanthus, and in summer of the fraxinella, which, with its tall stem of larkspur-like flowers, its still more graceful seed-vessels and its shining ash-like leaves, grew there in rich profusion and gave forth from leaf, stem, blossom, and seed a pure, a memory-sweet perfume half like lavender, half like anise.





LIVE OAK WITH MOSS; MIDDLETON PLACE, IN DORCHESTER COUNTY, JUST ABOVE
CHARLESTON-DORCHESTER LINE

Early South Carolina History

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SPANISH SETTLEMENTS AND EXPLORATIONS, 1521-61



OUTH CAROLINA has been an outpost, first of Spain, then of France, then of England, in their fateful contest for empire. The first Europeans to set foot upon her soil were Spaniards. Aside from the Papal bull assigning this part of the New World to Spain, she thus possessed a claim to the territory of South Carolina prior to that of any other power, barring alone the vague extension southward of English rights based upon Cabot's discoveries on the Canadian coast. Spain's claim rested on the actual exploration and settlement of the Carolina coast, followed by deeply penetrating explorations of the interior.

Ayllon's Settlement—Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, of Toledo, was, in education, intelligence, and character one of the better type of officials who had come to seek wealth and fame in San Domingo, or as they called it, Hispaniola. Coming over in 1502 with Ovando, he held various offices, and in 1520 was one of the higher judges of the island. Late in that year, having associated with himself in the venture another official, he dispatched a ship to explore the Atlantic Coast of North America. There is a reasonable possibility that the Pompey Stone in Pompey Township, Oneida County, New York, inscribed "Leo De Lon, VI, 1520," may have been inscribed by his men; but no account of the northern portion of the voyage survives.¹ On its return voyage, Ayllon's ship met among the Bahamas a vessel that had been sent out from San Domingo by another judge, but on a less creditable mission—the capture of Indians as slaves to supplement the waning supply in San Domingo, half of whose population

1. Lowery: I, 169-70. For the account of Ayllon's activities I rely mainly on Woodbury Lowery's "Spanish Settlements in the United States," which contains much material from the Spanish archives and from early Spanish historians on the Spanish in South Carolina. Dr. John G. Shea made a valuable contribution of the same kind in his article in Volume II of Windsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," not the least of which was the reproduction of a number of 16th and 17th century maps.

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had perished in a few years under Spain's inhuman treatment. Ayllon, though a wealthy owner of hundreds of San Domingan natives, had charged his captain, Gordillo, against enslaving the people of any coasts that he might discover; but the result of a conference with Quexos, the captain of the other vessel, was that the two set sail for the mainland with this very purpose. After eight or nine days' slow sailing, on the 24th of June, 1521, they came upon the coast at latitude 33 degrees 30 minutes, at the mouth of a considerable river, to which, it being St. John Baptist's Day, they gave his name.

In attempting to locate the points touched by the early explorers of these shores I consider their statements of latitude as more important than their descriptions of coast lines or the size of rivers, many of which are much alike. Mariners could only guess at their longitude by dead reckoning before the invention of the chronometer in 1735, and so we are deprived of that means of locating the places to which they referred. The sextant was not invented until 1731; but comparison of the latitude of various points as given in books on navigation with the correct figures shows that with the cross staff or the astrolabe under favorable conditions the latitude could be ascertained within a fraction of a degree; but we must admit that errors of perhaps a degree could easily occur. Yet after all allowances for the imperfection of instruments, it is evident that the early visitors to Carolina knew their latitude with a fair approximation to accuracy, as they were able after intervals of years to return to the same points on these flat, monotonous, unmarked coasts.

The mouth of Winyaw Bay, narrowing down as it does to the size of a bold river, through which the united waters of the Peedee, the Black, and the Waccamaw enter the sea, seems to be the River Saint John Baptist. It lies only seventeen and a half minutes south of 33 degrees 30 minutes, the latitude which Quexos gives, and moreover reference to crossing the bay adds to the probability of this being the entrance into which the explorers sailed.

The natives, who called the region Chicora, fled in terror at the sight of the ships; but the Spaniards overtook a man and a woman and brought them on board. Treating them with flattering kindness, and clothing their nakedness with European dress, they sent them ashore. The two captains took formal possession of the country in the name of their King and of their respective employers, and on Sun-

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day, June 30, says the account, cut upon trees crosses as the visible symbols of Spanish sovereignty. They explored inland to some extent and were treated by the natives with unstinted hospitality. This friendliness was made by the Spaniards the means of accomplishing the hostile purpose for which they had come. Crowding their ships with Indians under the pretext of an entertainment, they suddenly put to sea with a hundred and fifty of their guests as slaves. One of the little vessels sank before reaching San Domingo, and numbers of the enslaved Indians who were delivered by the other starved themselves to death.

Ayllon condemned his captain. A commission presided over by the Governor, Columbus's son Diego, turned the captives over to Ayllon and his fellow-judge of the other ship to be returned to their homes, a duty which Peter Martyr's informant doubtless correctly reports was never performed. Ayllon now hurried to Spain, accompanied by a converted Indian from among the captives. We cannot pause over the potpourri of truth and lies with which this first Christianized South Carolinian to visit Europe astonished the Spaniards. Ayllon gained the gracious permission to explore and settle at his own expense and to rule over as his Majesty's Adelantado a territory extending apparently from northern South Carolina to the James.²

In 1525 Ayllon sent two caravels to explore the coast for 250 leagues, to take possession in the King's name, and to bring back an Indian or two from each coast to be trained as interpreters. After delays caused by official duties, lawsuits by the judge who had sent out the other ship of 1521, who did not relish being shared out when empires were being handed around, and heartbreaking delays of his supplies, Ayllon, in the middle of July, 1526, finally got away from San Domingo with six ships and a tender, carrying eighty-nine horses, and men and women to the number of five hundred, including a number of negro slaves. Among the three Dominican friars carried for converting the natives was Antonio Montesino, who had met scorn and mistreatment as the first man to preach against the enslavement of the natives of San Domingo.

Ayllon himself now saw the mainland for the first time. The fleet entered a river said to be at 33 degrees 40 minutes, which Ayllon named the Jordan. Having lost one vessel with its provisions while

2. Lowery: I, 146, 155, n.; Windsor: II, 285.

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entering the river, though saving the crew, he replaced it and built in addition a small vessel suitable for shallow navigation, thus, as Dr. Shea remarks, becoming the first shipbuilder in the bounds of the United States.

It seems to me almost certain that the Jordan was the Cape Fear. Admitting the inaccuracy of observation by cross staff or astrolabe before the days of the sextant, it still remains true that statements of latitude are better guides than general descriptions of rivers in a flat, monotonous coast. Ribaut's Spanish pilot, *e. g.*, in 1562, put the latitude of his Port Royal column at 32 degrees 15 minutes (almost exactly correct), and his French pilot at 32 degrees, an inaccuracy on the part of either apparently of less than half a degree.³ The Jordan was said to be in latitude 33 degrees 40 minutes. At 33 degrees 57 minutes a ship is entering the narrow channel of the Cape Fear, on the shoals bounding which more experienced pilots than Ayllon's have lost vessels. Oviedo, a contemporary of Ayllon, writing a few years later from the testimony of three leaders in the expedition—the priest Montesino, the pilot Quexos, and Lieutenant Gomez—say that “they decided to go to colonize the coast on toward the west coast.”⁴ The coast from the Cape Fear runs almost due west for thirty miles, after which it curves southwest. This agrees with the further statement that they moved westwardly and south.⁵

The Cape Romain of the Spaniards, Swanton holds, was not the inconspicuous Cape Romain of today, but the long point jutting far into the sea, just as is represented on some early maps, which is now called Cape Fear. The Jordan is drawn exactly in the position of the Cape Fear River, with “Cape Romain” forming its eastern lip, and turning back into the “*tiera firma*” in exactly the direction of the Cape Fear, and not in the direction of any of the rivers to the southwest with which by some it is identified.⁶ During the next ninety years cape and river were repeatedly visited by the Spaniards, who used them as main points in describing their voyages along the coast. The narrative of the voyage of Ecija, for instance, “pilot major” of Florida, in 1609, also not only shows how familiar the Spaniards were with the coast and the names which they had implanted, but seems clearly to

3. Lowery: II, 47.

4. *A poblar la costa adelante hácia la costa occidental*. . . . Lowery: I, 449.

5. Lowery: I, 166, quoting Oviedo, III, 627, etc.

6. See LeMoynes Map (1591), Lowery, II, 28; Wytfliet's Map (1597), Windsor, II, 281.



ST. JAMES, GOOSE CREEK, EPISCOPAL CHURCH, BERKELEY COUNTY

Oldest Church Building in South Carolina. "Our Old Building that Served Hitherto for a Church is Quite Open and Ruined. But Our New Church" (Which Had Been Long Building, Due to Lack of Funds) "Is To Be Finished by Voluntary Contributions Within a Few Months."—Dr. Francis Le Jau, in Society for Propagation of the Gospel MSS., January 3, 1717. It Was "Completely Finished" by July 14, 1719.—Vestry Book, Quoted by Dalcho, 249.



ST. JAMES, GOOSE CREEK, EPISCOPAL CHURCH, INTERIOR

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indicate that the Jordan was the Cape Fear. June 22, 1609, he sailed from St. Augustine to observe the English intruders at Jamestown. July 8 he entered the Jordan, which was located on his chart at 33 degrees 30 minutes. Returning from Jamestown, he was on August 21 again in the Jordan. Measuring the distance on his map, he found that from the Jordan to Jamestown in a straight line was a little over fifty leagues, and from the Jordan to St. Augustine was one hundred leagues. This is strong evidence of the Jordan's being the Cape Fear; for the distance in legal Spanish leagues from its mouth to Jamestown is almost exactly equal to the actual 210 English statute miles; and the one hundred Spanish leagues he gives as the distance from the Jordan to St. Augustine is almost the exact distance from Cape Fear to St. Augustine. The proportions of the three points hold, irrespective of whether the league used was the official or the shorter one of some province.⁷

Scouting parties sent inland and along the coast convinced Ayllon that the marshy region of the Jordan was inferior to a location to the southwest. And so, after a few days at the Jordan, he sent the sick and the women and children by water and the strong men by land "to a great river (forty or forty-five leagues from there, a little more or less), which is called Gualdape, and there they pitched their camp."⁸ The latitude they calculated as 33 degrees. Here rose Ayllon's San Miguel, Saint Michael of Gualdape, the earliest European settlement in South Carolina, and the earliest settlement of Europeans north of Mexico, antedating by a year and a half that of Panfilo de Narvaez, which existed for a few months at or near the later Pensacola, Florida. Peer as we may across the four intervening centuries, we cannot distinguish the spot. So fleeting was the life of this outpost empire that we have no trace of it on any map. The statement of the distance southwest of the Jordan and of the latitude are irreconcilable. Based on the distance, San Miguel might have been on any river between

7. See the various maps reproduced in Winsor's "Critical and Narrative History," II, 281, 285, 292, 294, and Lowery's "Spanish Settlements in the United States," Florida, 1562-74, pp. 28 and 34, and text, pp. 449-51, 374-75 and 449-51, reproducing passages from contemporary Spanish narratives; also I, preface, VIII, and II, 247, 439, on league measure. In addition to grossly confusing the position of the Jordan, it is probable that the later English navigators misunderstood other points on the maps of their Spanish fore-runners. It is a tribute to the acumen of Prof. Rivers that though without the Spanish documents now available, he refused to accept the then practically universal view that the Combahee was the Jordan.

8. Lowery, I, 166, 449, quoting Oviedo.

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Charleston Harbor and the Saint Helena Sound of today. It could not have been on Port Royal Sound, for Oviedo differentiates them, saying that "the land of Gualdape and also that adjoining the River of Saint Helena (*i. e.*, Port Royal Sound) below to the west is all level land."⁹ Taking the latitude, it might be on either Charleston Harbor or the mouth of the Santee or of Winyaw Bay. The probabilities are strongly in favor of Winyaw Bay. It is hardly reasonable to suppose that a large company of men, with ample shipping facilities available, would be sent to march for a hundred and fifty miles through wild country across such a formidable barrier of rivers as the Waccamaw, the Peedee and the Santee, bounded by almost impassable swamps, barriers whose existence had been ascertained by scouting. Their march of ninety miles down to the northern shore of the Winyaw Bay would be along a smooth, hard beach broken only by a few small streams.¹⁰

The settlement was probably made about the middle of August. In the intense heat and privation, despite the labor of the negro slaves, the colonists died under the assaults of fever and starvation, so that many became too weak even to catch fish with which the river teemed. Ayllon himself died on October 18. Mutiny against his successor, which ended in the execution of one of the ringleaders, a fire set by some of the slaves who rebelled, and a general state of misery, discontent, and peril led to the decision in the midst of one of the terrible winters that visit these coasts once in twenty-five or thirty years to abandon the settlement. Only one hundred and fifty remained out of the five hundred who had left San Domingo a few months before. They had made scarcely any excursions into the interior, the Indians told De Soto thirteen years later on the Savannah when they gave him articles which they said had belonged to Christians who had been at a

9. Lowery, I, 449.

10. It is gratifying to me that Lowery comes to the same conclusion as I do regarding both the location of the Jordan and the location of Ayllon's settlement. The statement that Ayllon went south and west from the Jordan is made by Oviedo, who began his "Historia General" nine years after Ayllon's colonization, and obtained his information directly from the Friar Montesino, Lieutenant Gomez, and Pilot Quexos, all of whom he knew personally, all of whom were members of the expedition, and all of whom from character and intelligence were trustworthy witnesses. The statement of Eciija (if, as is very doubtful, he ever made it) that Ayllon sailed north from the Jordan, on which the statement of some historians is based that his settlement was at Jamestown, Virginia, was made eighty-three years after the event and was apparently unsupported then as it is unsupported now by one word of testimony or one mark on a map. Herrera, who says that Ayllon sailed northward from the Jordan, deserves no such credit, from any standpoint, as Oviedo. (Cf. Lowery, I, 447, 449, 451-52.)

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haven at a distance of two days' journey—an item which proves the settlement could not have been in Virginia. Eight of the depleted sufferers froze to death on the ships, and the tender carrying the body of their dead leader for burial in San Domingo sank in the ocean, as in grim tragedy sank this first attempt to colonize South Carolina.

Ayllon's fortune was gone. His impoverished widow and son secured an extension of his grant, but the son, who was striving vainly apparently as late as 1561 or 1562 to organize another expedition, died of melancholia.¹¹

De Soto and Villafañe—The next approach of Europeans was on the west. As De Soto, in 1540, was marching northward from the Gulf through Georgia, he captured four Indians, one of whom he ordered burned as a hint to the survivors that it would be well to answer any questions of the "Christians." He was told of a great province of Cofitachiqui, and toward the end of April, 1540, came upon the capital bearing the same name, situated probably upon Silver Bluff in Aiken County overlooking the Savannah thirteen miles in a direct line below Augusta, or, as some authorities think, at some point nearer the sea. The queen (for the ruler was a woman) came in her barge to meet him, clothed in all her Indian splendor and armed with such womanly tact and charm as to captivate even these gold-hardened Spaniards. She loaded them with presents, including a string of pearls that thrice encircled her neck and hung down to her waist, and even opened the graves for others when she saw how they valued them. She was rewarded for her hospitality by being forced to guide her guests northward to the supposed gold-bearing mountains. On the 3d of May, after a stay of only a few days, he pushed on apparently through what are now the South Carolina counties lying near the Savannah and entered North Carolina perhaps by the valley of the Keowee. Passing through this corner of the Cherokee country, he passed eastward near the headwaters of the Broad, where then lived apparently the westernmost portion of the Cheraws. Turning west, he passed through the mountains into northeastern Georgia on his long march to the Mississippi.¹²

For some years the exploitation of Mexico, the exploration of the Gulf coast, and a series of disastrous losses at sea so engaged the

11. Lowery, II, 50.

12. Mooney, in "Bureau of Ethnology," Nineteenth Annual Report, I, 193-95; Lowery, I, 228-31.

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energies of the Spaniards that the Atlantic coast was neglected. At last, in 1558, King Philip II ordered a great move of the strangely mingled forces of greed for gold and Catholic propaganda to be made upon the "Florida" coast at two points, one at Santa Elena on Port Royal Harbor, which they had been visiting since 1521-25, and the other at some other point not designated.¹³ After tribulations most bloody and failure heart-rending on the Gulf Coast in attempting to carry out these instructions, an expedition was at last got off from Vera Cruz for the Atlantic coast under Villafañe, who bore the title of Governor of Florida. Though deserted at Havana by a large part of his company, he pressed on, and the 27th of May, 1561, reached Port Royal Sound. Finding neither inhabitants nor a place that suited his fancy after ascending the river four or five leagues, he took possession of the country and sailed to the northwards. Rounding our Cape Romain south of the Santee, he entered a great river, and again went through the ceremony of taking possession. Proceeding still to the northeast, on the 8th of June he sailed some distance up the Jordan, that is, the Cape Fear. One vessel was sent on to the River of the Canoes, and even to Cape Trafalgar, the Spanish name that long clung to Hatteras, from which point the suffering fleet was driven to sail in distress for San Domingo, where they arrived on the 9th of July.¹⁴

The motives for the repeated efforts to settle the coast of Florida or South Carolina were the traditional hope of finding riches, and the fear that unless actual possession were established the aggressive French might snatch these regions. After the failure of Villafañe, Spanish officials in the New World and the King himself definitely concluded that there was at present no such danger. Within less than one year events were to prove how ill-grounded was this confidence.

HUGUENOTS AND SPANIARDS, 1562-68

Ayllon's short-lived colony was a move in Spain's war for empire. The second attempt to settle on the South Carolina coast, made a generation later by Huguenots the very year after the Spanish government had decided that there was no danger from France at the very point at which they landed, had its place in the political, religious,

13. Lowery, I, 355.

14. Shea in Windsor, II, 256-60; Lowery, I, 255, 257, 273-75.



LAKE LANIER AND TRYON, VIEW FROM CLARK'S MOUNTAIN, SPARTANBURG COUNTY
(The Lake is Just South of the State Line)

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and economic rivalry that for a hundred years kept France and Spain at each other's throats. This brief act was played out with a swift and bloody tragedy appalling even for that age of violence.

The struggle between France and Spain for supremacy in Europe had been long and desperate. Although by the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis in 1559 they had made peace, a feature of which was a promise to root out heresy, there were many in France to whom this pledge was hateful, and many, both Catholic and Protestant, to whom Spain was still their country's foe. This hatred was naturally strongest among the Protestants. The bold seamen of Brittany and Normandy, among whom many of them were found, continued after the peace as before to serve God and line their own pockets by pillaging the Spanish merchantmen and treasure ships; for was not this wealth in the wrongful possession of the servants of Anti-Christ?

Ribaut at Parris Island—Of these French soldier-seamen was Jean Ribaut of the Norman port of Dieppe. Ribaut, born about 1515 or 1520, now in the prime of life, was a devout Huguenot, a seaman esteemed by Menendez the most skilled in his day, an experienced soldier, a leader of calm, determined courage, and as well a man of such intelligence and resource as to have won credit by the successful execution for the French government of a diplomatic mission to Scotland. He was a captain in the French navy as was also his son. Coligny, Admiral of France and leader of the Huguenots, who had already in 1555 sent an unsuccessful Protestant colony to Brazil, now chose Ribaut to lead a second expedition to found in the New World an asylum for his fellow-religionists and an outpost for France.

The notices of the expedition were a mixture of Protestant religious enthusiasm, French patriotism, and the ambition to gain wealth at the expense of Spain. It was easy for the intense patriots who led these daring explorations to consider their own titles the best; and when profound religious convictions caused them to consider other claimants the servants of Satan, to expel or destroy them ascended from a right to a sacred duty.

Although Ribaut's expedition planned in 1562 for "Florida," as Spain then called the whole southeastern part of what is now the United States, was composed almost entirely of Huguenots, it was even more distinctly French. Coligny some months before had called

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for a gathering of volunteers at Havre without discrimination as to religion. The national character of the enterprise was exemplified by the fact that the Catholic Queen Regent, Catharine de Medici, was deeply interested, she and the Duke of Vendome being reputed among Ribaut's men each to have contributed a thousand ducats. The Protestant Prince Condé and others of high standing were also known to be backers.

Spain had long been harassed by French and English freebooters' preying upon her rich commerce, and feared that France was planning the still more serious encroachment of a French colony in Florida. She it was who informed Portugal of the Huguenot colony sent out by Coligny in 1555 to Rio de Janeiro, and thus led to its destruction.¹⁵ Besides her dread of the French inspiring her slaves to insurrection, and her resentment of any trespass upon her territory, she regarded any foreign settlement near the route of her treasure fleet as a menace in peace and a peril in war. Philip's agents in France kept him informed with substantial accuracy of every suspicious move in a French port. Early in 1561 Chantone wrote that a Huguenot fleet was preparing to plunder the Indies, and that a convention of French and English sea captains were only awaiting the arrival of Coligny from his Easter retirement to plan further aggression.¹⁶ "The said six vessels go under the command of Jean Ribaut," the Spanish Ambassador wrote his master January 13, 1562, without serious inaccuracy. The Queen Regent and Coligny denied all knowledge of the affair. This is not surprising, for the enterprise was conceived in a spirit of hostility to Spain with the purpose on the part of the French government of preying upon Spain's commerce and seizing so much as possible of her American possessions in case of war. Rumor ran that the reaping of profits was not to await the formal declaration of war. In sending out Ribaut again three years later, Coligny instructed him, "Captaine John Ribaut, as I was enclosing up this letter, I received a certain advice, that Don Pedro Melendez (Menendez) departeth from Spain to goe to the coast of New France: see that you suffer him not to encroach upon you, no more than he would that you should encroach upon him."¹⁷ Without considering the testimony of one of Ribaut's men whom Menendez captured as to more

15. Lowery, II, 23.

16. Lowery, II, 26.

17. Lowery, II, 95.

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specific directions of a hostile nature, the semi-warlike character of Ribaut's enterprise, inspired by Coligny, manned almost exclusively by Huguenots, but assisted and endorsed by the Catholic court, was a move characteristic of the age in the desperate game of empire that France was playing against her hated enemy. Catherine de Medici, Coligny and Ribaut must all have known, despite their government's later protestations of merely exercising their rights in the *Isles des Bretons*, that they were seeking to establish a foothold in Spanish territory before Spain had welded it to her empire by actual settlement. The Huguenots were prepared to lay down their lives if necessary in this thrust against the enemy of their religion and their country; but their government was not prepared to take up the gauntlet if Philip should throw it down.

In his enumeration of former explorations in his brief published narrative Ribaut denies that Cabot had been able to take possession, emphasizes French voyages, makes no mention of those of Spain, and infers that Florida extends only a little way to the north.¹⁸ He knew of the previous Spanish explorations, as he searched for their river Jordan; but even if he had possessed every detail of the numerous Spanish expeditions from Ayllon's onwards, he would not have been deterred. The "Sathan" from whose clutches he wished to rescue souls was represented not by the heathen gods of the Indians alone, but also by the Catholicism of Spain, a power with whom a treaty of peace was regarded as hardly more than a truce. It was an age in which, under vague claims of sovereignty, the leading maritime nations, excited by religious devotion and visions of empire and treasure, followed toward natives and toward each other the policy of taking and holding what they could.

Philip protested to the French government and at once referred the matter to the Council of the Indies, but it was too late. Ribaut sailed from the Norman port of Dieppe on the 16th of February, 1562, and, avoiding the usual route by the Canaries and Azores, struck directly for Florida in order to evade the Spaniards. His two little three-masted ships of 117 and 60 tons¹⁹ and a sloop were served

18. Ribaut's report to Coligny, 55-58, in Jean Ribaut, No. 7 of Publications of Florida Historical Society, 1927.

19. Laudonnière, who was Ribaut's lieutenant on the voyage, says two. Lescharbot, writing in 1611, says there were also a large sloop and two smaller ones which were carried on the larger vessels.—Lowery, II, 30, n.

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by a Portuguese pilot, said by the Spanish Ambassador to be as well fitted as any man in the world to guide him to his destination, and apparently also by a Spanish pilot. There was one Englishman, and as most of the company of 150 men were Huguenots, there was a Calvinist preacher. Most of the men had been soldiers, half the entire company being arquebusiers.²⁰ Their conduct, as we shall see, was to supply an illustration of the fact that the name Huguenot had come to be a party name as well as the description of a devout adherent of the reformed religion.

On the 30th of April, Ribaut sighted the coast of Florida near the point at which St. Augustine, as the immediate result of these French encroachments, was founded three years later. The next day he entered the mouth of the St. John's River, which in honor of the day, he named the River of May. Having made friends with the natives and set up a stone column bearing the arms of France brought out from home for the purpose, he sailed for the north, giving names as he went to nine rivers or inlets, the only one of which that has stuck being that of the one at which he decided to plant his colony, Port Royal. So spacious was the haven that he considered that in it "without danger all the ships in the world might be harbored."

Sailing up what is now called Broad River, the southwestern and larger of the confluent of Port Royal Sound, Ribaut erected on Daws Island or Lemon Island a stone column bearing the arms of France.²¹ For the settlement he selected a small island lying between the two rivers that unite to form Port Royal Sound, which we know as Parris Island from the name of its owner long later, Alexander Parris. Parris Island, shaped "like a galley," with its seaward-turned point a little more than three miles from the ocean, measures almost two and three-quarter miles in breadth and a little over five in length. Here he built his fort, which he named in honor of his King, Charles IX, Charlesfort. Laudonniere, who laid it off, says it was about sixteen by thirteen fathoms, that is, ninety-six by seventy-eight feet. The best description available is that of a French youth of the company, Rouffi, as preserved in the Spanish records: "A blockhouse of logs and clay, thatched with straw, with a ditch around it, with four bastions, and

20. Lowery, II, 30.

21. Laudonniere's narrative would indicate Lemon Island. LeMoynes plan, drawn on information from those who were on the expedition, indicates the same.

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two bronze falconets and six iron culverins therein.”²² All further detail is left to our imagination.

Although it is impossible to locate the exact spot on which Charlesfort stood, the evidence points with all but certainty to the spot on the northern bank of Ballast Creek (formerly called Pilot Creek), near the first turn as one ascends the stream. This places the fort midway of the northeastern side of Parris Island, about a quarter of a mile inland from Beaufort River. It is the only location which meets all the details that we know and which contradicts none. Ribaut’s account places the fort “in an island on the northeast side, a place of strong situation and comodyous, upon a river which we have called Chenonceau.”²³ Laudonnière says that Ribaut, “having sailed up the great river on the north side, in coasting an isle which ended with a sharp point toward the mouth of the river, having sailed awhile, he discovered a small river, which entered into the island, . . . and finding the same deep enough to harbor therein gallies and galliots in good number, proceeding further he found a very open place, opening upon the brink thereof, where he went on land, and seeing the place fit to build a fortress in,” he built his fort there. It agrees with the location of the ruins of the later Spanish fort, two miles southeast, which Spanish records say was near Charlesfort. March 27, 1926, there was unveiled on Parris Island a beautiful and dignified column, practically an exact copy of Ribaut’s column as depicted by LeMoyne, but about twice as tall and large, bearing the inscription: “Erected 1925 by the Government of the United States of America to mark the first stronghold of France on this continent.” Unfortunately the spot selected, despite the availability of correct information, was the site of the Spanish fort San Marcos.²⁴

Ribaut, with excellent diplomacy and a few cheap presents, soon had the Indians his friends. Food, pearls, and decorated deer skins came in exchange for the flattering words, cheap cutting hooks, knives, and pinchbeck adornments of the French.

22. Quoted by A. S. Salley, Jr., in Mrs. Connor’s “Jean Ribaut,” 116.

23. Mrs. Connor, “Jean Ribaut,” 97.

24. The mound, now known to be the ruins of San Marcos, had been for generations supposed to be those of Charlesfort, the Spanish occupation of the island not being known. Prof. Rivers (25, n.), by a lucky error, wrote that Charlesfort was on Pilot Creek, meaning Means’s Creek. Old copies of Rivers are found in which readers have corrected “Pilot” by inserting “Means’s,” the only creek on which any ruins survive. Cf. A. S. Salley, Jr., in Mrs. Connor’s “Jean Ribaut,” 118-21; also picture of monument, *ib.*, 9.

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Ribaut intended to make this voyage one merely of discovery and first planting, which was to be supported by reënforcements. He called his men on deck and delivered to them an oration full of the democratic ideals which were so common among the Huguenots, and which was one of the reasons why they were feared and hated by the kings both of France and Spain. The vigorous character and clear mind of this splendid leader are nowhere better revealed than in the words in which, in a spirit fully worthy of the new ideals of the America that was to be, he stimulated their patriotism and ambition to grasp as the founders of a new land the wealth and distinction open to men of faith and daring. The fruitful youngness of America which to this day has not ceased to cast its spell over the world had caught the heart of Ribaut. "I think there is none of you," he said, "that are ignorant of how great consequence this our enterprise is. . . . I would not fail to advise you all of the exceeding good happiness which should fall to them, which as men of value and worthy courage, would make trial in this our first discovery of the benefits and commodities of this new land; which should be, as I assure myself, the greatest occasion that ever could happen unto them, to arise under the title and degree of honor." Here was the opportunity, he assured them, for men who could never gain position under the conditions of the Old World to grasp the wealth and distinction which their daring and fidelity might deserve.

The greater part of the company were enthusiastic to remain. Selecting "XXX in all, gentlemen, souldiers, and merryners," says Ribaut, he began the fort. He appointed Albert de la Pierria as their captain, as a soldier of long experience and the first to offer to remain, and delivered to him injunctions as to the proper conduct of a leader. Providing the fort with cannon, implements, and provisions, he fired a salute, bravely returned by the garrison, and sailed away on the 11th of June to explore the coast to the north, promising to return in six months. The dangers of the shallow coast, bad weather, the wearing of his ropes and the aging of his provisions moved him soon to abandon this and sail for France, which he reached on the 20th of July, 1562.²⁵

Ribaut found France plunged in the welter of the religious wars that were to rend her for thirty-four years, which had broken out a

25. Ribaut's report, Jean Ribaut, 98. Laudonnière says 28 men remained.

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few days after he had sailed for America. Coligny, the soul of the colonization among those in high place, was engrossed with the struggle, and Ribaut himself took an active part. The promised reinforcements for the twenty-eight or thirty men at Charlesfort must wait on matters far more pressing. The first of the eight periods of civil war was ended by the treaty of Amboise, March 19, 1563. Ribaut proved himself as truly the soul of the colonization movement as Coligny by refusing to be paralyzed through lack of means or the preoccupation of his chief. Going to England, he published in May an account of his voyage and obtained an audience with Queen Elizabeth, who was ready enough to make a profit for England by fishing in troubled French or Spanish waters. Although seeking to guard herself, "so that if Philip should complain she would be able to swear that nothing had been done by her order," she was anxious to take over the colony. She offered Ribaut half the profits and reminded him that even if the country proved not to be so good as he thought, it afforded an excellent station from which to plunder the Spanish ships bearing the treasures of Mexico and Peru, and urged upon him a house and a pension of 300 ducats if he would undertake the enterprise—a bribe to betray France which Ribaut denied that he ever accepted.

However this may be, says Lowery, in May, 1563, the adventurous Thomas Stukely was preparing a fleet of five vessels, one of which was contributed by Ribaut and won by the Queen herself (which she later prudently withdrew), manned by three hundred men and well supplied with every necessity from cannon down, and with a standard, the gift of the Queen.²⁶ There were three French pilots who had accompanied Ribaut on his former voyage. Stukely sought to throw the Spanish Ambassador off his guard by confiding to him his intention of turning over the fleet to his King once he got to sea. So little did this clumsy tale deceive the Spaniard that he wrote his master that the fleet was destined for the very spot at which Ribaut had planted a colony, and that he had agreed to turn over that colony to Queen Elizabeth.

Doubtless Lowery is correct in his belief that Ribaut was too patriotic a Frenchman to intend this treason. At all events, the English discovered, so they claimed, that he and his pilots were about to

26. Lowery, II; Mrs. Connor's "Jean Ribaut," 10.

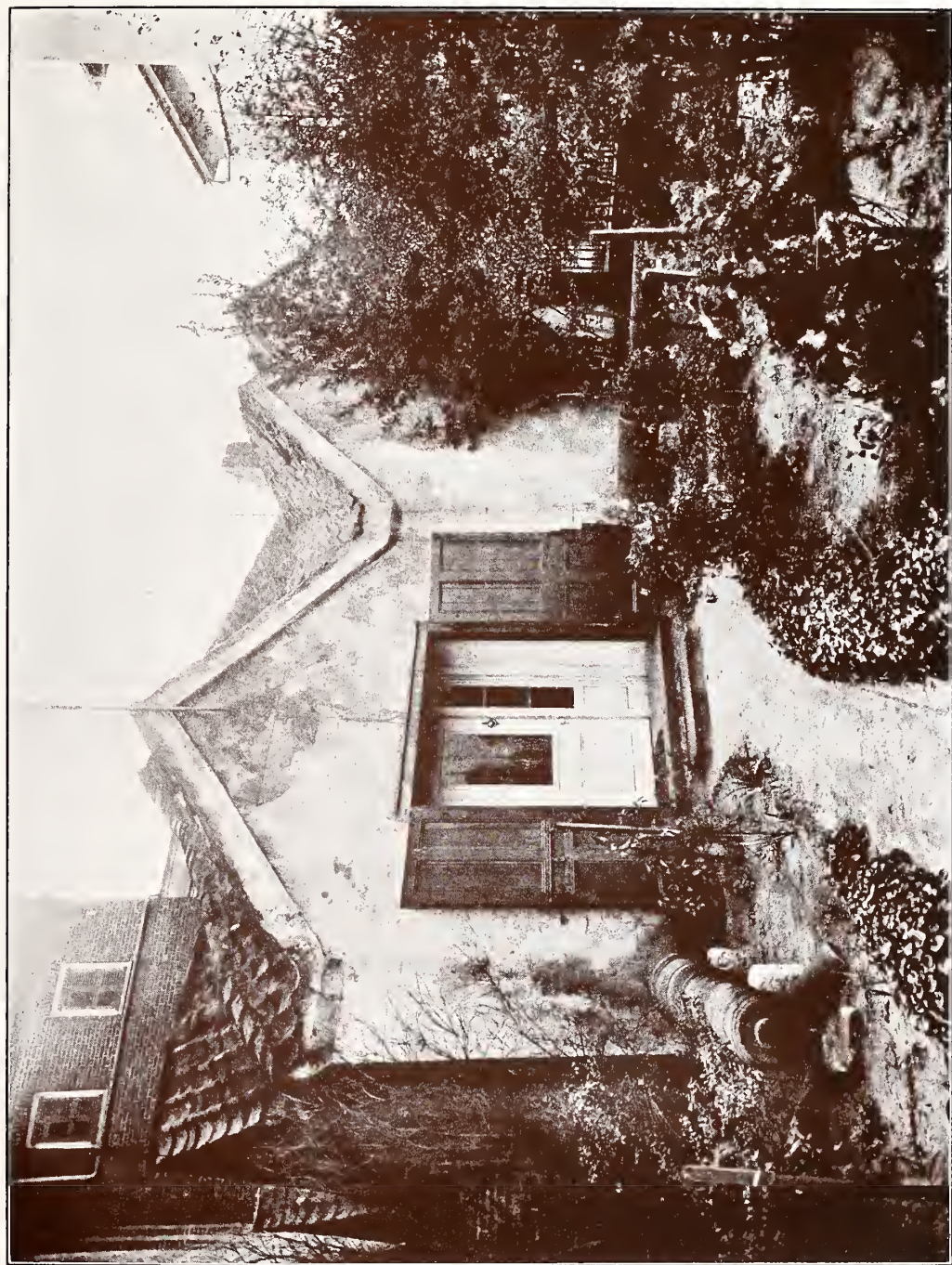
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slip away to France with the vessels, which those who relish the task of explaining on strictly moral grounds the tactics of sixteenth century heroes may justify by the fact that England, who had aided the Huguenots, was still in a state of war with the Catholic government of France. Ribaut was thrown in prison, with the threat of hanging, and the pilots were chained on board to guide the expedition that never sailed. Elizabeth's part in the story may be concluded, though it may be necessary to anticipate the later history of Ribaut. After Philip had informed Elizabeth of the destruction of the French in Florida and had explained his own right to the country, that artful Queen replied that she had been ignorant of Spain's prior claim and had intended to conquer Florida herself on the strength of Ribaut's being its discoverer. Although her intention gave no evidence of set determination, we may agree with Lowery that "the incident establishes beyond doubt that Stukely was merely the instrument of Elizabeth in carrying out her serious design to occupy Florida, and that the rumor of such an intention was not a mere blind given out to conceal an anterior object of preying upon the Spanish fleets, as some have supposed."²⁷

Meanwhile the twenty-eight or thirty Frenchmen at Charlesfort were impatiently awaiting reinforcements and supplies. While laboring to complete their fort, they coaxed into camp and treated kindly a young Indian grandiloquently described as "a vassel of King Audusta," which in plain language means a member of the tribe of the Edistos. This led to the French visiting "Audusta" and four other Indian chiefs, their excursion extending upward of forty miles from their fort. They were royally entertained everywhere, despite their giving offense by laughing at a religious dance and one of their number spying on certain sacred ceremonies by means of hiding in a bush while the visitors were all supposed to be sequestered in the chief's house. So kindly were the Indians that they gave the needy colonists so much of their food that they were themselves reduced to eat acorns.

The improvident soldiers, who were more accustomed to eat the bread of land than to consider the prosaic problem of raising it, and who were expecting daily supplies from France, neglected to plant corn, although there was ample time to raise a crop. When fire destroyed most of the food which the Indians had given them in

27. Woodbury Lowery, in "American Historical Rev.," April, 1904, IX, 459.



ANCIENT POWDER MAGAZINE, CHARLESTON—BUILT IN 1703

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return for a few cutting hooks, hatchets and other trifles, "King Audusta and King Maccou" had their men rebuild the granary in one day; but the drafts on their own stores had already been so great that they directed the representatives of the superior race for further supplies to save them from starvation to two powerful "kings" on the Georgia coast, Ouade and his brother Coexis. Having eaten up the meal and beans supplied by these new friends, they were stocked yet again by the accommodating Yemasseees in exchange for the usual cutting knives, hatchets, and armlets. Ouade on this occasion threw in a little silver, which the gratified Frenchmen learned came from the foot of a certain high mountain ten days' journey up the country.

Hardships, the monotony of such a life, and the unrewarded longing for Ribaut's return combined to throw the men into a dangerous state of restlessness and friction. Captain Pierria, who proved to be tactless and violent, deeply offended them by hanging a drummer for some offense which they considered deserved no such severity. Another man he condemned to solitary residence on a small island, and even left him to starve without the food which he had promised to send every eight days. His capriciousness and violence, suggesting the collapse of his capacity for self-control under the strain, made every man fear for his life. They accordingly killed him and chose in his place Nicholas Barre, who proved his exceptional qualities by bringing order out of the desperate situation.²⁸

Without wives or children, without normal occupation, without a cause to fight for or an enemy to vanquish, and at last without hope of the new settlers with whose help they might see a hateful log fort on a swampy island grow into something like a home, they determined to abandon the Colony. It must have been still mild weather when they formed the desperate plan of building a little vessel and sailing for France; for the detailed account of their sufferings at sea contains no reference to cold, and the Spanish Ambassador in France early in January, 1563, had already heard of their return. They had amply

28. Lowery, II, 42, surmises that a motive for murdering the commander may have been the desire on the part of some to return to France to enjoy vast wealth they had acquired from the Indians. In August, 1567, the French ambassador at Madrid wrote that a Spaniard was leaving to search for 400,000 ducats of gold which had been buried by six or Ribaut's men near Port Royal. They had, the story went, taken the bullion from some Indians who had rescued it from wrecked Spanish ships, as was proved by its bearing the Spanish mint mark. Although Indians in Florida were found to have obtained large quantities of gold in this way, the story of the 400,000 ducats buried by the Port Royal Frenchmen appears to bear the mintmark of mere rumor.

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demonstrated the unfitness of soldiers for founding a colony. The only efforts to which they put their hearts were the building of the fort in the excitement of beginning, and the making of the ship in the excitement of escape. Of agriculture or other industry on which a colony might live they did nothing.

There was not a shipbuilder among them, although there were carpenters and tools, and Ribaut says some were mariners. But enthusiasm pushed the vessel rapidly to completion. They caulked the seams with rosin from the pines and the long moss that hangs from the coast country trees, and converted their shirts and sheets into sails. The Indians, glad enough to hasten their departure, in two days' time supplied them with sufficient cordage made from the bark of trees. Two of the colonists had been drowned, one had been executed, one murdered, and one youth, refusing to trust himself to such a ship and crew, remained and ultimately married the daughter of a chief allied with the head of the Edistos.²⁹

In their eagerness to depart they took too little food. When they were a third of the way across the Atlantic, they were becalmed for three weeks. Food and water were exhausted. In the hideous suffering of famine some drank the salt water of the sea and some even their own urine. Twelve grains of corn were the daily allowance. By continual bailing alone could they keep their amateur craft afloat. Their food gone, they ate their shoes and leather jerkins. Then a furious storm so filled the ship with water that it seemed sure to sink "in the turning of a hand." As men resolved to die, everyone fell down backward and gave themselves over to the will of the waves." But one man roused them again to bail, with the promise that in three days they would see land. Land not appearing, they were more desperate than before.

At this awful pass, the motion was made that one should die that the rest might live. The lot fell on LaChere, whom they had saved from starvation on the island. Willingly he offered his throat to the knife, and they lived by eating his flesh.³⁰ At last land did in reality appear; but the men were bereft of reason by the sight and let the ship drift as it would. They were picked up by a small English vessel, in which there chanced to be a Frenchman who had come out with

29. Lowery, II; Mrs. Connor's Ribaut, 121.

30. One witness afterwards testified that two men were eaten.

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Ribaut. Landing the feeblest, they carried the rest to England. When they finally reached France, several were imprisoned, with what final result does not appear, for the murder of Pierria. Thus tragedy, as with Ayllon thirty-six years before, ended the second attempt of Europeans to colonize South Carolina.

Menendez and Ribaut—Coligny was not deterred by the failure of his effort at Port Royal. His purpose was not so much to maintain a colony at some particular spot, but to strike at the enemy of France and of Protestantism, if not in one place, then in another.

Ribaut being still in the English prison, Coligny placed in command Laudonnière, officer of the previous expedition to whom we are indebted for the thrilling story of these events. As this second attempt to plant a French colony on our South Atlantic shores touches the history of South Carolina only incidentally, we must pass rapidly to its conclusion. Instead of seeking to renew the attempt at Port Royal, Laudonnière sailed to the mouth of the St. John's River in the present State of Florida, on the southern bank of which, five miles from the mouth, he erected in the summer of 1564 his frail Fort Caroline. The trials of the next few months, extending even to starvation that forced the men's bones through their skins, would have taxed the character and resources of a stronger leader than Laudonnière. A considerable body of mutineers, barely sparing the life of Laudonnière, ran away with his ships and confirmed the conviction of Spain of the peril of such a nest of criminals on the highway of her commerce by turning pirates, plundering her vessels, and invading her West Indian towns. From this and other sources Philip II soon knew of the situation at Fort Caroline.

At this point we meet one of those brilliant and ruthless conquerors who added such an enormous extent of the New World to Spain. Pedro Menendez de Aviles united in the highest degree the unquenchable courage, the devoted loyalty, and the settled bigotry that drove the typical Spaniard of that day like a consecrated demon against the enemies of his country and his church. To these men, even the barbarous manner of war of the sixteenth century was too mild a course toward heretics; they were simply to be exterminated as a duty to God.

Menendez, yearning for the conversion of the barbarous subjects of Satan in Florida, the making real the sovereignty that Spain claimed

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in America, and the raising by such worthy means of his own fortune and fame to dizzy heights, obtained a commission to these effects from Philip II. While he was preparing a large expedition at his own expense news came of the settlement of Laudonnière's Protestants and of the assembling of a relief expedition by the now liberated Ribaut. Both sides knew of the other's movements. It was a race in preparation and a race across the ocean. Philip added ships and men at his own expense, and Menendez hurried away with part of his fleet and arrived at the mouth of the St. John's seven days after Ribaut. Obligated to retire before ships superior in strength to his own available craft, Menendez sailed thirty-five miles down the coast, and in August, 1565, founded St. Augustine, which thus remains a monument to the activity to which Coligny's and Ribaut's efforts stirred Spain.

Ribaut, realizing like Menendez, that victory would rest with the commander who took advantage of the uncompleted defenses of the other, took on board all but nine or ten of his own men and all of Laudonnière's who were fit to fight and sailed south with a force of six hundred to crush the Spaniards.³¹ As his vessels lay outside the St. Augustine entrance, there arose the most violent storm that the Indians had ever known, with a terrific wind from the north. Realizing the impossibility of Ribaut's returning to Fort Caroline against such a wind, Menendez forced his officers and men to march in the teeth of the storm through thirty-five miles of drowned and howling wilderness to massacre the diminished garrison at Fort Caroline and return to the defense of St. Augustine before the weather would allow Ribaut to attack. For two days and nights with five hundred men he struggled and waded against wind and rain, with mutiny at times on the point of snuffing out his life, until at dawn of the third day they were before the pitiful little fort.

The officer on duty there, not dreaming that human beings would venture on an attack under such conditions, had not long before mercifully sent his men from their work of closing the openings in the walls to the shelter of their barracks, when, in the early morning of September 20, with the sacred war cry of "Santiago!" "God is with us!" the Spaniards burst into the fort. As men, women and children rushed from their beds into the blinding storm they were stabbed or

31. Lowery, II, 165-66.

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brained. Laudonnière escaped as by a miracle. One hundred and forty-two were slain, says Menendez, the women and children being spared after the first heat of onslaught. Not a Spaniard was killed. "We owe to God and his Mother, more than to human strength," wrote Menendez's chaplain, "this victory over the enemies of the holy Catholic religion."

Forcing his exhausted men to march as soon as it was physically possible, Menendez returned to St. Augustine, where he was received with Te Deums for his service to the true religion and the safety of Spanish lives. Nine days after the capture of Fort Caroline Menendez marched to an island to the south on which about 140 of Ribaut's Frenchmen who had escaped the storm and the Indians were marooned. To their request for the assurance that their lives would be spared, he replied, "Surrender your arms and place yourselves at my mercy, that I may do with you as Our Lord may command me." The terrible alternative of death by starvation or probable death by the hand of the Spaniard led about half to throw themselves on whatever his mercy might prove to be. Bringing the men across the river by tens, Menendez tied their hands and marched them behind a sand dune. In accordance with his orders, when they reached a line he had drawn across the path, they were stabbed and their heads cut off. About ten Catholics among them were spared.

On the 19th of October, twenty days after the battle at the fort, news arrived that Ribaut himself with three hundred and fifty of his men had been found wrecked upon another island. On the same terms seventy of these surrendered. The gentlemen among the company offered Menendez 100,000 ducats if he would spare the lives of the company; but the conscientious bigot could not be corrupted. To the assembled captives he said: "Are you Catholics or Lutherans?" "We are all Lutherans, of the new religion," answered Ribaut. "From earth we come, and unto earth we must return," he continued; "twenty years more or less can matter little." He then sang a Psalm and bade Menendez do his will. One of his guards stabbed him in the stomach and the other pierced him with a pike, and they cut off his head as Menendez had commanded. In cold blood each of the seventy was thus butchered on the stream that has ever since borne the name Matanzas, the River of Slaughter. The number of men thus murdered in cold blood from nine to twenty-two days after the heat of

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battle was about 210. Some also were massacred by the Indians; many were murdered by the Spaniards when found among the natives or in the woods; a few found homes among the Indians of Georgia and South Carolina or sought to escape to French fishing boats around New Foundland.³² Without the loss of a single soldier, Menendez had purged Florida of six hundred French fighting men and two hundred non-combatants. On the back of his detailed report of his action to the King, Philip II wrote: "As to those he has killed, he has done well, and as to those he has saved, they shall be sent to the galleys." Some even of his own associates, and others in Spain, thought that Menendez's hideous massacre was unjustifiable; but Spanish opinion was doubtless generally expressed in the words of the historian Barrientos, professor in the University of Salamanca, two years later, to whom as to Menendez it was a calm act of justice to the most infamous of God's enemies: "He acted as an excellent inquisitor; for when he asked if they were Catholics or Lutherans, they dared to proclaim themselves publicly as Lutherans, without fear of God or shame before men, and thus he gave them the death which their insolence deserved. . . . He killed them, I think, rather by divine inspiration, than through any counsel of the human understanding; for he had no wish that his own people by touching pitch, should be defiled by it."

Such wholesale massacre reveals the intensity of Spain's bigotry, her determination to maintain what she considered her rights against all outsiders, and destroy as pirates those who planned to prey upon her commerce, and especially to keep at a distance the French, who they feared would free the slaves, as slavery was contrary to French law.³³ But we should remember such incidents as the equally horrible massacre of Glencoe in Scotland more than a century later and the crime of the Dutch in slaughtering the English at Amboyna in the East Indies in 1623, neither of which set of murderers had such provocation as Menendez or could plead fear of so many captives rising against their guards or reducing the colony to starvation.

It is not true that the Catholic Crown of France regarded with indifference the massacre of its subjects. Catharine de Medici was using these men for building a French empire. She repelled the Spanish attack on Coligny and assumed the entire responsibility for her-

32. It is impossible to reconcile the various statements as to the number killed.

33. Lowery, II, 15, 96.

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self, and with tears of anger she retorted like a lioness on the Spanish Ambassador, he reported to his master, that as to their being heretics, she alone could presume to punish as she might see fit her heretical subjects. But her anger had to be swallowed, as Philip knew that it would, for Catharine dared not risk her own precarious position so unscrupulously maintained in faction-torn France by a war with Spain, the power on whom alone in the last extremity, if the Protestants should gain control, she could depend. Her protest secured the release of the captured women and children and at least one man.³⁴ But revenge had to be left to private hands, and this was undertaken with all the ardor of an outraged French patriot by Dominique de Gourgues.

Gourgues was a member of an old Catholic family of distinction, and appears from strong circumstantial evidence himself to have been of the old religion. In the present enterprise he was acting as an outraged Frenchman, and moreover as one whose patriotism was whetted by the memory of his own hard servitude chained as a captive at the oar of a Spanish galley. He concealed his real purpose under the pretense of fitting for the slave trade; but the Spanish agent watching the Atlantic ports was not at ease, for the French, he reported, "bear the Florida affairs as fresh before their eyes as if it had occurred today."

Taking on a few negroes on the African coast, to serve as an excuse for his presence in the West Indies, Gourgues traded among Spain's American ports and revictualled his ships. Finally, at the western end of Cuba, he informed his men of their real destination. Their shouts of enthusiasm were all that he could wish. It was the spring of 1568 when he sailed into the mouth of the St. John's to do to the Spaniards who now held the fort as San Mateo as they had done to the Frenchmen who had held it as Fort Caroline. Skillfully leading the Indians to believe that he was consenting to do them a kindness in helping to drive out the Spaniards whom they hated, he could hardly restrain them until preparations were complete, as the warriors, wild with visions of blood, their squaws chanting around the circle, stamped and whooped themselves into an ecstasy of rage. The outposts of the fort were easily taken. As the terrified Spaniards fled from the fort itself, they rushed into skillfully laid ambuscades. As few as possible

34. Lowery, II.

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were killed in action, in order that there might be a large number to endure a humiliating death. It was believed in France, though apparently erroneously, that after Menendez had taken Fort Caroline almost three years earlier he had hanged the survivors and placed upon them the inscription, perhaps as a sort of insulting apology to France: "I do this not as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans." De Gourgues hung his captives on what he believed to be the same trees, and wrote with a red hot iron into a board: "I do this not as to Spaniards, nor as to Marannes,³⁵ but as to traitors, thieves and murderers." On his return voyage De Gourgues completed his revenge by drowning the crews of several Spanish vessels that he captured.³⁶ Like Menendez before him, he gave thanks to heaven for its aid and rejoiced that he had been able to serve his King. "Thus Spaniards and Frenchmen alike," says Parkman, "laid their reeking swords on God's altar."

Gourgues, although received by the people as a hero who had wiped a stain from the escutcheon of France, was of necessity openly frowned upon by the King. Philip, who had inscribed a pious amen on the greater massacre which Gourgues had avenged, demanded his head; and he was obliged to live for years in obscurity with his private fortune ruined by the expense of his expedition. When Portugal, in 1583, was at war to save her independence from Philip II, Gourgues, already having been restored to royal favor in France, died on his way to fight once more against his enemy.³⁷

Victory remained for the time with Spain, although hers was the brightness of a setting sun. She would not be able to stamp out in blood the next claimant who arose to dispute her title to this region in which Indians and Spaniards and Frenchmen and Englishmen slew each other to determine what should be the destiny of the New World.

SPAIN IN SOUTH CAROLINA, 1566-87

Menendez Builds San Felipe—The immediate effect of Ribaut's proving to Philip II how mistaken he had been in supposing that there was no danger of French aggression near Port Royal was the establishing of a chain of Spanish forts, with some efforts at colonization outside their walls, on the coasts of South Carolina, Georgia, and

35. A term of contempt for Spaniards, perhaps derived from Moor.

36. Lowery, II, 323.

37. Parkman, "Pioneers of France in the New World."



CÆSAR'S HEAD, GREENVILLE COUNTY, ELEVATION 3,227 FEET

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Florida. Before the abandonment of Port Royal was known in Europe, the Governor of Cuba was ordered to remove the columns which Ribaut had planted, to reconnoitre the settlement at Santa Elena, as the Spanish called the locality, and if possible to expel the French, destroy their fort, and bring to Cuba their artillery and any prisoners he might capture.³⁸ In May, 1564, Rojas was despatched with twenty-five men and on the 31st entered Port Royal Sound. Here he found Guillaume Rouffi, a lad of seventeen years who had refused to trust himself to the crazy craft in which Ribaut's other men had sailed away, but had remained and become a naturalized American by marrying the daughter of an Indian chief. Rufin, as the Spaniards called him, led Rojas to the pillar bearing the arms of France and to the fort. Rojas burned the fort and on the 15th of June sailed away to Havana with Rouffi as a prisoner and the stone pillar as evidence of the execution of his commission.³⁹

After exterminating the French along the St. John's and the Matanzas, Menendez proceeded to throw out his garrison along the coast as far as the abandoned French post at Port Royal. Sailing from St. Augustine on the 1st of April, 1566, with 150 men and taking along the Frenchman Rouffi as interpreter, he landed first at Guale, that is, St. Catherine's Island, Georgia.⁴⁰ Here he was met by another Frenchman, who proved to be a scout whom Ribaut after being wrecked by the storm had sent out to Fort Caroline. Finding the fort taken, the scout had made his way toward Port Royal. Fifteen of the French who had escaped the slaughter in Florida, Menendez learned had only two weeks before sailed from here in search of French fishing vessels off New Foundland. He skillfully led the Indians to reverse their prohibition of any Spaniard's landing, as the French scout had instructed them, and was soon on shore with a manner milder than milk, with his men quartered in the house of the French refugee, and teaching Roman Catholicism through the Huguenot as interpreter under the threat of death if he distorted the truth. At the end of four days, having exchanged hostages and terrified the Indians by the assurance that he, the chief decapitator in the world, would cut off their heads if any harm befell his Spaniards, he sailed north as peacemaker to the Edistos, with whom Guale was at war.

38. Lowery, II, 45.

39. *Ib.*, 45-48.

40. Swanton, 51.

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Landing in April, 1566, on the shores of Port Royal Sound with a hundred soldiers, and presenting Orista with captive relatives tactfully obtained from the Guale enemies, Menendez had the pleasure of seeing the chief promptly accept his invitation to become a Christian and pause from the rebuilding of his burned villages to assist his new friends in finding a site for a fort. The sequence of events could not be more dramatic. On the same Parris Island that the French had selected, commanding the entrance of Port Royal Sound and its confluent rivers, the great Menendez himself, who had slain Ribaut when the latter invaded Florida in 1565, now, in April, 1566, built his Fort San Felipe, honoring by the use of his name his King as the French had honored theirs. It stood beside a small haven which we call Means's Creek, looking toward the sea and from almost the southeastern point of the island, on the only rising ground, almost two miles below the old French fort. With Indian aid it was completed in fifteen days and armed with six cannon. The island was densely wooded in oak, pine, liquidambar (that is, the sweet-gum), nut trees and laurel. The soil was so low-lying as to be subject to flooding at unusually high tides, and was too small to afford sustenance to the few Spanish farmers who there later eked out a miserable existence.

Menendez, leaving Las Alas in command of a garrison of 110 men, and placing a soldier with each chief to give instruction in the Catholic religion, returned to Guale to secure the acceptance of the peace from that more powerful and therefore less willing people. The Christian God had sent the drouth which was destroying them, he declared, because they would not make peace with Orista. The knowledge of what he had done to the "Lutherans" in Florida and a twenty-four hours' rain, coming in answer to his prophecy within a half hour of the chief's embracing the cross and accepting the peace, established him as the ambassador of the Most High.

Learning that the Frenchman at Guale had during his absence spat upon the cross which he had erected and urged the Indians to reject the Spaniard's false Christianity, Menendez got him away by sending him on some flattering pretext to San Felipe, with a letter directing the commander to kill him secretly and give out that the heretic had fled to the woods. He was piously garroted and the incident was faithfully recorded by the apostles of righteousness who were seeking to save so many souls from the damnation of Lutheranism.⁴¹

41. Lowery, II, 250-51, and note, citing the Spanish historians.

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Exploring the Interior—The prolonged misery and the intermittent mutiny which figure conspicuously in the history of St. Augustine were enacted also at San Felipe. The first ship bringing supplies, when the settlement was only two months old, was seized by sixty of the garrison before she could be unloaded, and was steered away to Havana. A little later Pardo arriving with reinforcements found that twenty of the soldiers had deserted to the Indians, leaving only twenty-five of the original one hundred and ten who were depending, like the French before them, on food supplied by the natives. Menendez himself arrived late in August. He reduced the pressure of population and subsistence by sending Pardo with 150 men far into the interior, with directions to quarter them on the natives along the route. Pardo went, November 1, 1566, with twenty-five men "to discover and conquer the interior country from there to Mexico."⁴²

Marching up the country east of the Savannah, and touching at De Soto's old stopping place of Cofitachequi, he built a blockhouse which he named San Juan at Juada at the foot of the mountains. Snow prevented his pressing far into the mountains. He was at Guatari (which is the Spanish way of spelling with Gu the Indian sound that the English expressed by W; hence Wateree), eastward from Juada, when orders reached him to return to San Felipe. Leaving here a priest and four soldiers, he returned to the coast by the same route after having spent more than a month in the region, not including the march there and back. Lowery thinks from the Indian words reported that the region along the Savannah was then inhabited by the Creeks,⁴³ and Swanton suggests with good reason that the Cheraws then extended as far west as Juada.

Menendez administered the string of forts from Port Royal Sound to the southern end of Florida as a united whole. About the first of May, 1567, he was again at San Felipe, from whence he sailed on the 18th directly for Spain in a vessel of twenty tons. He went cheered with the story of the discoveries of Pardo and of the marvelous wars in north Georgia of Sergeant Boyano Moyano, whose letter reported how with fifteen soldiers he had killed over a thousand Indians, and had gone after and beaten the mountain chief who threatened to come down and eat him and his dog. Directed to continue his

⁴². Lowery, II, 275.

⁴³. Lowery, II, 276. The Creeks were then called Apalachees.

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conquest Boyano (or Moyano) marched into the Creek country, in which Columbus, Georgia, was later to rise, built a fort, planted a crop and awaited reinforcements.

Pardo marched September 1, 1567, and relieved Juada of a seige, passed through Tocalques (Toxaway?) at the foot of the mountains, in a country of which an officer could only exclaim that it was as beautiful as Andalusia. At the village of Tanasqui (the Tannassee of the upper Cherokees on the Little Tennessee near the Great Smokies?) in "a land of benediction, a country of angels," he thought he saw smoke from silver smelting works; but he turned south in richer hopes. Warned of powerful Indian attacks if he persisted in pressing on to Coosa in central Alabama by way of Tasquigui (Tuskegee, and very near that modern town), he halted, although one bold man was conducted to the farther point by friendly Indians. Leaving a garrison of thirty soldiers at Chiaha in southwestern North Carolina or northeastern Georgia, another of seventeen at Cauchi, another of thirty at Juada, and another of seventeen at Guatri (Wateree), Pardo returned to San Felipe, the port through which the vast back country was to be grasped by Spain. Our only information, says Lowery, of those distant garrisons which were quartered on the Indians is that only a piper, his wife and daughter, escaped the massacre in which they were exterminated.⁴⁴

Missions—Misery—Rebellions—While these ambitious reaches were being made into the interior, the coast garrisons were threatened, as usual, with starvation. All had been abandoned except St. Augustine, San Antonio and San Felipe.⁴⁵

Menendez soon confessed that although the Indians easily learned to worship the cross, "it is only a loss of time to try to plant the Holy Gospel in this country by the means of soldiers." Some even of the priests proved unable to resist the temptation of good berths in Cuba or San Domingo, or fell even into graver faults.⁴⁶ Mendoza complains of "one of his priests, who had been found guilty of a very grave offense." But the earnestness and devotion of the missionaries as a class is attested by their endurance of hardship and danger. In June or August, 1569,⁴⁷ the Jesuit Father Rogel and Brother Juan

44. Lowery, II, 297.

45. Lowery, II, 343.

46. Lowery, II, 265, 294.

47. *Ib.*, 347.

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Carrera arrived at San Felipe. Their superior who accompanied them to organize the work on the South Carolina and Georgia coasts placed the loveable Father Rogel five leagues from the fort at Orista (that is, Edisto), where the Indians built him a church and a home. In six months he was preaching in their language; but he must have failed to fathom all its meaning; for his parishioners, so moral that he could find no fault with their lives, angrily refused to believe or even hear a word he said after he "spoke ill of the devil." He had, we may infer, appeared to misuse the name of some benign Indian spirit.

But apart from this, the scattering of the Indians for nine months of the year to seek food in the forest caused the missionaries to despair. Giving them hoes for raising larger crops did not abate their ago-long habit of wandering. A pestilence, through which they nursed the Indians, afflicted every missionary and killed one. They finally had to fly to the fort for their lives when, in July, 1570, the Indians rose in rebellion, goaded by the commander's ordering corn to be delivered for the garrison and quartering his hungry soldiers among them until it should be forthcoming.⁴⁸ But the missionaries were not long in returning. In 1573 there were at Santa Elena a number of Franciscan friars to carry forward the work that the Jesuit Rogel had begun.⁴⁹ It was doubtless largely to reduce the pressure on subsistence that Las Alas, in the face of this brief flare-up of the Indians, sailed for Spain with about 120 men, leaving 150 in the garrison. In 1572 two wails of misery from the farmers who had been inveigled from Spain by glittering promises reveal the pitiful conditions. There were on the little island, in addition to the soldiers, that said, some twenty-odd farmers with their families.⁵⁰ Some had brought stock of their own and had been promised twelve head by Menendez. Their wheat was a total failure; worms, rats, and moles devoured their vegetable seeds in the ground; frost and a rainy spring afflicted what came up; the cows ate what little corn survived; their cattle and sheep perished by the swamps or by disease, and the Indians stole what pigs the hungry settlers did not eat, the sick died for lack of proper nourishment, while the well greedily sought for herbs and sea food. Vandera, while in command, beat and

48. Lowery, II, 352.

49. *Ib.*, 382.

50. *Ib.*, 375-76.

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imprisoned them, plundered them without mercy, and took their poor substances in fines when they asked for permission to return to Spain. Applications to Menendez proving fruitless, they petitioned the King. But the primary purpose of this line of settlements was to prevent any further attempts like Ribaut's to establish bases for attacking the treasure fleets, or for obtaining a hold upon any of the vast extent of "Florida"; and Spanish farmers as well as Spanish soldiers must, if necessary, die for that. But in 1580 the settlement was considerably larger. Of more than 60 houses, about half was covered with lime made from oyster shells, which afforded protection against weather and fires.⁵¹

In 1576 the chronic shortness of food helped to bring on a serious Indian outbreak that drove the Spaniards temporarily from the country. Captain Solis had already deeply offended them by executing two Indians, one a prominent chief. When soldiers were sent to seize from the Oristau (Edisto) Indians the corn that had been refused, the Indians, on July 22, by a shrewd trick, killed the whole party of twenty-two except one man, including their commander, Boyano (or Moyano), of the heroic exploits in Georgia and the Appalachian Mountains.⁵² Instantly from Edisto Island to St. Catherine's Island the Indians were in arms, 2,000 being estimated as the number besieging the fort. After sharp losses, including the death of the offending Captain Solis, the Spaniards sailed away to St. Augustine and the Indians burned San Felipe. In 1577 the Spaniards rebuilt on a better nearby site and named their new fort San Marcos.⁵³

Spain Withdraws—While San Marcos was building, Indians brought news of a stranded French vessel some leagues to the north and a French fort nearby. The Indians surprised the work, which was on "the point of Santa Elena" and captured more than a hundred Frenchmen. But the captives appeared in a fair way to master their captors and were organizing them for a rising from the Ashley to St. Augustine to expel the Spaniards. This menace constituted the fourth "French intrusion" on Florida. Although this and the intrusion of French pirates or traders later were not, like the earlier acts, authorized by the French government, they would, if successful, form a basis for French rule.

51. Mary Ross as below.

52. Swanton, 58.

53. Mary Ross, "Georgia Historical Quarterly," VII, 279, 251-81.

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The Governor, Pedro Menendez Marques, who had succeeded his distinguished uncle now dead, met the crisis with true Menendez boldness. The presence of other French vessels off the harbor sent him searching for the hostile fort. It proved to be a strong triangular wooden structure on "the point of Santa Elena" about 200 feet on a side, armed with cannon. Burning it, he turned to negotiations with the Indians, who had been so infected as far north as the Cayagua, or Ashley, that they answered his diplomatic advances with a shower of arrows. Menendez acted with his usual decision. Approaching the important town of Cocopoy (Cussaboy?) with muffled oars, he fell upon the sleeping natives at midnight. Besides the great numbers slain, forty were found burned to death. The Guale (that is, Georgia coast) Indians now became as friendly as the faithful tribes around St. Augustine and surrendered their French captives.

The leader of this dangerous intrusion proved to be Estrozi, a wealthy Florentine of noble birth; but the large ransom that he offered could not save him. With all but a few of his men retained to serve as surgeons, interpreters, etc., he was killed. No damaging news of the ease with which the Spaniards could be ousted could be suffered to be carried to France.⁵⁴

The next year (1578) saw twenty French pirate vessels on the coast. In a fierce battle in the St. John's, Captain Gil, sent out to seek Estrozi by his brother, was slain and every survivor of his crew beheaded. The systematic plan of these corsairs to do their country a service by capturing Florida and to avenge Estrozi and the other French freebooters ended in an Indian uprising which by the merest luck the Spaniards were warned of just in time. In October, 1580, two thousand Indians from Port Royal southwards were estimated to be on the war path. The St. Augustine Indians remained quiet, and the rebellion to the northwards was temporarily quieted early in 1581.⁵⁵ But in July, 1582, the Santa Elena Indians were in rebellion, "and there is no remedy for it."⁵⁶

The Spaniards captured a large French ship trading in the Savannah River in 1605, and later in the same year another large French vessel was on the coast near the Cape Fear or Winyaw Bay, but lost the men whom it sent ashore by the hostility of the Indians.

54. Mary Ross, as cited above.

55. Mary Ross, as above.

56. Swanton, 59.

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The political value of the faithful work of the Jesuits and from 1573 of the Franciscans around Port Royal is attested by the report of the Governor that in restoring obedience the chief of Santa Elena "has done a great deal, as he was the first to embrace the faith." But Spanish power in South Carolina was gasping its last. The religious devotion and diplomatic skill of the friars and the tragic toll of sufferings of soldiers and settlers were unable to maintain the hold of a proud power declining before the aggressions of younger rivals pressing roughly into the field with scant regard for the rights of national and religious enemies. When Sir Francis Drake burned St. Augustine in 1586, the weakened Spaniards were forced late in 1587 to draw in their garrison at Port Royal.⁵⁷ The first blow had been struck by the rugged people who by the same rough means were in the generations following to wrest from Spain all her vast possessions north of the Rio Grande.

The friars continued their work, undeterred even by the bloody massacre of 1597, in which only one friar north of the present Florida escaped, and in which the Yemassee led by Indians of the later South Carolina participated.⁵⁸ There was no mission at San Felipe (as the church continued to call her station) in 1617; but that and another station at the mouth of the South Edisto appear in a list of 1655; and one for a while existed on the Ashepoo, but it had disappeared when Hilton touched there in 1663. The zeal and extent of the labors of the friars was extraordinary, dotting the whole Southeast with missions; but the fruits were pitifully few.⁵⁹ The mission at St. Catherine's Island did not disappear before English hostility until 1680. The first words that the English heard from the Indians in 1670 were a welcome in broken Spanish.

THE ENGLISH CHARTERS—LOCKE'S CONSTITUTION, 1629-70

Heath's Charter, 1629—The terrible warning given by Spain at Fort Caroline and the Matanzas served to keep intruders away long after her power had declined. Philip's Ambassador warned a company of Englishmen that if they settled in Florida, Spain would cut off their heads as she had done with the followers of Ribaut. Charles I nevertheless showed his intention to assert England's claims based

57. Bolton, "Debatable Land," 14-15.

58. Swanton, 60; "Georgia Historical Quarterly," VIII, 44.

59. Swanton, 322-23; map, frontispiece in Bolton's "Debatable Land."

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upon the discoveries of Cabot to the region as far south as the present state of Florida by granting in 1629⁶⁰ a charter to his Attorney-General, Sir Robert Heath, to all America from sea to sea between the latitude 36 degrees and 31 degrees under the name Carolana. This we may note is the first application of the name which it was afterwards to bear with the change of an a to an i, to the territory of the two Carolinas. Mr. A. S. Salley has shown that the misconception of the name's having been derived from that of the French monarch originated over a century later from a misunderstanding of an engraving of Fort Caroline on the St. John's and was popularized by Oldmixon and Hewatt. The French sometimes spoke of the country as New France or French Florida, but never extended the name Charles beyond the frail and transient fort on Parris Island. Not until Charles I of England named the territory Carolana in honor of himself was that name ever applied to it; and even after that the English themselves usually called it Florida until their King Charles II renamed it, with the change of one letter, Carolina.⁶¹

This move was prompted by a renewed effort as early as February, 1629, of French Huguenot refugees in England to found a new home in South Carolina. The activities of their representatives, Soubise, Duc de Fontenay, and his secretary, Antoine de Ridonet, Baron de Sance, were the immediate cause of the issue of the charter to Heath.⁶² In 1630 the "Mayflower" sailed from England with a colony of the Huguenots for Carolana, but for some reason landed them in Virginia, a mistake for which the shipowners were obliged to pay £600 damages. The refounding of South Carolina was thus postponed for forty years, but we may believe fortunately, for so weak and unsupported a colony would almost certainly have been snuffed out by the Spaniards at St. Augustine.

Our interest in the charter to Sir Robert Heath lies in the fact that it manifested the intention of the English Crown to assert its rights as far south as the settled portion of Florida, that it marked a distinct advance in the development of the proprietary charter, and

60. October 30, 1629—"South Carolina Historical Society, Vol. V," 3, n. 1; "North Carolina Col. Rec.," I, 5; quoting Amer. & W. I., 151. 1630 as given by Poor, etc., is erroneous.

61. A. S. Salley, Jr., "Origin of Carolina," Bulletin No. 8 Historical Commission of South Carolina.

62. McCrady, I, 49, quoting W. A. Courtenay's "In Memoriam Daniel Ravenel," and Collections Historical Society South Carolina, I, 199, 200.

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formed the model on which several later proprietary charters were based. The charter began with the usual pious pretense of seeking to convert the heathen. Heath was granted the vice-regal authority of Palatine in as full measure as such authority had ever been held by the Bishop of Durham, at that time the only remaining English Palatine. Heath and his successors were to rule virtually as sovereigns in Carolana, except that their laws must be conformable to those of England, and that the certain protection of the rights of the inhabitants made the province a limited constitutional monarchy. Legal processes would run in the name of the Palatine instead of that of the King, although the King was sovereign.

A significant advance over previous proprietary charters was that the proprietor was required, except in emergencies admitting of no delay, to obtain the consent of the freeholders to the laws of the province. He was authorized to confer upon citizens living in the province titles of nobility, provided they should be different from those in England.⁶³

Heath transferred his grant to the Earl of Arundel; but only "few and feeble attempts" were ever made to effect any settlement; and hence on the granting of the Charter of 1663 the King in Council declared the Heath charter forfeited by non-user. But this mere executive order could not settle a matter of property rights; and consequently the legal successors of Heath, having obtained a recognition of their rights from the Board of Trade & Plantations, were in 1768 given 100,000 acres in the interior of New York in exchange for their former rights,⁶⁴ and should have congratulated themselves at being so well out of the venture.

The colonization activities that had been interrupted by the Civil War were actively resumed after the Restoration. Charles II chose the easy method of granting enormous tracts in America to friends to whom he was financially or politically indebted. Carolina, unsettled under the Heath charter, he granted, March 24, 1663, to eight of his most faithful supporters in his days of war and exile. These lords and gentlemen were, in the order named in their charter, the Earl of Clarendon, the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, Lord Ber-

63. McCrady, I, 60. The Heath Charter is in "North Carolina Colonial Records," I, 5.

64. McCrady, I, 56, n., quoting Whitney's "Government of the Colony of South Carolina," I-II, 24.

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keley, Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir John Colleton.⁶⁵

Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, had been one of the moderate supporters of parliamentary rights against Charles I; but when the popular party attacked the established church, he espoused the cause of the King and continued one of his wisest and most distinguished councillors. Made Lord High Chancellor and chief minister of Charles II, he obtained an unenviable historical immortality by the "Clarendon Code" for the persecution of Dissenters, although he was much less intolerant than the Parliament which enacted those laws. His daughter Anne married the future James II and became the mother of Queen Mary and Queen Anne. Losing the sympathy of his master, of whose dissolute life the upright Chancellor did not conceal his disapproval, Clarendon was driven from office by his enemies, and was obliged to seek safety in a prolonged exile, during which he wrote his "History of the Great Rebellion."

George Monck, Duke of Albemarle, had served with distinction in the Parliamentary army as General Monck. Realizing that the time-hallowed institution of constitutional monarchy was the only road away from anarchy or a new civil war, he marched on London and required Parliament to order a new election, the result of which, as he had intended, was an invitation to the exiled Charles to "return to his own." His services were rewarded with the title Duke of Albemarle and the command of all the royal forces.⁶⁶ Monck was distinguished as general, naval commander, and civil administrator under the Commonwealth, but never fought against Charles I, but beat the royalists in battle after Charles' execution. "Soldier as he was, he had played the difficult game of diplomacy with incomparable skill, and had won it without firing a shot." Charles II gave him numerous honors and a large pension. The Coldstream Guards, of which he was colonel, was the only part of the Parliamentary army not disbanded. He commanded London during the great plague of 1665 and maintained order after the great fire. He distinguished himself in the great four days' battle of June, 1666, with the Dutch fleet.

William Lord Craven was the express image of loyalty to the Stuarts. As a young man he gained the praise of Gustavus Adolphus

⁶⁵. Six of these gentlemen were also given the Bahama Islands.

⁶⁶. No connection with Monck's corner, named from a store-keeper.

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for being the first, though wounded, to mount the breach at the capture of Kreuznach in the war to restore the Elector Palatine who had married James I's daughter Elizabeth. He gave that afflicted Queen a home in her distress and exile, although it is not true that he married her. The sums that he spent in defending her and her brother Charles I were enormous. At the expulsion of James II he refused, while holding with the Coldstream Guards the palace of the absent King, to surrender on the command of William's general, and only did so on an order from James himself. Notwithstanding his great wealth, his gallantry, and his fidelity and the honors with which Charles rewarded him, he was, even by the loose standards of his time, silly and vulgar. He survived all the original proprietors, and died unmarried at the age of almost eighty-nine.

John, first Baron Berkeley of Stratton, was, like Craven, an ardent supporter by arms and money of the Stuarts. Despite opinion of him as "a dull formal fellow," he was a skillful commander in subordinate positions. His amazing success as a politician was ascribed largely to the influence of family and friends, although the part played by his own self-confident audacity and his steadfast loyalty to the royal family must be recognized. During the Civil War Charles I's Queen went to Exeter for the birth of her daughter in her confidence in the protection of Berkeley, the commander. He hated Clarendon for having advised an eminent Countess against marrying him (a feeling which Clarendon repaid with contempt), and instead consoled himself by becoming the third husband of the daughter of a rich London merchant.

Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, was the most versatile and brilliant of the Proprietors. Like Albemarle, he had served the Commonwealth, had coöperated with Monck in restoring the King as the only means of national peace, and like Monck was rewarded with a title as well as numerous offices. Shaftesbury was a pronounced liberal and vehemently opposed religious persecution. Carolina is indebted to him and his friend and secretary Locke for invaluable service to religious and political freedom here. His desperate efforts against Charles II's arbitrary acts and against the accession of his Roman Catholic brother necessitated his fleeing for his life to Holland, where he died. As the leader who defeated Charles II's attempt to restore the Stuart absolutism and as the author of the

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Habeas Corpus Act he holds two titles, says Van Ranke, either of which would entitle him to immortality. He is fittingly honored by the perpetuation of his name in the two rivers that hold between their waters our principal city.

Sir George Carteret came of the old French stock of the Isle of Jersey, which he so gallantly held for Charles I as the last stronghold to surrender to Parliament. A naval officer of distinction, though ill-educated and careless in business, he was honored by Charles II with numerous offices, and died just too soon to receive an intended patent of nobility. He and Lord Berkeley were for a while the Lords Proprietors of New Jersey, to which his island home gave its name.

Sir John Colleton rose to the rank of colonel in the Civil War, spent £40,000 in the King's service and lost still more by the sequestration of his property. He retired to Barbados and was one of about a dozen in that royalist refuge upon whom Charles II conferred knighthood. If, as is reported, the idea of the Carolina charter originated with him, it affords another illustration of the powerful Barbadian influence in early South Carolina history.

Sir William Berkeley, the youngest brother of Lord John Berkeley, was the colorful Governor of Virginia who won the enthusiastic support of its people, banished its Puritans, invited Charles II and the Royalists to Virginia, and retired to his plantation only on the compulsion of the Parliamentary forces. Restored to his governorship by Charles II, all the worst features of his character asserted themselves. He goaded the people into rebellion and hanged so many of Bacon's supporters as to lead Charles II to complain that "the old fool has put to death more people in that naked country than I did here for the murder of my father." He won distinction for his narrow, energetic mind by his report to the Lords of Plantations in 1671 that in his colony "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best governments. God keep us from both."

Under this heterogeneous guidance Carolina was to begin her career. They had fought each other before, and they were to do so again when the first enthusiasm of the Restoration was over. The brilliant and the dull, the distinguished statesman and the merely gal-

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lant soldier, the liberal and the reactionary, they agreed permanently in nothing except in being brave gentlemen and loyal Englishmen.

The charter, dated March 24, 1663, granted the proprietors not only the power to govern the vast territory between 31 degrees and 36 degrees latitude and the two oceans, but also the ownership of the land in return for a payment to the King annually of twenty marks, and also of one-fourth of all gold and silver that might be found. They were given full power to appoint to all offices, including ministers of the churches. The Church of England was not, however, established by the charter; for Article 3 merely gives the proprietors the right to establish that church; and even that right would have proved of no effect if a great majority of the colonists had been of a different religion; for Article 5 required that all laws should be made "of and with the advice, assent and approbation of the freemen of the said province, or the greater part of them, or of their delegates or deputies."⁶⁷ The Church of England was later established by the authorized Legislature and the Proprietors acting together. These authorities, or either of them, could have declined to establish any religion. Whether under the grant of general legislative authority, they could have established any other religion, in view of the specific permission to establish the Anglican, is a more difficult question. The Proprietors were empowered to make such temporary laws as necessity dictated when the people or their representatives could not be assembled, provided these did not change or take away any one's possessions. It was thought that numbers of Dissenters would go to the province, and hence the Proprietors were authorized, but not required, to grant such liberty of conscience and worship as they might see fit.

Such was the charter which by the standards of the governing class in England at that time seemed generous. The one saving clause was that which required that the laws must receive popular approval. This constituted the little society in Carolina a largely self-governing community from the start.

Apparently in order to heal any defect of title due to Sir Robert Heath's charter not having been declared null by the King in Council until after the granting of their charter of 1663, the Lords Proprie-

67. Rivers, 215, expressed this same view: "The charter evidently contemplated the establishment of the Church of England in Carolina, but did not specifically provide for it." McCrady, I, 67, seems to go too far in saying of the charter, "The Church of England was thus established in the province."

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tors secured a second charter dated June 30, 1665. The only material differences were an extension of the boundaries to 36 degrees 30 minutes on the north and to 29 degrees on the south, that is, from Virginia on the north to a point sixty-five miles south of St. Augustine on the south, and a provision permitting the establishment of various colonies, each to be governed by its own laws, and a slight amplification of the right of the Proprietors to grant religious toleration. Provision was thus made for the process by which the province soon became divided into North Carolina and South Carolina, and seemed at one time likely to develop into a larger number of separate colonies. The extension of the province to a point sixty-five miles south of St. Augustine was an unwarrantable trespass upon territory that had been actually settled by Spain for a century, and naturally increased the hostility which Spain would have felt toward any settlement along the South Atlantic Coast.

Carolina at once attracted the attention of the English settlers in Barbados, various elements among whom were dissatisfied. The Dissenter element desired a freer religious system, and the Royalist element which had migrated to the island when defeat overtook them in England were deeply offended at the Royal government's refusing to make good their land titles, but on the contrary imposing a heavy tax on them to satisfy the conflicting claims of disputing Lords Proprietors of the island.⁶⁸ Purely economic motives also operated powerfully. The development of the large plantation system was crowding out the poor and causing the rich to look to the mainland for new areas of expansion. Added to this, a series of destructive hurricanes had inclined many to desert the West Indies.

August 10, 1663, Captain William Hilton sailed from Barbados to find a location for Carolina settlement for a group of Barbadians headed by Governor Modiford of Barbados and Peter Colleton. He entered the Combahee River, which he erroneously took for the Spanish Jordan. He found the Indians acquainted with many Spanish words, familiar with firearms, and occasional visitors to St. Augustine, from which they said the Spaniards used to come to them by water. Learning that thirteen Englishmen had been cast ashore July 24 four or five leagues to the north, three of whom had been killed by the Stonos, Hilton secured the rendition of five, but, in apprehen-

68. McCrady, I, 68-70.

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sion of Indian hostility, left the other five to be recovered by the Spaniards, who had opportunely arrived from St. Augustine for this purpose. The publication in 1664 of Hilton's laudatory account of the country helped the Proprietors in securing settlers. Hilton's Head preserves his name. His voyage produced no settlement, as the Lords Proprietors declined to accept the proposals of his employers.⁶⁹

From 1664 to 1667 a colony of Barbadians existed near the western lip of the Cape Fear. In 1666 Robert Sanford, an official of that colony, sailed along the coast from that point to Port Royal and explored a short distance inland in the latter neighborhood. The Indians were so friendly that he took one with him to learn English and left Dr. Henry Woodward to learn their language.⁷⁰ The Spaniards, hearing of Woodward's presence at Port Royal, came from St. Augustine and made him a prisoner. He was freed when the English buccaneer Robert Searle soon afterwards swooped down on St. Augustine and liberated all the English prisoners. Being wrecked on the Island of Nevis, Woodward was picked up in 1669 by the colonists on their way to found Charlestown, and there renewed his skilled services by which the colonists gained a profitable Indian trade.⁷¹ Through the poor piloting of the Chief of Kiawah, who was as enthusiastic about the charms of the country along the Ashley as its later inhabitants, Sandford missed being the first Englishman to enter, but, admiring it from outside, fixed the name of Ashley to that river.⁷² Hilton and Sandford both saw evidences of the former occupation by the Spaniards, the former mentioning the ruins of Fort San Marcos, and the latter a wooden cross, although the Indians showed it no reverence.

The Fundamental Constitutions—These ineffectual spurts at colonization were ended by the assumption of leadership in 1669 by the brilliant and active Lord Ashley, later known as the Earl of Shaftesbury. He had his friend and secretary, Locke, draw up the Fundamental Constitutions for Carolina, the first edition of which

69. "Hilton's Account," an extremely rare pamphlet, is reproduced in "Charleston Year Book for 1884," 227-61; "Collection South Carolina Historical Society," V; Courtenay's "Genesis of South Carolina, and Narratives of Early Carolina," ed. by Salley, 33-61.

70. Sandford's Narrative may be found in Carroll's "Collections of South Carolina," II, and in Salley's "Narratives of Early Carolina."

71. Salley, "Narratives of Early Carolina," 127.

72. The Spaniards called Charleston Harbor Bahia de Cayugua (that is, Kiawah Bay) and St. George's Bay.



MEDWAY, BACK RIVER (TRIBUTARY OF THE COOPER). OLDEST HOUSE IN
SOUTH CAROLINA

Considered of Dutch Architecture; Built in 1687 by John d'Arsens, Seigneur de Wernhaut, Whose
Widow Married the First Landgrave Smith. Much Enlarged Over the Original One Story



MEDWAY; BACK VIEW. RESIDENCE OF ONE OF THE WEALTHIEST LANDOWNERS
OF EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD, BERKELEY COUNTY

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bore the date of July 21, 1669, which proposed a form of government which would have been reactionary even for the English of that day. Perhaps the purpose "that we may avoid erecting a numerous democracy" was a concession to their associates. Perhaps neither would have sought to impose such a monstrosity of medievalism on the young society of the New World if they had already experienced the pressure of Stuart autocratic authority which was later to drive them both to flee England, the one to save his life, the other his liberty. After various amendings, the Constitutions were virtually abandoned in 1693, though proposed several times later. Let us rapidly review the second edition of the Constitutions, dated March 1, 1669-70,⁷³ enlarged from the original one hundred and eleven articles to the one hundred and twenty which constituted practically the form in which they were repeatedly urged upon the Colonists until their abbreviated edition of forty-one articles in 1698.⁷⁴ Although mainly a curiosity of political theory, they exhibit along with their medieval monstrosities flashes of wisdom. In addition to the ordinary objects of government, the preamble states the purpose "that we may avoid erecting a numerous democracy." This has frequently been quoted as something peculiar, whereas it merely expressed pithily the common view of the contemporary governing class. Neither Locke, the formulator of the principles of free government, nor Shaftesbury, the author of the *Habeas Corpus* Act and the foe of Stuart tyranny, conceived a democracy in our modern sense, but rather a free and stable government conducted by those who had a stake in the country under which all men should be assured freedom and justice, even though many were ill qualified to participate in operating

73. That is, old style 1669, a new style 1670. Dates between January 1 and March 24 inclusive for the period 1582 to 1752 are often written double, as 1669-70, meaning that by old style it was still 1669, while by new style it was already 1670. Catholic Europe followed Gregory XIII in 1582 in correcting the Julian calendar by dropping the ten days that had erroneously accumulated and changing New Year's from March 25 to January 1st. Protestant England continued the old style until 1752, when she set herself right by dropping eleven days (as the error grew to be with February 29, 1700) and also adopted January 1st as New Year's. Hence there is a difference of ten or eleven days in English and continental numbering of the days from 1582 to 1752. To avoid confusion in the matter of the year, it was common to give the double figure, as 1669-70, for days before March 25th.

74. "S. C. Stat. at L.," I, 16, 43; Locke's Works; Poore's "Constitutions and Charters," II, 1397; Carroll, "Collections," II, 362, for second set; "S. C. H. S. Col.," V, 93, for first set, with corrections in MS, indicated. Prof. Rivers ("History South Carolina," 334) points out that Trott and Carroll both err in calling this the first set. The MS. in the Charleston Library Society is a copy of the first set. This did not establish the Anglican or any other church.

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such institutions. Shaftesbury wrote later to the young South Carolinian that "for men without estates to make laws for men of estates is as bad as a state of war."

The eldest Proprietor should always be Palatine and enjoy three shares of the profits to one share for each of the others. The province was to be divided into counties of 750 square miles, in each of which two-fifths of the land was to belong to the proprietors personally and the one landgrave and two cassiques of each county, and three-fifths to the people. The landgraves' and cassiques' "baronies" of 12,000 acres each were to be guarded against alienation or division. The feudal estates were to be inhabited by such "leetmen" as might choose to cross the ocean for the servile purpose of thus becoming bound to the land, and controlled industrially and judicially by the leet court of the lord. "All children of leetmen shall be leetmen, and so to all generations." A ludicrously titled series of grand offices and elaborate courts were sketched.

The Grand Council, to consist of the Lords Proprietors and a host of dignitaries that were never created, was to have the power to propose laws, and the Parliament only the right to accept or reject. The Parliament was to consist of the Proprietors or their deputies, the whole provincial nobility, and one elected representative from each precinct, so arranged that the people would come to have a majority of one when there should come to be nine counties—a circumstance which the Proprietors evidently did not propose to have occur in any one of the several "colonies" to be established in the province.

Besides the leet courts for the serf-like leetmen, there were to be courts similar to the ordinary English, topped by an aggregation of admiralty and other courts surrounding the Proprietors. Juries were to find all verdicts by majority vote. No person might plead a case for pay, nor write any commentary upon the laws.

An interesting foreshadowing of the annulling of laws because unconstitutional was the provision that each of the four "estates" (Proprietors, landgraves, cassiques and commons) should vote separately if such a point was raised; and if a majority of any order voted that the proposal violated the fundamental constitutions, it should be dropped.

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A complete system of vital and marriage statistics was enjoined under severe penalties for neglect. There was to be reasonable self-government for towns.

The religious sections contrast most favorably with the intolerance then enshrined in the laws of England and almost every other country. The Church of England was to be the established religion. No person who denied the existence of God or denied he should be worshipped might reside or own property in the province; and no person over seventeen years old could enjoy any protection of law unless he belonged to some religious body. But even heathen were to be unmolested, Christian example alone being used to reclaim them. Not only was religious persecution, either official or unofficial, forbidden, but so was even "reproachful, reviling, or abusive language against any religion of any church or profession, that being the certain way of disturbing the peace, and of hindering the conversion of any to the truth." Even slaves were guaranteed complete freedom in choosing their religion; but the theory that Christians could not be held in slavery by Christians was specifically denied; and the master was declared to "have absolute authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion soever."

All owners of land were required to pay to the Proprietors a perpetual rent of a penny a year per acre from and after 1689.

So religiously were the Fundamental Constitutions to be regarded as "the sacred and unalterable form and rule of government of Carolina forever" that every Parliament was to hear them read at its opening, and every person over seventeen years old was to be deprived of the right to hold property or enjoy the protection of law who neglected to sign the copy to "be kept in a great book by the register of every precinct."

If the young David might decline to use Saul's armor, equally properly might the young province of South Carolina decline this unproved harness.

NOTE—The above article is from advance sheets of a "History of South Carolina," by Dr. Wallace, which will be published later this year by The Americana Historical Society, Inc.

Charles Joseph Pembroke, Manufacturer

BY E. D. CLEMENTS, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND



COMING to Rochester, New York, as a young boy, Charles Joseph Pembroke spent the remainder of his life in this city, attaining world-wide prominence as the inventor and manufacturer of high-grade carbon paper and typewriter ribbons. He was co-founder and vice-president of the Kee-Lox Manufacturing Company, one of the principal business enterprises of Rochester, and in this company was associated with his brother, Winfield Pembroke, for more than three decades. Mr. Pembroke was devoted to the interests of the firm, but he also possessed the happy faculty of giving himself whole-heartedly to recreational and other pursuits. Apart from his business, he was well known for his support of yachting and speed-boat racing, and as a sportsman won a number of very popular victories.

Charles J. Pembroke, bearer of an old and honorable name, was the great-grandson of John Pembroke, born about 1775 in New York State. Although the history of the family back of John Pembroke remains obscure, it is known that there were Pembrokes who came to this country in the Colonial period and settled in the regions which are now included in the states of Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York. However, which one of these early settlers was the ancestor of the Pembroke family here recorded is not known.

I. John Pembroke, great-grandfather of Charles Joseph Pembroke, was, possibly, the son of David Pembroke listed in the 1810 census for Benton Township, Ontario County, and before that in Ulster County, New York. John Pembroke was listed in the 1810 census, Benton Township, Ontario County, New York, as follows:

John Pembroke, head of family,
two males under 10,
one male between 10 and 16
one male between 26 and 45 (himself)
one female under 10,
one female between 16 and 26 (wife)



B. Dumbrooke

CHARLES JOSEPH PEMBROKE, MANUFACTURER

It is evident from the succeeding census lists that he resided in Benton Township all his life. In the one for 1850, the last time his name is listed, the record reads:

John Pembroke, farmer, born New York, aged 76. Estate \$20,000.
 Zenette " " 55, born New York.

(Apparently meant for his wife's name Asenath—discrepancies such as this frequently occur in the census lists.)

Elizabeth Pembroke		aged 25,	born	New York.
Nancy	"	" 25,	"	"
James	"	" 7,	"	"
Sarah	"	" 1,	"	"

This is the census for Benton Township, Yates County, New York. Yates County was formed from Ontario in 1823, and Benton Township fell in the former.)

In 1833, the Dutch Reformed Church at Bellona (a village included in Benton Township) was built at the expense of John Pembroke and Jacob Meserole, and on September 12, 1838, John Pembroke, Jacob Meserole and Martin Gage, the trustees of this church, deeded the property to the First Presbyterian Church of Bellona. John Pembroke died in the house built by Dr. Caleb Benton, near the mill pond, Bellona, New York, January 28, 1857. In his will, dated August 14, 1856, probated April 14, 1857, he listed himself as of town of Benton, "aged 80 and upwards." He named his wife Asenath, and bequeathed,

to grandson Winfield S. Pembroke half the homestead farm . . . , but if he die before reaching age of 21, his share to go to John's grandson Thomas Pembroke and to Charles J. and Sarah E. Pembroke, children of John's deceased grandson John.

to grandson Thomas Pembroke the other half of the homestead. . . . But if he die before reaching 21, his share to go to John's granddaughter Jane Ann Purdy and grandson Oliver N. Gage.

to grandson Oliver N. Gage a farm in Benton. . . . If he dies before reaching 21, to the surviving children of John's deceased daughter Abigail Gage.

to grandson James P. Gage, the farm on which son Joseph died. If James dies before reaching 21, to surviving children of deceased daughter, Abigail Gage.

to granddaughters Mary Eberhart, Elizabeth Butler and Harriet Pembroke. . . . If Harriet dies before reaching "lawful age" hers to go to her surviving brothers and sisters.

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to granddaughter Jane Ann Purdy. . . . If she dies before reaching lawful age, her share to go to John's wife Asenath. If Asenath dies, to the surviving children of Abigail Gage when the youngest reaches age of 18.

to granddaughters Asenath and Abigail M. Gage, ... to go to surviving brothers and sisters if either die before becoming of age.

to Charles H. Pembroke and Sarah E. Pembroke, children of deceased grandson John, ... the share of either to go to the survivor if one dies before becoming of age.

to grandson Oliver N. Gage.

to Elizabeth Banks, late widow of deceased son Oliver H. P. Pembroke.

to Cynthia, wife of Henry M. Smith, late widow of deceased son Joseph.

Any residue to be divided into three equal parts and to be distributed as follows:—

One share to be distributed to the children of deceased son Joseph.

One share to be distributed to the children of deceased daughter Abigail.

One share to granddaughter Jane Ann Purdy.

Executors—"trusty friends" Samuel G. Gage and Charles Coleman.

John Pembroke probably married twice, but the name of his first wife is not of record. He married (second), before 1825, Asenath, probably Perkins, who died in Bellona, New York, in 1875. In her will, dated March 8, 1875, and probated August 27, 1875, she made bequests to Mary Elizabeth Banks, "sister" Charity Allen, Mary J. Pembroke ("widow of Thomas E. Pembroke"), "grandson" Oliver Newton Gage, Mary A. Strickland and Anna Pembroke ("daughters of John Pembroke, late of Mishawaka ?, Indiana"), "granddaughter" Jane Ann Banks, Ida Asenath Pembroke ("daughter of Thomas E. Pembroke deceased"), "three grandchildren" Oliver N. Gage, James P. Gage and Jane Ann Banks, and "\$150 in trust for the support and upbringing of the children of the late Thomas E. Pembroke, deceased." Children of John Pembroke (order unknown): 1. Joseph, of whom further. 2. Oliver H. P., died in Benton Township, between January 9 and January 21, 1850, the date of the making and probate of his will; was a trustee of the First Methodist Church of Benton; mar-

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ried Mary Elizabeth, who married (second) a Mr. Banks, of Benton. 3. Abigail, died prior to 1857; married Lewis D. Gage, born in 1817, son of Isaac and Huldah (Benedict) Gage, of Benton, who married (second) Eliza Balls, of Benton, and removed to Jonesville, Wisconsin. Children of Lewis and Abigail (Pembroke) Gage: i. James P. Gage, married Mary, daughter of Thomas Hall, of Seneca, Ontario County, New York; removed to Wisconsin. ii. Asenath B. Gage, married George W. Gregory. iii. Oliver Newton Gage, married Jannette Quick, of Pen Yan; removed to Rose Hill, Wisconsin. iv. Abigail Gage, married George Southerland, son of James Southerland, of Seneca. 4. Harriet Gage, died before 1857; married James H. Purdy, son of Stephen and Susan (Haight) Purdy, of Dutchess County, New York, and Benton, who married (second) Mary A. Lewis. Child of James H. and Harriet (Pembroke) Purdy was Jane Ann Purdy, who married George H. Banks. Grandchildren of John Pembroke, whose parents' names have not been ascertained: i. John, died before 1857; had children Charles H. and Sarah E. ii. Mary, probably married an Eberhart. iii. Elizabeth, probably married Mr. Butler. iv. Harriet Pembroke.

("Yates County, New York, Probate Records, Wills," Book E, p. 748; Book J, pp. 553-59; Book Y, pp. 406-09; Files, Box 47 C. "Deed," County Clerk's Office, Penn Yan, New York, Book XVI, p. 199. XXII, pp. 360-61. "Benton Township, Ontario County, New York, Census of 1810," pp. 678, 680; 1820, p. 262. "Benton Township, Yates County, New York, Census of 1830, 1840, 1850," p. 208. Stafford C. Cleveland: "History and Directory of Yates County," Vol. I, pp. 178, 232-34, 358. Lewis Cass Aldrich: "History of Yates County, New York," pp. 369, 499-500.)

II. Joseph Pembroke, son of John Pembroke, died between 1847 and 1850, for he is on record as deeding land, September 21, 1847, and is not recorded in the 1850 census, his widow being listed, however, as follows:

Cynthia Pembroke,	age	34,	born	New York,
James	"	"	12,	" " "
Thomas	"	"	7,	" " "
Winfield S.	"	"	4,	" " "

Joseph Pembroke married Cynthia, who married (second) Henry M. Smith, of Benton. Children, born in New York: 1. (probably)

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James, born about 1838, apparently died before 1857. 2. Thomas E., born about 1843, died before 1875; married Mary Jane. 3. Winfield Scott, of whom further.

("Deeds," County Clerk's Office, Penn Yan, New York, Book XXII, pp. 278-79, 311; Book XXXVI, pp. 32-33. "Census of 1850, Benton Township, Yates County, New York," p. 250. "Yates County, New York, Probate Records, Wills," Book J, pp. 553-59; Book Y, pp. 406-09.)

III. Winfield Scott Pembroke, son of Joseph and Cynthia Pembroke, was born in New York, probably Yates County, about 1846-47. He apparently spent his youth and early married life in and around Benton Township, except for a brief interlude during the Civil War, when he served as a member of a New York volunteer regiment with the Union forces. In the census of 1870, Benton Township, Yates County, he is recorded:

Winfield S. Pembroke, farmer,	age	24,	born	New York.
Alvira E.	"	21,	"	"
Winfield P.	"	1,	"	"
Hattie	"	3,	"	"

Ten years later the record reads:

Winfield Pembroke, carpenter,	age	32,	born	New York
			father born	New York, mother born New York.
Alvina	"	age 30,	born	New York,
			father born	New York, mother born New York.
Hattie	"	age 13,	born	New York.
Winfield P.	"	11,	"	"
Charles J.	"	6,	"	"
Fannie S.	"	3,	"	"
George H.	"	4 months	born	New York.

On October 18, 1883, Winfield Pembroke leased his homestead farm to Carrol Ham and wife Charlotte, of Seneca, and in 1886, his name appears in the Rochester directory, showing that he removed from Benton Township to Rochester sometime between these two dates. On April 15, 1897, he deeded the land in Benton inherited from John Pembroke to Charles J. Pembroke, his son. Winfield Scott Pembroke spent the remainder of his life in Rochester, where he gained prominence as a building contractor.

Winfield Scott Pembroke married, probably about 1866, Alvina E. Smith, daughter of Fanny Smith. Children, born in New York

CHARLES JOSEPH PEMBROKE, MANUFACTURER

State: 1. Hattie, born about 1867. 2. Winfield P., born about 1869; associated with the Kee-Lox Manufacturing Company, of Rochester, New York, for many years. 3. Charles Joseph, of whom further. 4. Fannie S., born about 1877. 5. George H., born about 1879-80.

("Benton Township, Yates County, New York, Census of 1870," pp. 46-47; 1880, p. 27. Directory of Rochester, New York, for the years 1885, 1886. "Deeds," County Clerk's Office, Penn Yan, New York, Book LXV, p. 558; Book LXXXIV, pp. 201, 378; Book LII, p. 257. Family data.)

IV. Charles Joseph Pembroke, son of Winfield Scott and Alvina E. (Smith) Pembroke, was born in Penn Yan, New York, July 11, 1874. He was still in early childhood when his parents removed to Rochester, taking him and his brothers and sisters with them. He received his education in the local public schools and at the old Rochester Free Academy, after which he became associated in business with his father as a carpenter and contractor. He was so engaged until the beginning of the present century. His work, however, did not absorb his entire attention. Possessed of genuine inventive talent, he took pleasure in seeking to perfect various useful devices and, with his brother, Winfield P., succeeded in developing a new type of ink application to carbon paper and typewriter ribbons. This process possessed the inestimable advantage of being clean, thus eliminating the soiling of clothing and hands of the handler. In order to take advantage commercially of their development the brothers, in 1900, founded a company for the manufacture of carbons and typewriter ribbons, incorporating it as the Kee-Lox Manufacturing Company. Fair dealing and strict integrity combined with the natural advantages of their product brought about a substantial and steady growth of the company. Today the Kee-Lox brand is distributed throughout the world and its name is a synonym for the highest standards in its field.

For a number of years Charles J. Pembroke handled the sales department of his business, traveling extensively throughout the country, and thus becoming a warm friend of many of his consumers. His business relations with his brother were always of the closest. It is a matter of record that one would serve first as president and then after a period of time, never specified, would say to the other, "Now, it's your turn to be president." The fact that they worked so well together was naturally of great advantage to the business and in other

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fields their interests were always equally close. Earlier in his career Mr. Pembroke was also engaged as a motor car dealer in Rochester, but in 1916, because of the pressure of his duties with the Kee-Lox Manufacturing Company, he disposed of his automobile dealership, which had been operated under the name of the Curtis-Pembroke Company.

Mr. Pembroke's interest in yachting and boats dated back to his youth and as a sportsman his activities were again shared by his brother. In 1900 they were able to put their plans into effect and from that time onward their craft were well known in yachting circles on Lake Ontario. In 1905 they built the racing yacht Kee-Lox II to compete for the Canada's Cup. Subsequently the building and racing of power boats became their major recreational interest. For many years Charles J. Pembroke was an active and popular member of the Rochester Yacht Club. He was also prominent over a period of years in civic and fraternal affairs, being a member of the Rochester Chamber of Commerce, the Free and Accepted Masons, and Rochester Lodge, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. In the Masonic order he was a member of the Blue Lodge and of many higher bodies, including Rochester Consistory, Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite, and Damascus Temple, Ancient Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. Mr. Pembroke was a Republican in politics, and of the Presbyterian faith.

On October 30, 1902, at Rochester, Charles Joseph Pembroke married Ida A. Schulz, daughter of the late Frederick H. and Ann (Salzer) Schulz, both natives of Germany. Mrs. Pembroke and their four children survive: 1. Ethel A., at home. 2. Alice, wife of Grant H. Whitmore, of Rochester; they have one daughter, Ann Elizabeth. 3. Charles W., born July 9, 1909. 4. Frederick H., born November 13, 1910, now attending the University of Pennsylvania.

Charles J. Pembroke died on December 17, 1932, surrounded by members of his family in the home at No. 75 Grosvenor Road, Rochester. Although a comparatively young man, during his lifetime in this city he won hundreds of close friends, and his passing brought a sense of deep and irreparable loss to them. His integrity and fairness, combined with his invariable friendliness, had endeared him to his employees, and his many acts of charity, never known except to those he aided, were characteristic of his generosity of spirit and enlightened conception of true citizenship.



Ida (Schutz) Pentroke.

Pettengill and Allied Families

BY MYRTLE M. LEWIS, GLEN ROCK, NEW JERSEY



THE origin of this name is not entirely clear, but it is probably from Portingale, Portigall, or Portugal, old forms of the name which indicate that it was first applied to Portuguese settlers in England. It has also been suggested that the name Pettengill (Pettingell, Pettingill) may come from Petincol, or Little Nicholas, which is found in the Hundred Rolls at an early date. The name appears in London and Oxfordshire, England, in the sixteenth century under various spellings. The American ancestor, Richard Pettingell, came from County Norfolk, and because of his own statement that he knew in England, Giles Fuller, of Hampton, who came from Topcroft, County Norfolk, Richard Pettingell has been connected with the neighboring village of Shottesham in the same county.

(Harrison: "Surnames of the United Kingdom." C. I. Pettingell: "A Pettingell Genealogy," pp. vii, 3-4. Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

Richard Pettingell, American progenitor of the line, who is believed to be the great-grandfather of Nathaniel Pettingill, mentioned hereinafter, was born in England about 1620, as we learn from the following deposition:

The deposition of Richard Pettingell aged 47 testifyeth that John Webster came to me of a Lords day before the sun was down and charged me and my son to take care of John Atkinson untill he had occasion to call for him.

Afterwards we went to Mr. Thomas his house and John Atkinson proffered Mr. Thomas that if Mr. Thomas wold pay him within one month what he owed to him he shold have that Cafg of Shurgeon which was now in John Kents boat delivered to him for his use at Boston againe but Mr. Thomas wold not.

Testified at a meeting of the Commissioner for Small Causes in Newbury Sept. 4, 1667. (Essex Court Files XIII, 49.)

When giving testimony in the Court at Hampton (now New Hampshire), 14 (8) 1673, he deposed that he was "about fifty-two

PETTENGILL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

years old"; in 1678, when he took the oath of allegiance, he is said to have been "about 60." His testimony in Hampton was in a trial about the rights of certain heirs to Giles Fuller's estate, and was as follows:

Rich. Pettingell aged about 52 yrs. saith yt being very well acquainted with Giles Fuller of Hampton deceased and with Mr. Fuller of Bastable doctor both in Old England and here, and both told me they were of Kinn and ye sd. Giles Fuller have told me in old England and now that Matth. Fuller doctor now of Bastable was ye nearest kinsman he had.

Sworn before ye County Court held att Hampton ye 14:8 mo. 1673 as attested. Fuller is positively known to have come from Topcroft in Norfolk, England, and it is the opinion of one of the Fuller family who has investigated the problem that Pettingell came from Shottesham in the same county.

Richard Pettingell was a resident of Salem before 1641, and was evidently a member of the church, for he was admitted to the freemanship of the colony, June 2, 1641, a dignity which none attained at that time except members of the church, recommended by the minister of the place. Richard Pettingell had a grant of a lot of land, ten acres, at "Enon" (afterwards Wenham), in 1642, and removed to that section, where he resided several years. He was received into the church there by letter from that of Salem, 4 (6) 1649. The will of Samuel Smith was witnessed by Richard Pettingell, 10 (5) 1642. Richard Pettingell was a man of weight of character, as the following entry from the Salem town records shows:

At the general towne meeting held the seventh day of the fifth month, 1644, ordered, That twoe be appointed every Lords day to walke forth in the time of Gods worshippe to take notice of such as either lye at home or in the fields without a good account thereof, and to take the name of such persons to present them to the magistrate, whereby they may be accordinglie proceeded against. The name of such as are ordered to doe this service are: on the seventh day, Richard Pettingell and John Ingersoll.

He again made a change of residence to a place further east, the plantation of Newbury, where he bought a tract of land on April 8, 1651, having sold his property in Wenham to Samuel Forster. He made his home near what is now known as "The Upper Green," on the high road on the right hand side. Part of the house was still

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standing in 1900. The town gave him, in 1651, fourteen acres of marsh in consideration "of a right of way 4 rods wide" through his land, situated on what is now called Ocean Avenue. In 1661 he was chosen a grand juryman. In 1665 he was granted an island, in Plum Island River near Sandy Beach, by a committee appointed by the town to settle a dispute between Richard Pettingell and John Emery regarding the division as laid out. He was one of those chosen, in 1671, "for a Jury of Tryalls at Ipswich court." On July 15, 1695, in separate deeds, he conveyed certain houses and farm in Newbury and other interests to his sons, Samuel, Matthew, and Nathaniel. He died shortly after, his wife having died several years before.

Richard Pettingell married, before 1644, Joanna Ingersoll, daughter of Richard Ingersoll, who came to Salem in 1629 from Bedfordshire, England, under contract with the Massachusetts Bay Colony to take a place among the planters they were gathering. His family was to be brought over and he was well spoken of by the company's secretary in a letter to Governor John Endicott. He maintained a ferry at Salem, in 1636, where he was the owner of a large amount of property. He died in 1644. The will of Richard Ingersoll follows:

July the 21st, 1644.

I, Richard Ingerson, of Salem in the County of Essex, in New England, being weake in body; but through Gods mercye in pfect memorye, doe make this my last will and testament as followeth, Vidz.

I give to Ann my wife all my estate of lands, goods and chattels whatsoever, except as followeth.

Viz:

I give to George Ingerson my son, six acres of meddow lying in the great meddow.

It: I give to Nathaniell my youngest son, a percel of ground with a little frame thereupon, which I bought of John Pe— but if the said Nathaniel dye, without issue of his body lawfully begotten, then the above-said land to be equally shared between John Ingerson my son, and Richard Pettingall and William Haines, my sons-in-law.

It: I give to Bathseba my youngest daughters, two cowes.

It: I give to my daughter Alce Walcott, my house at Ton—— with ten acres of upland and the meddow after my wife's decease.

RICHARD B. INGERSON

Witness:

His mark

TOWNSEND BISHOP

I read this will to Richard Ingerson and he acknowledged it to be his will.

JO: ENDICOTT

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Children of Richard and Joanna (Ingersoll) Pettingell: 1. Samuel, baptized at Salem, February 9, 1644-45, died in 1711; married, February 13, 1673-74, Sarah Poore, daughter of John Poore. 2. Matthew, of whom further. 3. Mary, born at Newbury, July 6, 1652, died September 19, 1705; married Sergeant Abraham Adams, son of Robert and Eleanor Adams. 4. Nathaniel, born at Newbury, September 21, 1654, died about 1718; married (first) Mary, whose surname is unknown; married (second), about 1703, Hannah Goodbridge, daughter of Jeremiah and Mary (Adams) Goodbridge. 5. A son, born November 15, 1657, died November 17, 1657. 6. Henry, born January 16, 1659, died January 20, 1659.

Matthew Pettingell, son of Richard and Joanna (Ingersoll) Pettingell, was born in Enon, now Wenham, Massachusetts, about 1648, and died after October 24, 1714, the date of his will. He is said to have lived on the old road from Newbury to Boston, just beyond the thirty-seventh milestone. His grandson, Nicholas, lived there for a while, then removed to the house on the high road with brick ends. Matthew's house was torn down in 1830, and the little white house built near it. Matthew Pettingell, Sr., took the oath of allegiance in 1678, "aged 30." He bought land of Joseph Woodbridge, January 11, 1699; sold land to Ezra Rolfe on October 1, 1707, and to Samuel Homans on the same date; bought land of James March, November 3, 1708; bought marsh land on Little River of Robert Hale, October 26, 1710; bought from the heirs of John Wolcott, twenty-two acres of upper common, June 10, 1691. On October 24, 1714, he made his will, in which is mentioned his wife, his eldest son, Nathaniel, and other children, Matthew, Hannah, Nicholas, Cutting, Sarah, Mary, John, and Abigail. In the papers relating to the division, it appears that Joanna was the wife of Joseph Mussey, that the other daughters were single, and that Major James Noyes was the guardian for Abigail.

Matthew Pettingell married Sarah Noyes, born August 22, 1653, daughter of Nicholas and Mary (Cutting) Noyes, of Newbury, Massachusetts, and granddaughter of Rev. William Noyes, of Cholder-ton, Wiltshire, England. Children: 1. A son, born June 10, 1674, probably died young. 2. Nathaniel, born January 21, 1675-76; married, December 22, 1702-03, Margaret Richardson. 3. Matthew, Jr.,

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born in Newbury, November 18, 1678, baptized November 29, 1678; married Joanna French, who was born December 16, 1683, daughter of Samuel and Hester French. 4. Joanna, born January 27, 1680-81, died April 15, 1722; married Joseph Mussey, son of Joseph and Esther (Jackson) Mussey. 5. Cutting, born September 30, 1683, died after September 13, 1760; married, November 24, 1714, Bathsheba Noyes. 6. Nicholas, born November 15, 1685, died before 1792; married, December 25, 1718, Tabitha March, daughter of Lieutenant James and May (Walker) March. 7. Sarah, born April 19, 1688; married (first), December 15, 1715, Francis Brown; married (second), December 2, 1717, John Weed. 8. Mary, married, January 21, 1719-20, Daniel Lunt. 9. John, born February 16, 1693-1694, died in January, 1766; married, February 16, 1720-21, Mary Knight. 10. Abraham, born September 23, 1696, died in 1715. 11. Abigail, born October 17, 1699; married, July 2, 1724, Nicholas Jackman.

(C. I. Pettingell: "A Pettingell Genealogy," pp. 3-11.)

I. Nathaniel Pettingill is, according to family tradition, a grandson of Matthew Pettingell, mentioned above, and the son of one of the sons of Matthew, listed above. Nathaniel Pettingill was probably living in 1769, as in that year his grandson, Nathaniel, is referred to as Nathaniel, 3d. On March 27, 1718, a Nathaniel Pettingill, a felt maker of Newbury, Massachusetts, bought land there of Richard Brown, of Reading, late of Newbury, but there is no definite proof that he is the Nathaniel Pettingill of the line herein traced. On April 14, 1741, Nathaniel Pettingill, of Methuen, a cooper, bought land of John Ward. This was probably the Nathaniel (through whom our line carries) who married at Andover, Massachusetts, July 14, 1720, Susannah Abbot or Abbott. Children: 1. Joseph, of whom further. 2. Nathaniel, Jr., born November 24, 1722. 3. John, born July 24, 1726 or 1727, died October 16, 1784; married, December 27, 1753, Judith Huse. 4. Samuel, born March 16, 1731-32. 5. Apon, born December 19, 1734.

(C. I. Pettingell: "A Pettingell Genealogy," pp. 404-06.)

II. Joseph Pettingill, son of Nathaniel and Susannah (Abbot or Abbott) Pettingill, was born in Andover, Massachusetts, January 30, 1721-22. He was in Daniel Bodwell's company, April 19, 1757.

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A Joseph Pettingill and his wife, Elizabeth, sold land in Methuen on April 21, 1769.

Joseph Pettingill married, in Methuen, Massachusetts, September 5, 1740, Elizabeth Lancaster. Children, born in Methuen, Massachusetts: 1. Joseph, born January 9, 1741, died about 1785, in Newburgh, New York; served in the Revolution; married (first), March 22, 1764, Sarah Farrington; married (second) Tabitha, whose surname is unknown. 2. Daniel, born May 23, 1743, died before 1803; married, July 15, 1770, Sarah Cross. 3. Abbott, born February 12, 1746, died about 1797 in Salem, New Hampshire; served in the Revolution; married Hannah Page. 4. James, born June 23, 1747, died August 3, 1781, in Gilead, Maine; married (first), September 19, 1765, Mary Williams; married (second), April 14, 1778, Dorcas Gage. 5. Elizabeth, born October 14, 1749; married, July 13, 1769, John Austin, Jr. 6. Sarah, born June 16, 1751, died in Salem, New Hampshire; married, November 22, 1770, Timothy Swan, Jr. 7. Jonathan, born April 30, 1757. 8. Asa, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*, pp 410, 413. "Vital Records of Methuen, Massachusetts.")

III. *Asa Pettingill*, son of Joseph and Elizabeth (Lancaster) Pettingill, died at Charlestown, Massachusetts, on January 13, 1829. On September 5, 1796, Asa Pettingill, of Andover, cordwainer, bought of Moses Barnum, land in Methuen adjoining the river. Asa, of Methuen, petitioned for the appointment of a guardian for Isaac Pettingill, *non compos mentis*, December 12, 1802. Asa, gentleman, of New Orleans, Louisiana, gave a power of attorney, February 8, 1839, to Merrill Pettingill, by which the latter sold land in Andover, January 26, 1843. An Asa Pettingill bought land in 1839. It is doubtful whether all these transactions were by the same Asa Pettingill.

Asa Pettingill married, at Salem, New Hampshire, April 17, 1787, Esther Merrill. Children: 1. Merrill, of whom further. 2. Enoch Adams, probably lost on a privateer during the War of 1812. 3. Asa, born about 1796, died September 3, 1849, aged fifty-three years.

(C. I. Pettingell: "A Pettingell Genealogy," pp. 414, 415. "Vital Records of Methuen, Massachusetts," pp. 75, 221. Merrill: "A Merrill Memorial.")

IV. *Merrill Pettengill* (as the name is hereafter spelled), son of Asa and Esther (Merrill) Pettingill, was born in Salem, New Hamp-

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shire, in June, 1793, and died in Boston, Massachusetts, April 7, 1869. He bought timber in Lisbon, Maine, in 1836. He sold in East Boston in 1844.

Merrill Pettengill married, in Methuen, Massachusetts, in 1812, Alice How. Children: 1. Enoch Adams, born November 30, 1812, died in Boston, Massachusetts, May 8, 1870; married, in Andover, Massachusetts, January 22, 1834, Sarah G. Odiorne. 2. Jonathan Merrill, born December 9, 1815; married, in Boston, December 9, 1839, Emaline Amanda Mason. 3. Emeline, born May 3, 1818, died in 1896; married, in Boston, October 24, 1841, Frederick A. Mason. 4. Charles, of whom further. 5. Mary, born November 17, 1822; married (first), at Boston, December 31, 1841, John Melville; married (second) Stephen Wilson. 6. Caroline, born January 25, 1827, died in Portland, Maine; probably married, February 27, 1845, Adoniram J. Locke, of Springfield, Massachusetts. 7. Harriet, born June 18, 1830; married, at Boston, November 22, 1854, Justin F. Bradford.

(C. I. Pettingell: "A Pettingell Genealogy," pp. 471, 472.)

V. Charles Pettengill, son of Merrill and Alice (How) Pettengill, was born in Andover, Massachusetts, March 13, 1820, and died there before 1884, as his widow was listed as such in the Boston Directory for that year. Charles Pettengill married, in Brunswick, Maine, September 11, 1844, Ann Catherine Howland. (Howland VII.) Children: 1. Harriet Elizabeth; married (first), November 24, 1864, James Byron Mason; married (second) Walter S. Gerry. 2. John, born in 1846, died young. 3. Charles Frederick, born in Brunswick, Maine, February 8, 1808; married (first) Elizabeth White (White VI). He married (second) at West Roxbury, Massachusetts, January 14, 1897, Mrs. Lizzie (Dunbar) Walton, daughter of Frederick W. and Sarah (Leeman) Dunbar. 4. John Edward, born in 1850, died in 1855.

(C. I. Pettingell: "Pettingell Genealogy," pp. 472, 473, 493. "Vital Records of Andover, Massachusetts.")

(The Howland Line)

Howland Arms—Argent, two bars sable in chief three lions rampant of the second.
Crest—A leopard passant sable ducally gorged or. (Burke: "General Armory.")

The surname Howland is of local origin, and probably means "of Hoyland," there being three places in Yorkshire so-called.

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English research has discovered a will, made in 1646, showing that in a certain Howland family there were five sons: Humphrey, who made the said will, dated May 28, 1646, and proved July 10, 1646, a citizen and draper of London, England; George, of St. Dunstan's in the East, London; Arthur, John, and Henry. These last three brothers, in the order named, were to receive £8, £4 and £4 out of the debt "due to the testator (Humphrey Howland) by Mr. Ruck of New England." There was a John Ruck, of Salem, Massachusetts, born in England about 1627. At the time of the publication of the "Howland Genealogy" in 1885, it was believed that the Arthur, John, and Henry mentioned above, were the three well-known founders of the Howland families of New England; but more recently this has been doubted. Whether any proof has yet been found is difficult to determine; but it is a matter of record that Arthur and Henry, of New England, were brothers; and as late as 1923, a leading genealogical magazine stated that Henry Howland was "supposed to have been a brother of John Howland, who came to this country in the 'Mayflower.'"

(Franklyn Howland: "A Brief Genealogical and Biographical History of Arthur, Henry and John Howland and Their Descendants in the United States and Canada," pp. 18, 19. "New York Genealogical and Biographical Record," Vol. LIII, p. 142; Vol. LIV, p. 91.)

I. Henry Howland died in Duxbury, Massachusetts, January 1, 1670. He is first found of record in New England in 1624, when in the allotment of cattle to the different families in Plymouth, he appears as the owner of the "black cow." He was a freeman in 1633. On March 25, 1633, he was taxed "S. 9 for the public use, . . . rated at vi s p bushell." On March 27, 1634, his tax was 18s. He was among the earliest settlers of Duxbury, Massachusetts, his residence being "by the bay side, near Love Brewster's," and he was "one of the substantial landholders and freemen." "Att a Courte held y^e 5 of Jan., An^o 1635, "Henry Howland was chosen "cunstable for Duxberry." On March 20, 1636-37, he was one of a committee "appoynted to view the hey grounds from the river beyond Phillip Delanoys to the South River." In 1640, he purchased five acres of upland and one acre of marsh meadow in Duxbury, the price being "twelve bushells of Indian corne." He was surveyor of highways several years, and served on the grand jury in 1636, 1637, 1639,

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1640, 1649, 1651, 1652, 1653, 1656. In 1657, however, he refused to serve, presumably because he had about this time joined the Society of Friends and could not conscientiously serve. At the March, 1657-1658, Court, he was fined ten shillings "for intertaining Quaker meetings in his house" several months before. In October, 1659, William Newland and Henry Howland were sentenced to be disfranchised "for their being abettors and entertainors of Quakers." On May 1 and October 2, 1660, Henry Howland was fined for "p'rmitting a quakers meeting in his house twice . . . and for entertaining a forraigne Quaker contrary to order of the court." Once, when he refused to pay the fine, his house and lands were seized by the marshal. Henry Howland possessed much real estate. In 1652, he was part owner of a large tract in Dartmouth, Massachusetts; and in 1659, with others, he bought from the Indians what is now Freetown, Massachusetts. His portion was inherited by his son, Samuel. In 1664, Henry bought a large tract of land in what is now Swanzey.

Henry Howland's will, dated November 28, 1670, was proved March 8, 1671. Following is a copy, the slight differences noted being found in two versions of it, both in print:

Hennery Howland being week of body, yet a good and perfect memory, makes and ordains this to be his last Will and Testament as followeth:

Imprimis: I give and bequeath all my housing, both dwelling house and barne with all my lands both upland and meddow land now lying and being within the township of Duxburrow unto my sonne Joseph Howland; onely during my wifes life shee shall have and injoy the new roome to herselfe for her owne self (or use?).

2. I give and bequeath to my sonne Joseph (or John?) Howland, four (five?) oxen and two heiffers and one horse with all the tackling (or trappings?) belonging therunto as alsoe a bed with things belonging there unto; as alsoe my fowling peece.

3. My will is that my sonne Joseph Howland out of the forementioned houses and lands and cattle shall pay or cause to be payed unto my sonne Zoeth Howland, 20 pounds, that is to say 5 pounds by the year till the twenty pounds be payed; as also twelve pence apeece to all his brothers and sisters and theire children now surviveing.

4. Item. I give and bequeath to my daughter Sarah two heiffers and two steers (or sheep?) and one mare now runing att Ponagansett (or Apponagansett?); as alsoe one bed and beding thereunto belonging.

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5. Item. I give unto my sonne John one muskett.
6. Item. I give unto my daughter Elizabeth (or my Elizabeth?) one cow.
7. Item. I give my old mare now runing att Ponagansett (or Apponagansett?) unto my sonne Samuel Howland.
8. Item. I give unto my sonne Joseph Howland; two (or ten?) acres of meddow land now lying and being att a place comonly knowne by the name of the Gurnetts (or Garnetts?) nose marsh.
9. I give and bequeath unto my daughter Mary ten shillings to be paid out of my estate as yet undisposed of.
10. Item. I give unto my daughter Abigaill ten shillings to be payed by my son Joseph; whoe is to sell a barrell of syder; and to pay it out of that.
11. I give unto my two sonnes John and Samuell each (or both?) of them a barrell of syder.
12. Lastly I give and bequeath unto my loveing wife Mary Howland (her name is omitted in the 1885 copy) all the rest of my estate both moveables and chattles. That this is my last Will and Testament I here unto sett my hand and seale this 28th day of Nov. 1670.

HENRY HOWLAND

Witnesses:

and a (Seal)

SAMUEL NASH and JOHN SPRAGUE.

The will of his widow, Mary, dated "eighth day of the third month called May, 1674," bequeathed one shilling each to sons, Zoeth, John, and Samuel, and daughters, Abigail Young, Mary Cudworth, Sarah Denis, and Elizabeth Allin, and all the remainder to her son, Joseph Howland.

Henry Howland married Mary Newland, who died in Duxbury, Massachusetts, August 16, 1674. Children (order of birth not known): 1. Zoeth, was killed by the Indians at Pocasset, March 31, 1676; married, in December, 1656, Abigail, whose surname is not recorded. 2. Elizabeth, married, about 1668, Jedediah Allen. 3. Samuel, of whom further. 4. Sarah, married, November 19, 1672, Robert Dennis. 5. Mary, married, before May 8, 1674, 9th month, 2, 1678, John Young. 7. Joseph, married in Hampton, New Hampshire, May 4, 1683, Rebekah Hussey. 8. John, probably the John Howland who married, in Duxbury, January 29, 1684-85, Mary Walker.

(Franklyn Howland: "A Brief Genealogical and Biographical History of Arthur, Henry and John Howland and Their Descendants of the United States and Canada," pp. 18, 19, 61-69. "New

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York Genealogical and Biographical Record," Vol. LIII, p. 142; Vol. LIV, p. 91. "The Mayflower Descendant," Vol. XIX, pp. 32, 33. "Vital Records of Duxbury, Massachusetts," to 1850, p. 386. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. LIII, p. 127. James N. Arnold: "Vital Records of Rhode Island," 1636-1850, Vol. VII, pp. 21, 109.)

II. Samuel Howland, son of Henry and Mary (Newland) Howland, was born in Duxbury, Massachusetts, and probably died in Freetown, Massachusetts, between the 2d month, 15th day, 1715, and the 5th month, 7th day, 1716. It is probable that he removed to Freetown soon after 1662, and settled on his father's land, a tract known as "the sixth lot." The records refer to him as one of the original proprietors of that town. He was prominent there in civil affairs, and was a large landholder. Among the "Names of the Select Men of y^e severall Townes in y^e Colony" is "Samuel Howland of Freetown." He was chosen assessor of that town on the 24th day of the 11th month, 1694. In 1711 and 1712 he deeded to his sons, Joshua, Samuel and Gershom, various parcels of the land in his "sixth lot." His will, dated 15-2-1715, and proved 7-5-1716, bequeaths personal property to his wife, Mary; daughters, Mary Rounsevell and Content Sanford; sons, Samuel, John, Abraham, Joshua, and Gershom; also to "granddaughter Mary Morten" and to "each of my son Isaac's children." ("Bristol County Probate Records," Book III, p. 275.)

Samuel Howland married Mary, whose surname is unknown. She was living in 1715. Children (order of birth not known): 1. Mary, born in 1673, died in 1744, aged seventy-one years; married, about 1705, Philip Rounseville. 2. Abraham, of whom further. 3. Isaac, married, 10th month, 19th day, 1701, Alice Sherman. 4. Samuel, married, 7th month, 27th day, 1708, Mary Merrihew, of Dartmouth, Massachusetts. 5. Joshua, married (first), 5th month, 12th day, 1709, Elizabeth Holloway; married (second), 2d month, 17th day, 1725, Dorothy Lee. 6. Content, married a Mr. Sanford. 7. John, married (first), about 1716, a wife whose name is unknown; married, probably (second), 5th month, 13th day, 1725, Freelove Wood. 8. Gershom, living in 1715. 9. Alice, married a Mr. Sears, of Lakeville.

(Franklyn Howland: "A Brief Genealogical and Biographical History of Arthur, Henry and John Howland, Etc.," pp. 74-76, 84-87.)

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III. Abraham Howland, son of Samuel and Mary Howland, was born in Freetown, Massachusetts, 5th month, 9th day, 1675, and died in Hanson, Massachusetts, July 22, 1747, aged seventy-two years, 2 months and 13 days. He originally settled in Pembroke, Massachusetts, and was one of the earlier settlers of Hanson, which was a part of Pembroke. In Pembroke he was a surveyor of highways in 1720, and fence-viewer in 1724. His will, dated the 6th month, 15th day, 1745, mentions children, Rouse, Abraham, Samuel, Joseph, Benjamin, Sarah Dawes, Elizabeth Bonney; grandchildren, Mary and Jonathan Mitchell and Howard Beals. On his headstone, in Hanson, are the words: "Abraham, consort of Mrs. Annie Howland."

Abraham Howland married (according to Davis' "Plymouth"), about 1700, Ann Colson, daughter of Nathaniel Colson, of Newport, Rhode Island. If so, she could not have lived long, as other records say he married Annie Rouse, who was probably the mother of most of his children, as his first son was named Rouse. Children (exact order not known): 1. Sarah, born in Marshfield, Massachusetts, August 25, 1702; married, September 28, 1720, Samuel Dawes, or Doars, of Bridgewater. 2. Mary, born in Marshfield, September 17, 1704; married, January 18, 1721, Jacob Mitchell, of Pembroke. 3. Elizabeth, born in Marshfield, August 6, 1706; married, October 29, 1724, Ichabod Bonney, of Pembroke. 4. Rouse, born in Marshfield, July 26, 1708, died September 15, 1774; married (first), November 27, 1729, Anna Bonney; married (second), 7th month, 23d day, 1744, Lydia Bowles, of Rochester, Massachusetts. 5. Abraham, married, March 11, 1731, Sarah Simmons. 6. Content, born in Pembroke, Massachusetts, June 7, 1712, died December 2, 1713. 7. Anne, born in Pembroke, September 2, 1713; married, November 10, 1730, Solomon Beal, Jr. 8. Isaac, not named in his father's will. 9. Samuel, born in Pembroke, December 25, 1717; married and had five children. 10. Zebulon, not named in his father's will; settled in Maine. 11. Alice, not named in her father's will; married, May 6, 1756, Beriah Sampson. 12. Joseph, born in Pembroke, April 3, 1722; married (first) Lydia Pierce; married (second) Ruba Whitten. "There were fifty years between the first and second marriage" 13. Benjamin, of whom further.

(Franklyn Howland: "A Brief Genealogical and Biographical History of Arthur, Henry and John Howland, Etc.," pp. 85, 86, 98-

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100. "Vital Records of Hanson, Massachusetts," to 1850, p. 97. "The Mayflower Descendant," Vol. VI, pp. 19, 20; Vol. VIII, p. 177. "Vital Records of Pembroke, Massachusetts," to 1850, pp. 110-14, 292-95, 416.)

IV. Benjamin Howland, son of Abraham and (Ann Colson, or Annie Rouse) Howland, was born in Pembroke, Massachusetts, September 30, 1724. He resided in Pembroke, where the births of his first two children are found recorded on the town records; the baptisms of the others are on the records of the Second Church of Christ, which begin with 1748. Benjamin Howland married, in Duxbury, Massachusetts, February 10, 1742-43, Experience Edgarton, or Egarton, who was born in Halifax, Massachusetts, October 11, 1725, daughter of Dennis and Experience Egarton. Children (probably all born in Pembroke, Massachusetts): 1. Colson, born April 13, 1744. 2. Priscilla (Percilla), born August 27, 1746. 3. Abraham, baptized April 14, 1749, "it being Sick Baptism was administered in private house"; doubtless died before March 12, 1763. 4. Benjamin, baptized January 7 or 20, 1751. 5. Allathea, baptized May 13, 1753. 6. Abraham, of whom further.

(Franklyn Howland: "A Brief Genealogical and Biographical History of Arthur, Henry and John Howland and Their Descendants, of the United States and Canada," Vol. I, p. 86. "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," Vol. XLIX, pp. 286-92. "Vital Records of Pembroke, Massachusetts," to 1850, pp. 110-14, 292. "Vital Records of Halifax, Massachusetts," to 1849, pp. 47, 56.)

V. Abraham Howland, son of Benjamin and Experience (Edgarton, or Egarton) Howland, was born September 6, 1762, doubtless in Pembroke, Massachusetts, where he was baptized in the Second Church of Christ on March 12, 1763. He died in Topsham, Maine, February 6, 1853. Before his marriage he removed to Topsham, which became his permanent residence. From family records of Abraham Howland, Sr., which in 1929 were in the possession of Leon Howland, it is learned that Abraham "went in the War of the Revolution when sixteen years of age." His military record, as officially printed, is as follows:

Abraham Howland. Private, Captain Acter Patten's company, Colonel Samuel McCobb's regiment; enlisted July 6, 1779; discharged September 25, 1779; service, 2 months, 19 days, of Penobscot expedition. Roll certified at Topsham.

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The United States census of heads of families in 1790 shows Abraham Howland as then living in Topsham town, Lincoln County, having in his family one male of sixteen years and upwards (himself), and three females. The latter were doubtless his wife and his daughters, Experience and Susanna. And near him, apparently, according to the same census, was Stephen Staples, with a family of three males over sixteen and three females.

Abraham Howland's intention of marriage was published November 30, 1787. He married, December 11, 1787, Anne Staples. Children (all born in Topsham, Maine): 1. Experience, born February 10, 1789, died November 9, 1865; married Humphrey Merrill. 2. Susanna, born February 24, 1790, died November 7, 1888, or "November 7, 1889, aged ninety-nine years, nine months." 3. Benjamin, born October 18, 1791, died November 25, 1833, aged forty-two years; married Margaret, whose surname is unknown. 4. John, of whom further. 5. Abraham, born August 4 or 6, 1794, died May 26 or 27, 1873, aged seventy-nine years; married Lydia W. Kidder. 6. George, born November 10 or 11, 1795, died December 22, 1870, "aged 75 years." 7. Judith, born July 5, 1797, died December 27, 1883; married, in January, 1822, Ephraim Marston, Jr., of Falmouth. 8. Daniel, born December 11, 1799, died in "Humbolt, Ca." (Humboldt, California?), August 18, 1884; married, December 31, 1820, Charity Staples. 9. Stockbridge, born February 12, 1801, died at Battle Creek, Michigan, April 8, 1883, aged "about 83"; married Louisa Morse. 10. Illethera (or Islathea, or Elenthera), born November 4, 1802, died March 15, 1843, aged forty years; married, January 21, 1821, David Scribner. 11. Hiram, born May 1, 1804, died September 12, 1836. 12. Miranda, born March 15 or 25, 1807; married, in December, 1838, Theodore Staples, of Bowdoin.

Franklyn Howland: "A Brief Genealogical and Biographical History of Arthur, Henry and John Howland and Their Descendants, of the United States and Canada," p. 86. "Vital Records of Pembroke, Massachusetts," to 1850, p. 110. "Vital Records of Topsham, Maine," to 1892, Vol. I, pp. 10, 98-100; Vol. II, pp. 137, 138, 336, 337, 350, 377. "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War," Vol. VIII, p. 401. "Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States, 1790, Maine," p. 47. George A. Wheeler, M. D., and Henry W. Wheeler: "History of Brunswick, Topsham, and Harpswell, Maine," p. 854.)

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VI. John Howland, son of Abraham and Anne (Staples) Howland, was born in Topsham, Maine, January 2, 1793, and died September 13, 1831.

He married, July 1, 1819, Margaret Hunter. Children: 1. Ann Catherine, of whom further. 2. Roxanna, married Charles Drew.

("Vital Records of Topsham, Maine," to 1892, Vol. I, pp. 98-100; Vol. II, pp. 137, 138, 336, 337. Private records in possession of Leon Howland.)

VII. Ann Catherine, daughter of John and Margaret (Hunter) Howland, was born in December, 1819, in Topsham, Maine, and died February 22, 1891, in Boston, Massachusetts. She married Charles Pettengill. (Pettengill V.)

(Woodman: "Notes on Topsham, Maine." "Vital Records of Topsham, Maine," Vol. I, pp. 98-100; Vol. II, pp. 137, 138, 336, 337. C. I. Pettingell: "A Pettingell Genealogy," p. 472.)

(The White Line)

White Arms—Argent, a martlet between three quatrefoils sable, on a chief gules, as many quatrefoils or.

Crest—A martlet sable.

Motto—*Vincit qui curat.*

(Burke: "General Armory.")

The name White and Whyte are officially classified as nicknames, and were originally applied to persons of a very fair complexion. Other surnames, the derivations of which are identical, are Black, Brown, Russell, Blunt, etc. Mention is made of the patronymic in nearly all of the early registers, rolls and records. The Hundred Rolls (1273 A. D.) give Geoffrey le Whyte, of County Cambridge, and Roger le Whyte, of County Sussex; and in the Poll Tax of Yorkshire (1379 A. D.), are found the names of Thomas White, *souter*, and Magota Whyte.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

I. Robert White, the first of the name of whom we have record, is believed to have lived and died in Scotland. There is no evidence to show that he ever came to America. His two sons, who emigrated to America, were Scotch Presbyterians. They settled first at Lancaster, Massachusetts, and both removed to Pembroke, New Hampshire.

The name of Robert White's wife is unknown. Children: 1. Robert, took a deed of his land-right in Suncook, New Hampshire, of

PETTENGILL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Benjamin Prescott, of Groton, Massachusetts, on March 10, 1732; deeded half of the same to James White, April 10, 1733; married a Miss McAllister; his widow, Agnes, who survived him, was probably his second wife; his children were John; Martha, who married James Morrison; Mary; and John. 2. James, of whom further.

(Rev. N. F. Carter: "History of Pembroke, New Hampshire" (1730-1895), Vol. II, pp. 312, 313. Henry S. Nourse: "The Birth, Marriage and Death Register, Church Records and Epitaphs of Lancaster, Massachusetts" (1643-1850), pp. 25, 282.

(The Family in America)

I. James White, son of Robert White, was probably born in Scotland, and probably died in Pembroke, New Hampshire. He and his brother, Robert, both settled on lot number fifty-four, first division, in Pembroke, James having bought the northerly half of the lot from Robert in 1733. At a meeting of the proprietors at Suncook, New Hampshire, February 8, 1739, James White and Robert White were two of fifteen men who "being the presbyterian inhabitation of the town of Suncook Do enter this our protest & Desent against the ordination of the Reverand M^r Whittemore over us as our minister." Two of the nine reasons for their assent were as follows: "3^{ly} Because he sayes the Diseplen of the Church of Scotland is not agreeable to scriptur. 5^{ly} Becaus he keepeth not the Sabath."

At a town meeting on May 17, 1739, James White was voted one of a committee of three "to Reccon with the former Com^{tee} & Collectors and to bring the accompte by our Next may meeting Insuing."

An alarm, caused by Indians, led to a petition for a guard on May 13, 1747, to be presented to the Governor. "The Humble Petition of Sundry Persons Inhabitants of a Place called Suncook in said Province-Shews-That your Petitioners live very much Exposed to the Indian Enemy," etc. James White was one of the twenty-six signers. Another petition, thirteen days later, was signed by James White, Robert White, and thirty-one others.

The land of Robert and James White, on lot number fifty-four, was "next north of G. W. Stone's home farm, about midway of the lot now (1895) owned in part by Henry C. Morrison—building now gone."

James White married, in Lancaster, Massachusetts (records of First Church), March 1, 1731-32, Margaret M^cColister or McAllis-

PETTENGILL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

ter. Children: 1. Isaac, of whom further. 2. Mary, married a Mr. Moore. 3. Jane, died unmarried.

(Rev. N. F. Carter: "History of Pembroke, New Hampshire" (1730-1895), Vol. I, pp. 36, 37, 48, 54; Vol. II, pp. 312, 313. Henry S. Nourse: "The Birth, Marriage and Death Register, Church Records and Epitaphs of Lancaster, Massachusetts" (1643-1850), pp. 25, 282.)

III. Isaac White, son of James and Margaret (M'Colister or McAllister) White, was born in 1736, according to the "History of Pembroke." If this date is correct, it may have been an older brother, who died young, who was the "Isaac, son of James White, upon his owning the Covenant" was baptized at the First Church, Lancaster, Massachusetts, April 8, 1733. However, it seems likely that this is the correct date for the Isaac White of our line, and that the 1736 was an approximation made by one who had not examined the Lancaster records. Isaac White died in 1806. In 1765, he was a selectman of Pembroke, New Hampshire, and also served as a deacon in the Presbyterian Church. In 1766 he petitioned the General Assembly to appoint a committee to make a tax assessment which would be fair to both Presbyterians and Congregationalists, whose differences seem to have caused considerable trouble.

A deed, in 1769, shows that Isaac White lived on the home farm with Robert until 1773, when he sold it to Samuel Kimball. On February 10, 1773, he bought a farm "on the Street" (Pembroke Street) of William Moore, and later sold it (before 1786) to John Head, of Bradford, Massachusetts. On February 10, 1773, William Moore and his wife, Hannah, deeded to Isaac White half of two lots of land on Pembroke Street, Suncook, New Hampshire. It is probable that Isaac removed to Bow, New Hampshire, between 1773 and 1786. He and several generations of his ancestors were successful farmers. They were among the first of the scientific farmers, and were especially noted for their fine breed of cattle.

Isaac White married, December 5, 1765, Mary Moore. Children: 1. Margaret, born October 1, 1766; married Moody Dow, of Concord, New Hampshire. 2. Mary, born July 11, 1768; married Jonathan Cavis, of Bow, New Hampshire. 3. James, born April 21, 1770, died December 29, 1832; married, November 28, 1799, Polly Alexander. 4. Robert, born May 7, 1772; married Sarah Frye, of

PETTENGILL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Pembroke, New Hampshire. 5. Mary Ann, born May 21, 1774; married (first), June 15, 1797, Jonathan Farmer, of Andover; married (second) a Mr. Scribner, of Pembroke. 6. John, born May 9, 1776, died May 6, 1797; unmarried. 7. Isaac, of whom further. 8. David, born March 22, 1781; married Betsey Cavis. 9. Nancy, born September 21, 1783; married Chauncey Newell. 10. Daniel, born March 22, 1786; married Mary Carter. 11. Susan, born July 12, 1789; married Wells Carter. 12. Betsey, born June 2, 1792; married a Mr. Cavis.

(Rev. N. F. Carter: "History of Pembroke, New Hampshire" (1730-1895), Vol. I, pp. 248, 259, 260, 261. Family records.)

IV. Isaac White, son of Isaac and Mary (Moore) White, was born in Pembroke, New Hampshire, November 6, 1778. Although his ancestors had been farmers for several generations, Isaac, of a roving disposition, ran away as a boy and went to sea. In later years he was shipwrecked off Cape Cod, and from that time made Chatham, Massachusetts, his home, although he still followed the sea. He failed to return from a voyage to New Orleans and other Southern ports during the height of the yellow fever epidemic, and it is presumed that he died there. Isaac White married Elizabeth (Ryder) Howes. Children: 1. Lavonia, born in Chatham, February 14, 1812. 2. Charles F., of whom further.

(Family data. Rev. N. F. Carter: "History of Pembroke, New Hampshire," Vol. II, p. 313. "Records in Chatham, Massachusetts.")

V. Charles Franklin White, whom family tradition states to be identical with the above-mentioned Charles White, son of Isaac and Elizabeth (Ryder-Howes) White, was born in Chatham, Massachusetts. Tradition says that he first shipped at the age of eleven, as a cook. At the time of the Civil War, he was in command of the "Sea Bride," a merchant ship which was captured by the Confederate boat "Alabama." After retiring, he lived in Chatham until his death.

Captain Charles Franklin White married Mehitable Ryder Taylor. (Taylor VII.) Child: 1. Elizabeth, of whom further.

(Family data. C. I. Pettingell: "A Pettingell Genealogy," p. 493.)

VI. Elizabeth White, daughter of Charles Franklin and Mehitable Ryder (Taylor) White, was born, according to family tradition,

PETTENGILL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

in Chatham, Massachusetts, while the "Pettingell Genealogy" states that she was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, November 24, 1848, and died December 15, 1895.

Elizabeth White married Charles Frederick Pettengill. (Pettingill VI.)

(Family data. C. I. Pettingell: "A Pettingell Genealogy," p. 493.)

(The Taylor Line)

Taylor, the surname, was originally the title given to those persons engaged in the well-known trade—"sartor," a cutter-out of cloth, a maker of clothes. It is now understood that tailor shall be the trade-name and Taylor (or Tayler) the surname. Due to the commonness of the occupation, the name stands forth in the list of the most numerous family names in England and Wales. It has been found recorded in very early records as Le Taylir, Le Tayller, Le Tayllour, Taylour, Taylur, etc.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." Lower: "Patronymica Britannica.")

I. Richard Taylor, the American progenitor, came from England and is first mentioned in Yarmouth, Massachusetts, in 1674. He married Ruth Whelden. Child: 1. John, of whom further.

(J. W. Hawes: "Descendants of Richard Taylor.")

II. John Taylor, son of Richard and Ruth (Whelden) Taylor, was born about 1652 and died in 1722. After the birth of his first two children he removed to Chatham, Massachusetts.

John Taylor married Sarah Matthews, who was born July 21, 1649, daughter of James and (probably Sarah) Matthews. Children include: 1. Samuel, of whom further.

(J. W. Hawes: "Descendants of Richard Taylor.")

III. Samuel Taylor, son of John and Sarah (Matthews) Taylor, was born December 14, 1675, and died about 1760. He was deacon of the church, being first mentioned as such in 1729; town treasurer of Chatham in 1727; one of the selectmen some ten terms between 1714 and 1736, and many times moderator of town meetings between 1722 and 1749.

PETTENGILL AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Samuel Taylor married, about 1713, Elizabeth, whose surname is unknown. Child: 1. Samuel, of whom further.

(*Ibid.*)

IV. Samuel Taylor, Jr., son of Samuel and Elizabeth Taylor, was born in 1722 and died December 29, 1787. He married, about 1743, Mehitable Ryder. Child: 1. Thomas, of whom further.

("Mayflower Descendant," Vol. IV, p. 200; Vol. XIII, p. 179.)

V. Thomas Taylor, son of Samuel, Jr., and Mehitable (Ryder) Taylor, married on February 13, 1772, Rebecca Godfrey. She died September 24, 1773. Child: 1. George, of whom further.

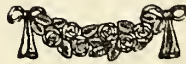
(J. W. Hawes: "Descendants of Richard Taylor.")

VI. George Taylor, son of Thomas and Rebecca (Godfrey) Taylor, died May 4, 1822. He married, June 27, 1794, Sabra (or Sabrina) Ryder, who was born about 1775, and died June 29, 1850. Child: 1. Mehitable Ryder, of whom further.

("Vital Records of Chatham, Massachusetts," Book III, p. 342.)

VII. Mehitable Ryder Taylor, daughter of George and Sabra or Sabrina (Ryder) Taylor, was born in Chatham, Massachusetts, June 30, 1818, and died there on June 11, 1884. She is buried in Everett, Massachusetts. She married Charles F. White. (White V.)

(J. W. Hawes: "Descendants of Richard Taylor.")



STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.

REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF AMERICANA, published quarterly at Somerville, New Jersey, for April 1, 1934.
State of New York,)
County of New York,) ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared M. L. Lewis, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the Americana, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

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Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of March, 1934.

(Seal.)

FREDA M. KELLER,
Notary Public, Bronx County, No. 35,
Certificate filed in N. Y. Co., No. 298,
(Commission Expires March 30, 1934.)



ARLINGTON MANSION

Built by George Washington Custis in 1803, and occupied by his family and that of his daughter, Mrs. Robert E. Lee, until the beginning of the Civil War, has been restored and refurnished to its pre-Civil War condition by the Federal Government, the only project of its kind ever undertaken by the U. S. The temple-like Greek porch with its eight Doric columns was planned by George Hadfield, who came from England to help with the United States Capitol, and who envisioned a vista from Capitol Hill which would stretch to Arlington. In front of the mansion is buried L'Enfant, who laid out the plans of Washington.

VOL. XXVIII

OCTOBER, 1934

NUMBER 4

AMERICANA

ILLUSTRATED



THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.

SOMERVILLE, NEW JERSEY, AND NEW YORK CITY

Entered at the Post Office in Somerville, N. J., as Second Class Matter, under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

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The American Historical Society, Inc.

AMERICANA

Published by THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC., formerly published by the National Americana Society. Issued in quarterly numbers at \$4 per annum; single copies \$1. Publication Office, the C. P. Hoagland Company Building, 16 Union Street, Somerville, N. J.

AMERICANA is a Quarterly Magazine of History, Genealogy, Heraldry, and Literature. Manuscripts upon these subjects are invited, and will be given early and careful consideration. It is desirable that contributions should contain not less than two thousand nor more than ten thousand words. Contributors should attach to their manuscript their full names, with academic or other titles, and memorandum of number of words written.

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THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.,
Somerville, N. J., or 80-90 Eighth Avenue, New York City

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AMERICANA

October, 1934

The Restoration of Arlington Mansion*

BY MARY F. ANDERSON, WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

IN the general executive changes which have taken place in Washington within the past few months, the transfer of Arlington Mansion, the home of General Robert E. Lee, from the War Department to the Department of the Interior, brings to a close the military occupation of the historic building which lasted from May 24, 1861, until June 30, 1934. Arlington House, not including the national cemetery which surrounds it, is now under the guardianship of that arm of the Interior Department, the National Park Service. For the first time in seventy-three years, orders relating to the building are not signed by a military officer.

The War Department relinquished its hold on Arlington Mansion after having converted the house into a national shrine, refurnished with appointments of its early period, and repeopled with memories of a glamorous past. The plans for restoration were placed under the supervision of the Quartermaster General of the War Department, subject to the approval of the Commission of Fine Arts. Colonel Charles G. Mortimer of the Quartermaster Corps was in immediate charge of the work, the only project of its kind ever undertaken by the Federal Government.

The restoration of the mansion to the condition as when it was the home of the Lees, was made possible by the efforts of ex-Repre-

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sentative Louis C. Cramton, of Michigan, the son of a Northern soldier, who sponsored the enabling measure through Congress.

Mr. Cramton stated as the purpose of the restoration: "Instead of the nakedness and barrenness in those old rooms, there will be the atmosphere of other days. It will preserve for posterity the living conditions of a romantic period of our history. Above all, it will be a deserving tribute and will constitute a standing memorial to a noted American, an American who occupies a very high place in the hearts of our people—Robert E. Lee."

In the early days it was often said that the Washingtons knew where to pick the finest building locations in the country. George Washington Parke Custis, builder of Arlington, with his selection, upheld the family tradition.

The Mansion occupies a commanding site on a brow of an elevation two hundred and ten feet above the tidewater of the Potomac, and about a half mile from its shore. Before it spreads an incomparable panorama—the Capitol in the center of a web of tree-fringed streets, a glimpse of the White House foliated in green, the spires of Alexandria at the right, Georgetown at the left, the silhouettes of the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial across the "bright flood" of the Potomac in the foreground, and in the distance the gray rim of Virginia and Maryland hills.

There was much of the primitive in the setting for Mr. Custis' house on the "Powtomack." Groves of patriarchal oaks and enormous chestnuts with intermittent islands of evergreens overspread the two hundred-acre slope to the river; and at the rear a sinuous road, first broken by moccasined feet, threaded about a dark old forest whose acres numbered more than a thousand.

The grand portico at Arlington, measuring sixty feet in front and twenty-five feet in depth, modeled after the Temple of Theseus at Athens, has eight massive Doric columns set low on the ground, claiming close kinship with the hill it crowns. This classical feature on the wooded eminence is said to have been the thought of George Hadfield, an early Capitol architect, who planned the Doric temple porch as a noble objective of the Capitol's most picturesque vista. The extent of the front of the mansion, with its two wings, is one hundred and forty feet. At the rear, two outhouses, used as servants' quarters, form a court yard, in which has grown up a magnificent



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Indian cedar. The heroic structure is of stuccoed brick painted yellow and is trimmed with white. The Doric columns are of brick, cemented over to give perfectly rounded circumferences. The stones for the foundation came from the land near by, and the bricks were burned of clay on the site where Fort Myer now stands by slaves under Mr. Custis' direction.

Before the building was completed, in 1804, Mr. Custis brought his bride, Mary Lee Fitzhugh, of Chatham, Virginia, to Arlington. Mrs. Custis was a direct descendant of Richard Lee, who came from Shropshire, England, in 1641, with Sir William Berkley, when he was appointed Governor of Virginia, by Charles the First. So the name Lee has been associated with the house from its beginning. The north wing was first built and used as a residence; then the complementary wing on the south, and later, the great hall, the family parlor and dining room and the state drawing room, with the large bed rooms above, were constructed within the intervening space. Historians disagree as to the time the mansion was completed. According to Mrs. Robert E. Lee, it was not entirely finished until just before the Civil War.

Mary Ann Randolph Custis, born October 8, 1808, only surviving child of the builder of Arlington, followed in the footsteps of her great-grandmother, Martha Dandridge Custis Washington, and married a poor but promising young army officer of high birth and unsullied name. The marriage of Robert E. Lee to the Custis heiress, which took place in the family parlor at Arlington, on June 30, 1831, was destined to impress indelibly the name Lee upon the place. For thirty years it was Lee's home, as much a home as any army officer can have moving about from one military post to another. When Mr. Custis died in 1857, the estate passed to Mrs. Lee for life, with the remainder in fee simple to her oldest son, George Washington Custis Lee, with Colonel Lee designated by Mr. Custis as one of his executors.

When the seven Lee children began to grow up at Arlington, life with all its glow suffused the classic dwelling. In the beautiful house, Southern culture and hospitality abounded, and in it Southern chivalry flowered. It was considered the best type of landed proprietor's home anywhere within the limits of the slave owning states.

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Arlington's commanding position marked it for tragedy. When Virginia seceded from the Union, on April 17, 1861, General Winfield Scott's first aggressive step was taken to prevent Confederate batteries from being placed on Arlington heights to dominate the National Capitol. His terse order to General Mansfield was:

"Seize all the high ground on the Virginia side of the Potomac as far south as Alexandria."

On the night of May 23, 1861, columns of Union troops moved out of Washington, crossed the long Potomac bridge, startling the wild life in the peaceful Arlington groves as camps were hurriedly built under the century-old trees. By noon of the 24th, Arlington plantation and the town of Alexandria, with all the land between, were in possession of the Union Army—the center of a vast seething military camp.

After the first bloody disaster at Bull Run on July 21, 1861, Major-General George B. McClellan organized, drilled and disciplined a part of the Army of the Potomac on Arlington land. Many of the fine old trees were ruthlessly felled to make way for fortifications and field hospitals. The smooth carriage roads were rutted with the drag of heavy artillery. On the present site of Fort Myer, immediately adjoining the national cemetery, Fort Whipple was hastily built, one of the strongest forts of the cordon of 127 which encircled the Capital City throughout the war. It was later reënforced by Fort McPherson, another earthen rampart, now within the cemetery walls, which looks very much as it did when the Federal troops withdrew in 1865, except the wash of rains and the growth of grass and weeds have softened its contours.

For four years the proud home of the Custises and Lees was filled with alien faces. After the war was over, it stood an empty shell—an office for the superintendent of the cemetery and a storage place for his tools.

The War Department records show that even in its state of neglect, more than ten thousand visitors a month have climbed the curving road to walk through the vacant rooms and gaze about the tenantless house. Many who came through curiosity felt the spell that lingers about the temple-like place, remembering the crucial time in Arlington's history when its last resident cast every material thing he valued on an altar called *Duty*, which was thrust before him by the unseen

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hands of those who had contributed to the greatness of his native Virginia.

John Drinkwater has presented the chain of incidents leading up to Robert E. Lee's departure from Arlington as one of the dramatic episodes in American history. On April 18, 1861, at the instance of President Lincoln, Colonel Lee was approached by Francis Preston Blair to see if he would accept command of the Northern Army in the field. He had replied:

Mr. Blair, I look upon secession as anarchy. If I owned the four millions slaves in the South, I would sacrifice them all for the Union—but how can I draw my sword upon my native State? My kinspeople? My neighbors?

Lee went sorrowfully back to Arlington to thresh out his problem. On the second day thereafter, following a night of mental agony, torn between love for his native State and loyalty to the Union he had served so long, he went to his desk in the Custis study and wrote this brief letter:

ARLINGTON, WASHINGTON CITY P. O.,
April 20, 1861.

*Honorable Simon Cameron,
Secretary of War.*

SIR—I have the honor to tender the resignation of my commission as colonel of the first regiment of cavalry.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
R. E. LEE, Colonel First Cavalry.

"My husband wept tears of blood," Mrs. Lee told a friend, alluding to the ordeal of the decision. Either course before him involved a seeming disloyalty to some of his dearest friends, a betrayal of sacred trusts.

It is no easy thing for an officer with thirty years' devotion to the army to refuse its highest command, to sever all connections with comrades and a service into which the very fibers of his life had been so closely interwoven. Not only to leave it, but to be forced to take a belligerent stand against it was Lee's tragic alternative.

Lee had no illusions about the impending conflict being only a "before breakfast affair." With the U. S. Engineers, he had been stationed in many parts of the country and knew first-hand something about the relative resources of the North and South. He appreciated

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as few did the fearful odds against which the South would contend and the uncertainty of the issue.

The fate of beautiful Arlington was no small item of worry. For three generations the estate had been in the Custis family, two generations having lived happily in the house which G. W. P. Custis had built with such infinite care. If he went with the Confederacy, the place would fall within Union lines, and from their ancestral home his wife and children would be exiled.

"Powerful family pressure was brought to bear upon his decision," Thomas Nelson Page related. The Custis family had always been strong for the Federal Union. For many years on the 22d of February, G. W. P. Custis had published in the *National Intelligencer* reminiscences of his adopted parent, George Washington, emphasizing much that he had done to help consolidate the Union of States. Eulogizing the Union had become a Custis tradition, and traditions were moulds which shaped opinions in Virginia.

Mrs. Lee endured a double agony. In a letter to General Scott, Lee's old commander and personal friend, at some reference as to the future of the estate, she wrote:

. . . whatever may happen, I feel that I may expect from your kindness all the protection that you in honor can afford. Nothing can make me forget your kind appreciation of Mr. Lee. If you knew all, you would not think so harshly of me. Were it not that I would not add one feather to his load of care, nothing would induce me to abandon my home.

Something of the harrowing inward struggle which Lee experienced is reflected in a letter he wrote to General Scott, himself a Virginian, who had said that Lee on the Northern side would mean an addition of 50,000 men, and who had done everything possible to induce Colonel Lee "to stand by the old flag." It bore the same place and date as the letter to the Secretary of War.

ARLINGTON, VA., April 20, 1861.

GENERAL: Since my interview with you on the 18th instant, I have felt that I ought not longer to retain my commission in the army. I therefore tender my resignation, which I request you will recommend for acceptance. It would have been presented at once, but for the struggle it has cost to separate myself from a service to which I have devoted all the best years of my life, and all the ability I possessed.

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During the whole of that time—more than a quarter of a century—I have experienced nothing but kindness from my superiors, and the most cordial friendship from my comrades. To no one, General, have I been as much indebted as to yourself for uniform kindness and consideration. I shall carry to the grave the most grateful recollections of your kind consideration, and your name and fame will ever be dear to me.

Save in the defense of my native State, I never desire again to draw my sword. Be pleased to accept my earnest wishes for the continuance of your happiness and prosperity, and believe me most truly yours,

R. E. LEE.

Laying aside the uniform he had worn since he had entered West Point thirty-six years before, Robert E. Lee, in civilian clothes, made ready to leave for Richmond. His family was to follow later. Pressed between the pailings of the garden fence, a row of ebon faces watched him out of sight. "Marse Robert's goin' away!" had been relayed through the darky quarters at Arlington. His goings and comings, as a Sir Galahad in a blue uniform with a shining sword, had been exciting events in their quiet lives. Colonel Lee's last home-coming from Texas, on furlough, had been in part to carry out certain provisions of Mr. Custis' will in regard to the freeing of the slaves and establishing their future security.

"Uncle Jim," who died a few years ago and was buried at Arlington with honors, often recalled that last home-leaving. "Marse Robert seemed powerfully trubbl'd." He recalled that his face was heavily lined—"as if he hadn't slept a wink for a week." His fine dark eyes were tired and worried, his hair and beard seemed to have whitened much in those past few weeks. In a few days he had come to look more than his fifty-four years.

But never had "Marse Robert" looked more of a soldier than on that April morning when he left Arlington without a vestige of military trappings, superbly erect and never looking back, burning every bridge behind him as he rode out of the plantation enclosure.

And so it was to be until the end of his life. Amid the wreckage of the war—defeated, homeless, penniless, his family circle broken and scattered, his wife an invalid and his own health broken—he told General Wade Hampton when discussing the war and its issues:

I could have taken no other course without dishonor, and if it were all to do over again, I would act precisely in the same manner.

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Mrs. Lee continued on at Arlington another month; with the help of faithful slaves striving to dismantle the mansion to make ready to have its contents moved to safety on Confederate soil—hoping against hope, perhaps, that something yet would stay the onrushing storm.

Her husband did not give her much encouragement, however. In a letter written on May 13, three weeks after he had left for Richmond, he said:

Do not put much faith in rumors of adjustment. I see no prospects for it. It cannot be while passions on both sides are infuriated. Make your plans for several years of war. If Virginia is invaded, which appears to be designed, the main routes in the country will in all probability be infested and passage interrupted.

In the same letter he referred to his oldest son who held an officer's commission in the Union Army:

Tell Custis he must consult his own judgment, reason and conscience as to the course he may take. I do not wish him to be guided by my wishes and example. If I have done wrong, let him do better. The present is a momentous question which every one must settle for himself upon principle. . . .

General Lee's three sons—George Washington Custis, William Henry Fitzhugh and Robert Edward, all U. S. officers—followed him into the Confederate Army as quickly as they could transfer their allegiance.

Mrs. Lee's difficult task of assorting, packing and storing the furniture of the fifteen-room house was not finished when the invading troops were taking possession of the place on the morning of May 24, 1861. Several wagon loads of furniture had been sent to relatives in deeper Virginia, but it became necessary to store many of the Washington heirlooms and other prized articles in the basement of the mansion.

Mrs. Lee must have felt that her life was being stripped bare by the same process that she was denuding the rooms of the house where were spent her care-free childhood, the happy years when she was the "young lady of the manor," and the fuller period of her married life. When she was the "belle of Arlington," her conquests had been many. She could have had her pick and choice of the young swains in Washington who were writing their names brightly on the deepening fame of the young Republic. Among those who had come across

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the Potomac to pay court to the "fair Custis heiress" was Sam Houston, who was chairman of the congressional committee on military affairs, one of whose duties was to visit West Point Military Academy, where was enrolled one of Mary's childhood friends, the "tall, pale cadet Lee," of Alexandria, Virginia, an appointee of President Jackson.

When the tall pale Lee graduated, second in his class, he was commissioned second lieutenant, and stationed at Fortress Monroe. Then his visits to Arlington became more frequent. When Lieutenant Lee reported at the War Department, invariably the Custis carriage would be waiting for him on Pennsylvania Avenue, and an extra good dinner on the Arlington table.

Whether Mr. Custis had any objections to his daughter marrying a penniless lieutenant, who had chosen the insecurity of an army career, is not known. Mary is said to have declared once rather spiritedly that they intended living on Robert's army pay when they were married.

Their marriage was an important social event on June 30, 1831, attended by relatives and friends, who came from every direction through a heavy, driving summer rain. Drenched to the skin, the Reverend Doctor Reuel Keith, D. D., of Alexandria, who performed the ceremony, would have presented a comical picture arrayed in one of the diminutive Mr. Custis' suits stretched over his own long body, had it not been for the concealing folds of his surplice.

Inside the house there was the mellow glow of candle light, the heavy fragrance of garden roses, and the cheer of music provided by colored musicians. The names of the six bridesmaids composed a roster of F. F. V. belles—Catherine Mason, Mary Goldsborough, Marietta Turner, Angela Lewis, Julia Calvert, and Britannia Peter. Their enormous skirts nearly filled the stairway as they came swishing down, one by one, with ringlets dangling about their necks, and their hair and dresses festooned with flowers, as was the fashion of the times.

Lieutenant Lee's groomsmen were West Point men, with the exception of one, Mr. Tillman. Lieutenant Sidney Smith Lee (brother of the groom), Chambers, Prentiss, Kennedy and Thomas Turner made up the first military procession in the house that was increased thirty years later to a conquering army.

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General Scott probably sent warnings to the inmates of Arlington as early as the first of May, 1861, that Union troops would soon be stationed there. But Mrs. Lee delayed leaving until the last moment, then with her four daughters—Mary, Agnes, Ann, and Mildred—was driven to Ravensworth, near Fairfax, by a trusted family darkey. They could carry little with them in the carriage, only a few personal belongings, and perhaps a number of family portraits.

After stopping for a time with relatives at Ravensworth, the family of General Lee sought refuge at the "White House," another Custis estate on the Pamunkey River in New Kent County, where Martha Custis had lived at the time of her marriage to George Washington. It had been bequeathed by G. W. P. Custis to his grandson, the Lees' second son, William Henry Fitzhugh. When General McClellan advanced up the Peninsula in the spring of 1862, the Lee family again became refugees. Before leaving the last homestead which remained to her, Mrs. Lee wrote and fixed to the door of the house the following appeal:

Northern soldiers, who profess to reverence Washington, forbear to desecrate the home of his first married life, the property of his wife, now owned by her descendants.

A GRANDDAUGHTER OF MRS. WASHINGTON.

One of McClellan's officers wrote beneath this:

A Northern soldier has protected your property in sight of the enemy, and at the request of your overseer.

Not for long did the protection last, however. During McClellan's "change of base," the house was burned to the ground and only the remains of tottering chimneys and a crumbling foundation were left to mark the scene of George Washington's courtship and marriage.

On the way to Richmond, General Lee's family was captured by Union troops and detained for a week at Hanover Court House. At General McClellan's orders they were released and escorted to the Confederate lines under a flag of truce. They remained behind the military lines of the Confederacy throughout the war.

During those troublous days Mrs. Lee must have experienced many despairing hours when she considered the probable fate of Arlington. Had she known, there were vigilant eyes watching the "carryin's on about the place." Thornton and Salina Gray, two of

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the Custis slaves, considered themselves in charge since the "family was away," and prodded the officers in charge relentlessly at occurrences of which they disapproved. Their complaints reached the Secretary of War, and was the means of saving many valuables that were being carried away.

There surely must have been great comfort to Mrs. Lee in the assurance of the gallant McDowell's reply in answer to the plea for the protection of her Arlington property.

. . . . with respect to the occupation of Arlington by U. S. troops, I beg to say it has been done by my predecessor with every regard for the place. I am here temporarily on the grounds, preferring this to sleeping in the house under the circumstance which the painful state of the country places me with respect to these properties. I assure you it will be my earnest endeavor to have all things so ordered that on your return you will find things as little disturbed as possible.

"On your return—" How little either dreamed of that remoteness.

Unfortunately, some of McDowell's successors were not possessed of his fineness of feeling. The Arlington basement and attic were soon raided by the soldiers quartered there, and "souvenirs" were freely appropriated. When complaint was made to Secretary of War Stanton that Mount Vernon heirlooms were being hawked about the streets of Washington by Yankee soldiers, at the request and recommendation of General McDowell, he ordered the removal of the Arlington storage to the Patent Office for safe keeping. Many of these things found their way back to Mount Vernon when that place was restored, the remainder going to the National Museum, except the articles which were ordered given back to the Lee heirs by President McKinley.

Benson J. Lossing, the historian, who visited Arlington in 1853, during the life of G. W. P. Custis, left an account in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* of some of the Washington relics he saw there at that time. As Custis had spent his early years at Mount Vernon, his reminiscences related to Mr. Lossing were of much value, and the Harper article has been a most helpful guide in the restoration.

Among the things associated with General Washington's Revolutionary War service, possessed by Mr. Custis at that time, was his camp tent, now in the National Museum, which Mr. Lossing described as the most interesting historic memento in America. The general

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had used it throughout the struggle for Independence, having pitched it first at Cambridge in July, 1775, and folded it at Yorktown in October, 1781.

The establishment of the first President's House of the new Republic was represented at Arlington by many things used by Washington in New York and Philadelphia. A massive silver tea set, which was made in New York in 1789 of old family plate with the arms of the Washingtons engraven on it, was used at many official receptions. The tea service was associated with a tea table which dated from the same year. Around it the family was accustomed to gather in the evenings at 8 o'clock when tea was served. Washington, who never ate anything after dinner, Mr. Custis recalled, often partook of a cup of tea, while other members of the family supplemented their tea with bread and butter.

The huge punch bowl, used also in that first executive residence, was made expressly for Washington and had his initials upon a shield painted in gilt on the white of the porcelain, and was further decorated with gilt stars and a border of blue and a picture of a frigate on the bottom. The massive mahogany bedstead, upon which Washington slept, and upon which he died, was made in New York in 1789. This is now back at Mount Vernon.

Mrs. Custis was also in possession of the little iron chest in which Martha Custis, at the time of her marriage with George Washington, kept her fortune of 30,000 pounds sterling, consisting of certificates of deposit in the Bank of England. Such chests were used in lieu of banks which were then unknown in America. The chest was then over a hundred years old, and was described by Lossing as being twenty inches long, thirteen inches wide, and eleven inches deep, and was heavily banded and secured by two padlocks. It, too, is now in the National Museum.

John Custis, III, as the father of Daniel Parke Custis was known, was the only man in America, at that time, who owned bank stock in England, which descended to Mrs. Washington, through her first husband, and helped in the establishment of the first bank in the United States, leading to the foundation of our banking system. So Martha Washington's money chests may be considered a starting point of the banking system of our country.

Antedating Revolutionary War days, was the old black walnut sideboard, once belonging to Lawrence Washington, and later used



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by his brother George at Mount Vernon. There hung in the Arlington hall for nearly sixty years the black iron-framed lantern which had been presented to Lawrence Washington by Admiral Vernon under whom he had served at Cartegena, and for whom Mount Vernon was named. For full sixty years the lantern had been at Mount Vernon before Custis took it away. Another seventy years has passed since it was carried to the Patent Office, to be returned to Mount Vernon several years after the Civil War, to hang where Lawrence Washington had placed it when the house was first built.

With every important event of the history of our country, Arlington has had some connection, and on the stage of national and international activity a member of the family so closely identified with the place has had an honorable part. Mr. Custis was never tired of relating their stories to visitors as he showed them his collection of family portraits.

The portrait of Colonel Daniel Parke, painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller, was one of the most noteworthy. Parke, a native Virginian, was a protegee of the Duke of Marlborough, to whom he was aide in the Battle of Blenheim in Germany in 1704. Colonel Parke carried the news of the British victory to Queen Anne, who bestowed upon him, among other awards, her miniature portrait set in diamonds, which is the portrait he wears suspended from a ribbon about his neck.

Colonel Parke's daughter Frances married Hon. John Custis, III, holder of considerable bank stock in the Bank of England and who lived on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, and was a member of the King's Council in the Old Dominion. The portraits of the Hon. John Custis and his wife hung peacefully together in their great-grandson's home, while a tombstone in Williamsburg to this day recalls to passers-by the story of their unhappy married life. Both were proud and self-willed, Mrs. Custis usually getting the best of an argument with a flow of vitriolic words. The unhappy husband planned to get the "last word," which he did by having engraven on his tombstone:

UNDER THIS MARBLE STONE LIES THE BODY
OF THE HON. JOHN CUSTIS, ESQ.
OF THE CITY OF WILLIAMSBURG AND PARISH OF BURTON
FORMERLY OF HANGAR'S PARISH
OF THE EASTERN SHORE OF VIRGINIA
AND COUNTY OF NORTHAMPTON

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AGED 71 YEARS, AND YET LIVED BUT 7 YEARS,
WHICH WAS THE SPACE OF TIME
HE KEPT A BACHELOR'S HOME AT ARLINGTON
ON THE EASTERN SHORE OF VIRGINIA

Five hundred pounds were set aside in his will, with the stipulation that his son and heir, Daniel Parke Custis—first husband of Mrs. Washington—under pain of disinheritance, have a monument erected with that inscription. The son obeyed the command, and on the other side of the stone explained that the inscription was by his father's expressed orders. The only daughter of the couple married a Captain Dausie against her father's wishes, and never afterward was received by the family.

John Custis, III, was the grandson of Major-General John Custis, who as early as 1687 held a commission granted by Johannes, Lord Howard of Effingham, his majesty's Lieutenant Governor, as collector of customs in Virginia. The immigrant John Custis had a son, who was a leader in Bacon's Rebellion.

The portraits of Daniel Parke Custis and Martha Custis (later Mrs. Washington), painted by Woolaston in 1757, and their two children, John Parke Custis ("Jacky," as he was called) and Martha ("Patsy"), brought the family gallery down to the middle of the eighteenth century. It was John Parke Custis who bought the Arlington land on the Potomac, probably at the suggestion of George Washington.

The Arlington estate was originally a part of a large tract of land, consisting of some 6,000 acres, which in 1669 had been given to Robert Howsen, a ship captain, by Sir William Berkley, Royal Governor of Virginia, as a reward for bringing colonists to America. Howsen disposed of the tract for six hogsheads of tobacco to the John Alexandria family of colonial days for whom the town of Alexandria, Virginia, was named. John Parke Custis never lived there. The estate was called Arlington after another Custis property on the Eastern Shore, which was named in honor of Henry, Earl of Arlington, to whom, with Lord Culpeper, Charles II granted a large tract of land in Virginia.

John Parke Custis seems to have disappointed his mother and foster father by reckless behavior, preferring fox-hunting and hard riding to attending school. He cut short a college education begun at

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King's, now Columbia University, when he was eighteen, by marrying, on February 3, 1774, the beautiful sixteen-year-old Eleanor Calvert, of Mount Airy, Maryland, a descendant of Lord Baltimore. They established a home near Alexandria which was called Abingdon. Three daughters were born to this couple and one son, George Washington Parke Custis, whose birth on April 30, 1781, a few months before his father's death, provided his estate with a male heir.

John Parke Custis had become aide-de-camp to his stepfather near the close of the Revolution, dying of camp fever about the time of the victory of Yorktown. His sister had died on June 17, 1773, and now with both gone, General and Mrs. Washington were sorely grieved. They adopted the two youngest children, Eleanor (Nellie) and George Washington Parke Custis, and brought them up at Mount Vernon. At the death of General Washington, in December, 1799, the adopted son was named as one of the executors and beneficiaries. He continued to live at Mount Vernon until after the death of Mrs. Washington, in 1802, when the home was broken up, moving then to Arlington, where he began building his mansion. Until the north wing of the house was habitable, Custis lived in a four-room cottage, once occupied by the Alexanders, which stood near the river about a mile east of the present mansion. It was built about 1725—before Mount Vernon—and was destroyed by the Union soldiers during the Civil War.

A copy by E. Fischer of the Gilbert Stuart portrait of Nellie Custis, painted about the time of her marriage on February 22, 1799, to General Washington's favorite nephew, Major Lawrence Lewis, was one of Mr. Custis' most cherished possessions.

Portraits of General and Mrs. Washington in colored crayons, drawn from life by Sharpless, were among the last originals made of the two. Mr. Custis regarded the Sharpless picture of Washington the truest likeness of the general that he possessed, but the picture that he liked best of Mrs. Washington was the exquisitely wrought miniature painted by Robertson in New York in 1791.

Charles Wilson Peale's well known portrait of Washington, painted in 1772, now in Washington and Lee University, showing the patriot in the uniform of a Virginia colonel of the day, resplendent in red waistcoat and breeches with a blue coat, held an interest for visitors at Arlington, only approached by another Peale masterpiece, the por-

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trait of Lafayette, painted during the Revolution period. This is also at Washington and Lee University. The Gilbert Stuart portrait of "Light Horse Harry" Lee, father of Robert E. Lee, was another of the heroes of the Revolution possessed at Arlington. This portrait is the property of Lee's grandson, Dr. George Bolling Lee, of New York.

Washington and Lee University granted the government permission to have copies made of these portraits to hang on the walls of the restored mansion. The Lee family still possess some of the originals, the others being in the library of Washington and Lee University at Lexington, Virginia, where General Lee spent the last years of his life as its president.

Certain patriotic societies have sponsored as gifts several of the reproductions. The copy of Peale's Washington is the gift of the General Society of Colonial Wars and was made by Hattie E. Burdette, copyist. The copy of the Lafayette portrait by Peale has been given by the Society of the Cincinnati. Both of these pictures were exhibited in the replica of Mount Vernon at the Colonial Exposition in France in 1931. The Daughters of the American Revolution have contributed a reproduction of the Woolaston painting of Martha Washington. The National Society United States Daughters of 1812 have recently contributed to the mansion a copy of the Colonel Daniel Parke portrait of Sir Godfrey Kneller, the original of which is owned by Dr. George Bolling Lee, grandson of Robert E. Lee. The Nellie Custis portrait by Fischer, replica of the original Stuart canvas, was copied by Walter Gilman Page as a presentation by the General Court of the Order of Founders and Patriots.

Frescoes by G. W. P. Custis, himself an amateur painter, may be seen on the walls of Arlington. At the end of the main hall of the mansion there is a frieze consisting of hunting scenes, faded and cracked, yet clear enough for the design to be restored in its entirety. Over the doors of the south slave quarters on the court there are frescoes, one of which is that of a white horse thought to be the original of General Washington's war horse. A design of a spread eagle, almost past recognition, is over the other doors.

Using the unfinished state drawing room for his studio, Custis painted six large battle pictures on canvas, together with a portrait of Washington. While he was not much of an artist, his historical

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knowledge was sound and complete. As the adopted son of Washington, he had secured the information about most of the battles at first hand. The "Washington at Yorktown" Custis himself considered the most accurate representation of the general ever put on canvas.

Louis Cramton's interest in Arlington and other interesting points in Virginia began long before he was elected to the House of Representatives from the Seventh Michigan District and came to Washington to become identified with the preservation of many historic shrines. His father, George Warren Cramton, who lives at Lapeer, Michigan, served throughout the Civil War in the Michigan Cavalry Brigade, which is credited by some as having saved Gettysburg for the North, and thus stopped Lee's northern thrust. General Charles King's novel, "Between the Lines," notes the cavalry action at Hanover, well to one side, whose telling blow resulted in the defeat of the Confederate attempt to cut the Union line of supplies.

Most of the veteran Cramton's service was in Maryland and Virginia. Under Sheridan's command, he had a part in the Shenandoah campaign, when Sheridan fairly well kept his promise that a crow would have to carry his rations in flying over the valley.

Father, a young farmer boy, carried home from the war a liking for Virginia [Mr. Cramton said], and in my early boyhood on the farm, I can remember hearing him tell what a beautiful country it was—the Shenandoah—and that if ever he could sell his Michigan farm, he would go back to Virginia. But he never did.

He was never given to talk much about his war experiences, but from my earliest recollections he had always spoken of General Lee with the highest respect. After my resolution for the restoration of Arlington became a law, it was attacked by the G. A. R. and the W. R. C. in national conventions, and even in my own State, Michigan. I spoke once to father about that and he said their action did not properly represent the attitude of the Union soldiers generally. He said, "So far as I am concerned, I have always regarded Lee as a great American."

In appreciation of Representative Cramton's efforts, Governor Pollard tendered him and Mrs. Cramton a dinner at the Commonwealth Club in Richmond, which was attended by prominent Virginians. Mr. Cramton was presented with a set of "Hening's Colonial Virginia Statutes," which contained a book-plate with original drawings of Arlington, Wakefield, Jamestown, Williamsburg and Yorktown.

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In reply to the presentation, Mr. Cramton reminded his hosts that Michigan, where he lived, was once a part of Virginia, and requested that he be accepted as a fellow Virginian.

The joint committee in Congress, which worked out the legislative plans for the rehabilitation of Arlington, was presided over by ex-Senator George Wharton Pepper, of Pennsylvania; the other members being, Senators Frank B. Brandegee, Connecticut; Simeon D. Fess, Ohio; Kenneth McKellar, Tennessee; Edwin S. Broussard, Louisiana; Representatives Cramton, Michigan; Robert Luce, Massachusetts; Robert L. Bacon, New York; Morton D. Hull, Illinois; Ralph Gilbert, Kentucky; and Frank Park, of Georgia. Major-General B. F. Cheatham, Quartermaster-General, and Dr. Charles Moore, chairman of the Fine Arts Commission, were in consultation.

William Tyler Page, Clerk of the House at that time, better known to the country as the author of the "American Creed," wrote the resolution, whose preamble stated:

WHEREAS, The era of internecine strife among the states having yielded to one of better understanding, of common loyalty, and of a more perfect Union;

WHEREAS, Now honor is accorded Robert E. Lee as one of the great military leaders of history, whose exalted character, noble life, and eminent services were compelling factors in cementing the American people in bonds of patriotic devotion and action against the common external enemies in the war with Spain and in the World War, thus consummating the hope of a reunited country that would swell the chorus of the Union.

The measure became a law on the 4th of March, 1925, with President Coolidge signing the bill. By terms of the joint resolution, the Secretary of War, who had charge of the National Cemetery, was authorized and directed:

As nearly as practicable, to restore the mansion to its pre-Civil War status and to procure, if possible, articles of furniture and equipment which were then in the mansion and in use by the occupants thereof.

"Not to make a museum, but to show a delightful home of the better class of the pre-Civil War period," the committee decided the restored Arlington should represent.

"I do not want to get far from the idea that the restoration is to be a tribute to Lee," Cramton insisted in the committee hearings.

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Of the many important repairing and construction projects, of which the Quartermaster Corps has had charge, none have been more unique, more interesting than this bridging the chasm of three generations, and out of historical facts, legends, traditions, and material remnants of a former occupation of the place to reconstruct an entire panel of American life centering about one of the army's outstanding figures. Whether as comrade or opponent, the Confederate general's record is one of the army's prized traditions. It was so before studies of his Civil War military strategy were used in British, French, and German war manuals, and the British General Wolsley wrote that Robert E. Lee was the greatest military genius that has been produced by the Anglo-Saxon race.

With the same meticulous care with which they would prepare for a military expedition, for the past five years Colonel Mortimer and his staff of experts have been busy reconstructing the Arlington plantation life—studying old letters and notes, corresponding with those in possession of Washington-Custis-Lee heirlooms, examining old furniture, visiting antique shops and old Southern homes for ideas. Their work has been slow because everything has been authentically and carefully done. Their means have been limited as the Congressional appropriation for the work was small. Their work has also been seriously limited because those who own pieces of furniture once used in the mansion have been unwilling to part with them.

The policy adopted has been to refurnish the mansion with colonial and early American pieces of genuine period, substituting copies or similar pieces for the more historical originals which cannot be obtained, and keeping the whole in strict conformity to the beauty and simplicity of early American style. For some time after the work was under headway, there were only three pieces of original furniture available—a handmade cupboard and two candle stands which Mrs. Lee had given to her personal maid and slave, Salina Gray. Descendants of Salina Gray, who live near Arlington, sent them back to become the nucleus of the restoration. The cupboard now stands in its original place in a back hall near the family dining room. One of the candle stands is in the boys' room, and the other is in the office on the first floor.

The historic desk which was used by Lee during the years 1848-1852, when, as captain, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., he superin-

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tended the construction of Fort Carroll, near Baltimore, is now in the Custis study. A music case, believed to have belonged to Nellie Custis, and a music stand of the early days is in the drawing room, and the family Bible of the Lees, dating back to 1638 in England, is on a stand in the family parlor.

In the family dining room and parlor are the twin mantels of Carrara marble, believed to have been ordered by Mr. Custis from Italy. Over the mantel in the family parlor has been hung the likeness of Nellie Custis. A miniature bureau which once belonged to General Lee's mother, Ann Hill Carter Lee, is in one of the second-floor bedrooms. In the same room is a washstand with a marble top, believed to have been the property of the Custis family at Arlington. A child's secretary bookcase, supposed to have been a childhood possession of Nellie Custis at Mount Vernon, and later removed to Arlington, was given by General Lee to his goddaughter, Miss Nannie Randolph Heth, and now has become a valuable part of the furnishings of the play room.

A few of the articles carried away as souvenirs by Union soldiers have been coming back since the restoration started. A brass key which belonged to Mr. Custis' desk has been restored to its original use by George P. Marsh, of Medford, Massachusetts, by whom it was taken from Arlington. Another return has been made by the son of a Union veteran who sent back two china custard cups which had been taken from the articles left by Mrs. Lee. Another contribution to the restoration is the statuette of *The Three Graces*, formerly in Arlington, sent by George E. Bedell, Jr., of Washington, who had inherited it from Major James Compton, to whom it had been presented by General Lee.

Several months ago, an oil painting of Mildred Childe Lee, daughter of General Lee, was returned to the War Department by the daughter of a New England soldier, who had fancied the picture of the fair Virginian, and had carried it with him throughout the War, rolled up and hidden under his army overcoat. The daughter, who had inherited her father's "spoils," had kept the portrait since his death, hung in her home at Concord, New Hampshire. For many years to come, it is probable that articles which were taken from the house during the Civil War will be finding their way back.

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While few authentic Arlington pieces have been available, generous gifts of furniture and heirlooms have been offered by citizens from both the North and South. Two of the bedrooms on the second floor have been almost completely furnished by Brigadier-General William E. Horton, who brought many of the pieces from his New England home. The Lafayette room, occupied in 1824 by the French patriot, has a fine four-post bed, a secretary, old prints, and engravings, lent by the general for an indefinite time. General Lee's bedroom has also been refurnished in part by General Horton.

A sideboard in the state dining room is the gift of the heirs of Captain E. Hayne Davis, a Confederate officer who served with Lee. The reproduced Sheraton chairs are copies of Mount Vernon chairs, which for a time were at Arlington, but are now at the National Museum. In the state dining room is a magnificent crystal chandelier, one of a pair hanging for many years in the drawing room of the Milne town house on Walnut Street, Philadelphia, which has been presented to Arlington by Mrs. Margaret Skerrett Milne, of Roslyn Manor, Germantown, Pennsylvania, in memory of her husband, David Milne.

Mrs. James Peyton Powell, of Huntsville, Alabama, has sent to the restoration a number of pieces of early American furniture, among which are two sofas, mahogany drop leaf pedestal table, secretary bookcase, iron and brass fire set and a number of kitchen pieces. A very fine old wall clock, made by Jacob de Deurwaur in Holland in 1762, was presented by the Robert E. Lee Chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy in Kansas City.

Several interesting bedspreads have come as gifts to the house. One of them is a heavy white cloth, woven by hand in intricate "Waity Staples" design, bearing the initials of the woman who made it and the date 1816. It was presented by Mrs. Daniel C. Kingman, widow of General Kingman, formerly Chief of Engineers of the army. It is on the bedstead in the Lee girls' room, the four-poster bed, tester, linen valence, mattress and springs being a bequest of Mrs. Holmes Conrad, widow of the former Solicitor-General of the United States. The bed is said to have been in the Conrad family for over one hundred and twenty-five years.

While remodeling the roof of the mansion, the sheathing and guttering were torn away, and close up under the eaves was found a very

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old globe of the world on which were outlined the voyages of discovery made up to the date September 13, 1795. The globe had been in the mansion continuously from the time G. W. P. Custis had placed it there until it was sent away to be repaired. The outside was so cracked and worn that the date of the publication is lost, but the last voyage recorded indicates the date was close to those figures. It is now in the school room where the Lee children had their lessons.

The "Camelia House," as the greenhouse was called, has been restored and plans have been made for the replanting of the flower garden on the south side of the house. Early in the work, two slaves who were born on the estate, Emma Syphax, aged eighty-six, and Anese Baker, aged seventy-nine, daughters of Thornton and Salina Gray, were employed by the U. S. Government to walk about the house and grounds in search of tangible clues which might lead to memory explorations, in an effort to reconstruct authentic pictures of Arlington.

The flower garden, as Anese recalled it, when as a tot of seven or eight, she had "toted" water for it in dry seasons, was a square enclosure hemmed in by a white picket fence. In the center there was an arbor covered with red and pink honeysuckle and yellow jessamine. "Mis' Mary's" rosebushes were banked along the sides of the garden, and at the back there was much shrubbery and box, and several posts were cloaked with a heavy growth of jessamine.

"Two magnolia trees, red and white, that stood near the center of the garden, were cut down by the soldiers," Anese recalled, and "the fences were partially torn down and used for firewood."

The slave quarters, down near the road that leads to the south gate, where lived Uncle Gid, Uncle Shack, Aunt Sukey, Uncle Michel and others who contributed richly to the Arlington scene, will never be rebuilt. Near where the miniature log cabin village stood regimented rows of white marble markers name heroic dead who have been brought there to rest.

The old Arlington spring at the foot of the wooded slope down near the river recalls the "Sheep-shearing festivities," an annual social affair instituted by Mr. Custis which had far-reaching influence. To a certain extent Mr. Custis may be considered the father of the woolen industry in the United States. He was a strong advocate for protective tariff on wool. When he began his Arlington plantation, he found

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that it was necessary to import a surprisingly large number of articles from Europe, particularly clothing, at profiteering prices—whatever the importers decided to demand of them. He rebelled at such a condition of affairs and sought a change that would benefit his country. He set an example for others by stocking his fields with Merino sheep imported from Spain. He made speeches and wrote articles on the subject of wool manufacturing to stimulate interest in the enterprise.

In 1803, he called a convention of farmers from the different states who were interested in sheep-raising and the manufacture of woolen goods. This is said to have been one of the earliest meetings of that kind in this country. This meeting was the forerunner of the annual sheep-shearing frolics at Arlington on Mr. Custis' birthday, April 30 of each year, which brought together the sheep and wool men of the United States; also, at the same time, many of the social and political leaders of the young republic.

Custis held court under General Washington's war tent, which was brought out for the purpose. Prizes were awarded to visitors who exhibited the finest grade of sheep. Speeches were made in which the future of the United States as a manufacturing, stock-raising and agricultural country were predicted in most glowing terms.

The grounds around the Custis spring for many years was a celebrated picnic ground, people coming daily during the summer months from Washington, Alexandria and Georgetown. It is said that as many as 20,000 people visited there during one summer season. A small steamer, the "G. W. P. Custis," brought them across the Potomac to a wharf built by Mr. Custis. He provided dining rooms and a kitchen for their use, and a dance pavillion for which he sometimes provided musicians. Drinking "spirituous liquors" was forbidden there, and the grounds were closed on Sundays. In all other ways, and at all other times, small family parties or great delegations were Mr. Custis' welcomed guests.

For over half a century George Washington Parke Custis lived the life of a country gentleman at Arlington, busy with the details of directing several estates, often riding all day long on well groomed horses, coming back in the evenings to stretch his short limbs before a crackling hickory fire, and to finish the day reading aloud from one of Walter Scott's novels or writing letters, and smoking intermittently his long-stemmed pipe. Mrs. Custis spent the time looking

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after the welfare of her family, of the many guests who were coming and going constantly, and the slaves whose "quarters" constituted a small village.

George Washington had desired that his adopted son should take his place in the affairs of the young Republic, and toward that end directed his education. Custis, while a patriot of the purest type, seemed to have had little desire for a career in the army or in the legislative halls of the Nation. He had too many interests to concentrate very closely on one or two. Besides being an artist, an experimental farmer and a stock raiser, he was a musician, a composer, an author, and wrote plays which were presented in Alexandria, with himself sometimes taking an important rôle.

The term *dilettante* has been used to characterize the master of Arlington. It is said that if he excelled in anything, it was in dispensing hospitality. He made Arlington the successor of Mount Vernon in the public eye. Every President from Jefferson to Buchanan was a guest at Arlington. No important person ever came to Washington that was not entertained by Mr. Custis. Among the most honored was Lafayette, who spent several days as his guest in 1824. The Frenchman recalled to Mr. Custis that the first time he had seen him was when as a very small boy with a bright feather in his cap, he was standing on the veranda at Mount Vernon holding onto the finger of General Washington's enormous hand. It is related that on entering he remarked immediately the iron lantern in the hall, which he remembered at Mount Vernon. He pronounced the view from the portico unrivaled, and entreated Mrs. Custis never to sacrifice any of the fine trees. Under Washington's war tent, which was pitched in his honor, the French Revolutionary hero stood and received the respectful homage of the people who came to pay their respects.

Before the storm of the Civil War broke, both Mr. and Mrs. Custis had passed away, her death occurring in 1853, and his in 1857. Simple marble shafts mark their graves in an iron-fenced enclosure under three huge oaks not far from the mansion. A carpet of lilies-of-the-valley covers the spot.

The care of the estate descended to Colonel Lee, who had been stationed in Texas at the time of Mr. Custis' death. His oldest son wrote afterward:

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He took charge of my mother's estate after her father's death, and commenced putting it in order—not an easy task, as it consisted of several plantations and negroes. . . . He was always fond of farming, and took great interest in the improvements he immediately began to make at Arlington, relating to the cultivation of the farm, to the buildings, roads and fences, fields and stock, so that in a very short time the appearance of everything on the estate was improved.

Retirement to peaceful pursuits at Arlington at the close of his army service was perhaps Colonel Lee's supreme ambition. His letters from various posts where he had been stationed—Fortress Monroe, New York, Baltimore, St. Louis, and while serving as superintendent of West Point Military Academy and in the Mexican War—reflected that desire.

Colonel Lee was busy about the plantation in October, 1859, when John Brown's raid upon the United States Arsenal at Harper's Ferry electrified the country. No one knew the limit of the aggressive action of Brown, but the War Department, needing an officer of balanced judgment, combined with experience and courage to represent the government at that point, ordered Colonel Lee to take command of the Marines and suppress the rebellion. His unwelcome, bloody task finished, Lee returned to Arlington to direct the late harvesting.

The harvesting seasons at Arlington were numbered, however, for war with all its attending blight struck the estate hardest of any in the Confederacy.

The United States Government, having taken over Arlington as a war measure, soon deemed it necessary to take legal steps to hold the property as the most logical of all locations for a permanent fort to protect the National Capital.

Under an act of Congress passed June 17, 1862, certain commissioners of the government were appointed to levy and collect taxes in Virginia and elsewhere; and if default in payment was made, to seize the real estate upon which the taxes were levied. Prior to January, 1864, the commission had adopted a rule by which taxes in the district in which Arlington was located would not be accepted unless tendered by the owner in person. Mrs. Lee could not comply with this rule, so she sent a cousin, Mr. Fendall, to pay the taxes. The money was refused and he was informed that Mrs. Lee must be present in person.

On January 11, 1864, there was due the sum of \$92.07 on the 1,100 acres of the Arlington estate, together with a fifty per cent.

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penalty, when the property was sold "according to law" as stated on the tax certificate. The United States acquired the title to the property at public auction for \$26,800.

Upon the death of Mrs. Lee in 1873, her husband having died in 1870, George Washington Custis Lee, according to the will of his grandfather, G. W. P. Custis, became entitled to Arlington. He took steps to recover the property. After petitioning Congress in vain, he began suit in ejectment in 1877 in Alexandria, Virginia. In 1879 the United States Circuit Court for the Eastern District of Virginia decided that he was entitled to the estate and that the United States did not have a lawful title. The Department of Justice carried the case to the United States Supreme Court, which decided the property belonged to Mr. Lee.

The United States was faced with the question of whether to disinter the remains of soldiers and sailors and vacate the property, part of which had become a military post, or to purchase the same. However, Mr. Lee was willing to sell Arlington for \$150,000. On March 3, 1883, the Forty-seventh Congress appropriated the necessary money, and on March 31 Mr. Lee executed the deed which conveyed the title to the United States. The deed was recorded in the Alexandria Courthouse on the 14th of May, 1883—just twenty-two years, less ten days, from the day May 24, 1861, when General Scott's soldiers crossed the Potomac and took possession.

It was General Meigs, Quartermaster Corps, U. S. Army, who was the first to suggest to President Lincoln that the estate be converted into a military cemetery, and in 1864, by orders of Secretary of War Stanton, two hundred acres were set apart and dedicated as a national cemetery for the burial of Union soldiers and sailors. The first soldier to be buried there was William Christman, Company G, 67th Pennsylvania Infantry, who died in a Washington hospital on May 13, 1864, and was buried on the same day.

At present 408.03 acres are included in the cemetery which recently has been connected with the Capital City by a magnificent memorial bridge. The vista which the bridge continues across the Potomac frames the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on the wooded heights of Arlington. In the cemetery lie more than 42,000 of the Nation's heroic dead of the army and navy. There are 4,713 unknown dead, one tomb containing the remains of 2,111 gathered from the

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battlefields of Bull Run, the Wilderness and along the Rappahannock after the Civil War. The remains of a number who fought in the Revolutionary War and some who fought in the War of 1812 were removed to Arlington from an abandoned cemetery in 1892. The mast of the battleship "Maine" sentinel the spot where lie a number of soldiers and sailors who served in the Spanish-American War, and the Argonne Cross rises above serried rows of glistening stones naming World War heroes, an encampment which will soon extend beyond the present cemetery limits.

A Confederate monument was authorized by Congressional Act in 1912, whose erection was under the direction of Secretary of War William H. Taft and by the Daughters of the Confederacy, and when completed was received by President Woodrow Wilson on June 4, 1914. A number of Confederate soldiers have been buried on the plot.

On the slope near Arlington Mansion are buried General Sheridan and Admiral Porter. William Howard Taft sleeps not far away, and in the same hallowed ground rests William Jennings Bryan, who had served in the Spanish-American War. Directly in front of the mansion is the tomb of Pierre L'Enfant, engineer, artist and soldier, who under direction of President Washington designed the plans for the city of Washington.

The Confederate general was first acquainted with the sale of Arlington for unpaid taxes nearly a year after the close of the war. In reply to a letter from a Mr. Hope, of New York, in regard to the sale, General Lee wrote:

LEXINGTON, VA., April 5, 1866.

Mr. William H. Hope, City of New York.

MY DEAR SIR: I am greatly obliged to you for your kind letter of the 22nd ult., and for the interest you express for the fate of Arlington. I should like to recover it that I might, as executor of Mr. G. W. P. Custis, carry out the provisions of his will. I did not know that it had been sold for taxes on the 11th of January, 1864, as stated in the newspaper slip you enclosed? It was seized by the United States troops in the spring of 1861 while in possession of a regularly appointed manager, who was conducting the usual agricultural operations.

I should have thought that the use of the grounds, the large amount of wood on the place, the teams, etc., and the sale of the furniture of the house would have been sufficient to have paid the taxes. I do not know whether the Secretary of War would relinquish pos-

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session of the estate, or permit its redemption under the Virginia laws. If he did and should require the \$26,800 stated to have been bid for it by the United States, to be refunded, it would be out of my power to redeem it.

With sincere thanks for your friendly letter, I am,

Very truly, your obedient servant,

(Signed) R. E. LEE.

Three years later, in answer to a friend advising him to apply for the Arlington effects that had been transferred from the mansion to the Patent Office during the war, General Lee wrote:

LEXINGTON, VA., Feb. 12, 1869.

. . . . Mrs. Lee has determined to act upon your suggestion, and apply to President Johnson for such of the relics from Arlington as are in the Patent Office. From what I have learned, a great many things formerly belonging to General Washington, bequeathed to her by her father, in the shape of books, furniture, equipages, etc., were carried away by individuals, and are now scattered over the land.

I hope the possessors appreciate them, and may imitate the example of their original owner, whose conduct at times must be brought to their recollection by these silent monitors. In this way they may accomplish good to the country.

Their restoration to the Lee family was considered by Congress, marked by heated debate. It was not until an executive order by President McKinley, about the beginning of the present century, that the articles which had not been sent to Mount Vernon, were given back to the Lee heirs.

The last years of General Lee's life were spent as president of Washington College, at Lexington, Virginia, in the Shenandoah Valley. The college was founded by George Washington with the \$50,000 that Virginia bestowed upon him in 1785, as a gift of appreciation for his services to the Commonwealth and to the Union. Washington had accepted it only on condition that he might use it for the "education of poor children, particularly, of such as have fallen in the defense of their country."

When the Confederate general went to Washington College, there was merely a local representation of pupils numbering about forty and a faculty of four. The salary of the president was \$1,500 a year. Lee had received many more remunerative offers by which he might have capitalized his fame. A wealthy corporation offered him \$50,000 for the mere use of his name. To one he replied:



REAR OF ARLINGTON MANSION, SHOWING THE TWO SERVANTS' HOUSES, WHICH ARE PLACED NEAR THE MANSION AND FORM AN OPEN COURT

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I have a self-imposed task which I must accomplish. I have led the young men of the South to battle. I have seen many of them die on the field. I shall devote my remaining energies to training young men to do their duty in life.

Out of that dedication grew Washington and Lee University, one of the first-class universities of the country. At his death, in 1870, the great Confederate leader was buried within the college enclosure where his last work was done.

When the Old Dominion came to select another Virginian to stand with Washington in Statuary Hall in the United States Capitol, she passed over a long line of her immortals, including Presidents Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Tyler, Harrison, Chief Justice Marshall, Patrick Henry, George Mason and others of undying renown, and proudly presented Robert E. Lee in bronze to represent her in the national patriots' Hall of Fame.

With the Civil War not so far behind, in some parts of the North there was bitter criticism that the "Rebel" Lee should be thus honored. But a quarter of a century later, in the lengthening perspective of the years, the initiative came from the North for the reconstruction of the Southern general's home as a memorial well worth perpetuating as a national shrine.



James Leander Cathcart--"Troublesome, Litigious Trifler"

BY FRANK E. ROSS, M. A., WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA



UCH a man, said the Bey of Tunis, was the American Consul accredited to his court in 1803. And indeed Cathcart was a colorful diplomat—in a day when few sovereign representatives in the Orient could be called drab. Among foreign consuls in Barbary backbiting was the recognized order of the day. Besides this the American consuls in the neighboring Regencies were men of quarrelsome dispositions. In the midst of an atmosphere filled with personal and patriotic belligerencies Cathcart effervesced and flourished: none could claim to be more troublesome or litigious than he. Such a reputation is no mere trifle, nor its owner a trifler.*

James Leander Cathcart was born at Mount Murragh, county of Westmeath, Ireland, on June 1, 1767. He was brought to America as a child by a relative, and at the age of twelve he became a midshipman on the Continental frigate "Confederacy" under Captain Seth Harding (1779). Captured some months later by the British, Cathcart was confined on the prison ships "Good Hope" and "Old Jersey" at New York. He escaped in March, 1782, and entered the merchant service, becoming a seaman on the schooner "Maria" of Boston.

*The principal sources include: The two volumes published by Mrs. Jane B. Newkirk, Cathcart's daughter, one being the journal of Cathcart's Algerine captivity ("The Captives," La Porte, Indiana, 1899) and the other a volume of Cathcart's official correspondence as consul ("Tripoli . . . Letter Book by James Leander Cathcart," La Porte, Indiana, 1901); Cathcart MSS., in the New York Public Library; Manuscript Dispatches, Algiers and Tripoli, 1798-1801, Portugal, Vol. IV, and Spain, Vol. III, in the archives of the Department of State; Cathcart's autobiographical letter of application for a Revolutionary pension, written in late life, in the archives of the Department of the Interior; "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," Vols. I and II (both 1832); "American State Papers, Naval Affairs," Vol. IV (1861), p. 107; "Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Vol. V (1875); Charles Prentiss, "Life of the Late General William Eaton" (1813); G. W. Allen, "Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs" (1005); "Journal of the Captivity and Sufferings of John Foss" (1797); R. W. Irwin, "The Diplomatic Relations of the U. S. with the Barbary Powers, 1776-1816" (1931); biography of Cathcart by Frank E. Ross, in the "Dictionary of American Biography," Vol. III (1929), pp. 572-573; Cathcart's obituary, in the "Daily National Intelligencer" (Washington, D. C.), October 9, 1843.

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On July 25, 1785, the "Maria" was captured by an Algerine xebec of fourteen guns three miles southeast of Cape St. Vincent, off the coast of Portugal. The crew was taken to Algiers and sold into slavery. Cathcart and a number of others were purchased from the prize owner by the Dey of Algiers. He was stationed in the palace garden to watch the Dey's lions and tigers. The lot of the Christian slaves in the palace was not a pleasant one. Often they were bastinadoed (whipped on the soles of the feet). Once a Genoese, wrote Cathcart in the journal of his Algerine captivity ("The Captives," La Porte, Indiana, 1899), told the Dey, on being redeemed, that he had been a palace slave for ten years and had never received the bastinado. The Dey at once ordered him to be bastinadoed, "that he may not have so great a miracle to tell his countrymen when he returns to his home."

In late July, 1786, Cathcart was transferred from the palace to the Bagnio Belique, a slave prison, where an iron ring was put on his leg. At three o'clock each morning a prison official awoke the captives with a shout: "Arise! all those who sleep, the day approaches!" Soon a second summons came: "Depart, sleepers! Each one to his daily labor." The slaves then marched from the prison to engage in hard labor on public works.

Finally Cathcart was sent to the Bagnio Gallera, or prison of the galley slaves, where most of the Americans were confined. The iron ring on his leg was changed for a smaller one. Periodic visitations of plague caused the death of hundreds of Christian slaves. Cathcart seemed to be immune and was made clerk of the Marine, whose duty it was to keep the books. In 1788 he became clerk of the Bagnio Gallera. He mustered the slaves in prison each evening, reported deaths and sickness, supervised the rationing of black bread, and escorted the slaves to and from work. As clerk he was permitted to keep a tavern in the prison. This provided him with a sizable income and enabled him to purchase the Mad House tavern and the tavern of the Bagnio Liddi Hamuda. Other slaves managed his taverns for him on a commission basis.

In 1791 Cathcart became clerk to the Prime Minister of Algiers. The latter subsequently became Dey, and in March, 1792, Cathcart was appointed chief Christian secretary to the Dey and Regency of Algiers, a position of great influence. Three years later when Joseph

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Donaldson, Jr., came to negotiate peace and obtain the release of the American slaves, the Dey at first refused to let him enter Algiers. The Dey finally consented to see him, after much effort on Cathcart's part.

Donaldson suffered greatly from gout and was in great pain when he reached the house set aside for him in Algiers. He threw himself on a couch, with his cocked hat on one side and his crutch on the other, "and uttered a string of ejaculations and execrations, so equally mixed together," wrote Cathcart, "that I could not discover which predominated." Micaiah Cohen Bacri, a Jewish intimate of the Dey, not understanding English (if it was that), made astonished inquiry. Captain Richard O'Brien suavely replied: "The Ambassador is only saying his prayers and giving God thanks for his safe arrival." Bacri: "His devotion is very fervent."

During the negotiations Cathcart acted as intermediary between Donaldson and the Dey. The difference between the Dey's asking price and Donaldson's successive offers was tremendous and the Dey vented his anger upon Cathcart. Once the Dey threatened to have Cathcart roasted alive. Cathcart requested Donaldson, in that event, to send some of his ashes "to the museum at Philadelphia." Another time the Dey in a frenzy roared at Cathcart to "go out of my sight immediately, thou dog without a soul, and never presume to bring such trifling terms into me again under pain of my displeasure." As Cathcart well knew, the "displeasure" of the pirate king meant anything from the bastinado to roasting—certainly something unpleasant. Donaldson said at least Cathcart would have the consolation of having been punished or killed "for having endeavored to promote the interest of my country."

After the price had been agreed upon and the treaty signed (September 5, 1795) it was necessary to scour Europe for money to ransom the slaves. It was not forthcoming immediately and the Dey told Cathcart that the Americans were "dogs without faith" and threatened to have Cathcart's throat cut. Donaldson assured Cathcart that the beheading of either Cathcart or himself would present technical difficulties, since both "had such short necks." Cathcart doubtless felt that his master the Dey could surmount the difficulty. One of the foreign consuls jocularly "offered his influence to have it commuted to a roasting." Finally Cathcart was released, after eleven years of

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slavery, to convey to America a letter from the Dey to President Washington. He purchased the barque "Independent" with the income from his taverns and sailed for Philadelphia (May 8, 1796.)

On July 10, 1797, the President appointed Cathcart Consul to Tripoli, but Cathcart remained in Philadelphia to select the naval stores and presents for the Dey of Algiers. He made advantageous and pleasant use of his time by courting and marrying Jane Bancker Woodside. Richard O'Brien, who had been appointed Consul General to Algiers, tried to keep Cathcart from being sent to Barbary at all. Apparently he had some success since the government did hold Cathcart in Philadelphia for many months. In reply to Captain John Woodside's inquiry a government official said Cathcart would not be sent out for awhile "lest he should trouble the waters."

In December, 1798, Cathcart and William Eaton sailed on the United States brig "Sophia." The consuls reached Algiers on February 9, 1799, and remained there for a time to assist O'Brien in his negotiations. O'Brien, Eaton, Cathcart and four American ship captains went to call upon the Dey. There was the Dey, wrote Eaton, "a huge, shaggy beast, sitting on his rump, upon a low bench, covered with a cushion of embroidered velvet, with his hind legs gathered up like a tailor, or a bear. On our approach to him, he reached out his fore paw as if to receive something to eat. . . . The Consul General bowed *very elegantly*, and kissed it; and we followed his example in succession. The animal seemed at that moment to be in a harmless mood: he grinned several times, but made very little noise."

Leaving O'Brien to deal with his "shaggy beast," Eaton and Cathcart proceeded to Tunis. All three of the consuls had been commissioned special diplomatic agents for negotiating with the Bey of Tunis, but any two of them were authorized to act together. The special agents had been instructed to obtain alterations in the unsatisfactory agreement that had been signed by Joseph E. Famin in August, 1797. On March 26, 1799, Eaton and Cathcart obtained a treaty whereby the *ad valorem* duty on American goods imported into Tunis was reduced by fifty per cent.

Having obtained a letter from the Bey of Tunis to the Pasha of Tripoli expressing the hope that Tripoli would follow the lead of Algiers and Tunis in making peace with the United States of America, Cathcart sailed for his post. The "Sophia" anchored in the Bay of

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Tripoli on the afternoon of April 5, 1799. The Pasha at first refused to see Cathcart—saying that he was angry because O'Brien had promised him a brig in 1796, and it had not been forthcoming. However, negotiations finally began, and after days of wrangling the Pasha agreed to accept \$18,000 in cash and a consular present to the value of \$4,000 in return for peace. In addition to this expenditure Cathcart found it necessary to distribute \$1,500 in bribes—which he quite properly listed as "contingent expenses." The Pasha said he would execute O'Brien if he ever laid hands on the Irishman. Cathcart thought the Pasha "a venal wretch destitute of every honorable sentiment."

Peace having been made, Cathcart resumed his personal feud with O'Brien, which had begun years before when the two were slaves in Algiers. The enmity had been continued in Philadelphia, and received fresh stimulus when Cathcart came to Algiers with Eaton. Cathcart brought out from America an English servant girl, Betsy Robeson, to attend Mrs. Cathcart. O'Brien promptly began courting the girl, and desired that she sit at the table with them. Cathcart thought the servant girl unfit to sit beside Mrs. Cathcart—especially after she married O'Brien! In his volume of correspondence, "Tripoli . . . Letter Book by James Leander Cathcart," La Porte, Indiana, 1901, Cathcart much bewails the loss of the maid. And O'Brien? The deep dyed villain!

From Algiers O'Brien disagreed with everything Cathcart did or proposed to do. At Tripoli Cathcart expressed disapproval of O'Brien and all his works. Neither one spared the other in their letters to the Department of State. Commendation from home for one was a personal triumph over his *vis-a-vis*. With high exultation Cathcart wrote to O'Brien, April 19, 1800, that "my conduct at Tunis has been fully approved by Government, and the Secretary of State has informed me that my negotiation with Tripoli has been conducted in a manner highly satisfactory to the President." Later on Cathcart grew very virtuous on the subject of quarrels between American consuls. "O'Brien," he wrote to Eaton, "ought to consider that while he is gratifying an insidious spirit of revenge, he is betraying the interests of his country."

In addition to other quarrels Cathcart complained of his predecessor. It seems that he found the American House at Tripoli in bad

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condition—yet Joseph Ingraham, who preceded Cathcart there, had billed the United States Government for a considerable sum alleged to have been expended on repairs for the consular dwelling. Cathcart growled across 3,000 miles of distressed ocean to the patient Secretary of State that if Ingraham ever wandered out Tripoli way again he would ask him to point out just which corner of the American House had been repaired!

In Barbary there was great rivalry between the foreign consuls. Each considered it a patriotic duty to embroil one or more of his colleagues with the monarch. The French Consul would send his dragoman to the palace whispering something which would bring Cathcart much perspiration and give him considerable explaining to do the next time Cathcart waited upon the Pasha. Later Cathcart would make plans for the French Consul's next audience with the Pasha, and probably include the British Consul, too—to indicate his impartial mind. In this milieu Cathcart sputtered constantly and thoroughly enjoyed himself.

Meanwhile the Pasha observed the unprotected American ships and commerce rapidly conquering the Mediterranean trade and felt that he had made peace too easily—*i. e.*, too cheaply. He complained that he had made peace with the United States for less than he obtained from other nations and that "he knew his friends by what he received from them." The Pasha asked what the President of the United States thought of the peace treaty. Cathcart replied that the President was pleased and that the American Chief Executive considered the Pasha an independent Prince, not subject to Algiers and Tunis. The Pasha said if they would give him a frigate like they did Algiers he would place more faith in American friendship. In May, 1800, the Pasha heard that the United States had sent naval stores to Tunis. Cathcart said it was what the treaty with Tunis called for. "Why," asked the Pasha, "do not the United States send me a voluntary present?" Cathcart said that the United States was not in arrears with Tripoli.

Convinced that Tripoli was bound to grow more hostile, Cathcart asked Thomas Appleton, American Consul at Leghorn, to discourage American vessels from approaching Tripoli (August, 1800). He instructed Eaton at Tunis to advise Americans privately not to come to Tripoli: "Shun this place as you would a whirlpool." However,

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war broke out between Tripoli and Sweden and the Pasha let American affairs rest. He sent word to Cathcart: "Tell him I am now busy with the Swedes; when we have settled our affairs I intend to have a long conversation with him." About this time a Tripolitan ship captain told of seeing three magnificent American merchantmen in the Mediterranean and told the Pasha what excellent cruisers they would make—a potent argument in favor of war with the United States. The Pasha replied: "I intend to have a long conversation with the American Consul soon."

Cathcart wrote to Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, that "the Pasha undoubtedly is a very sturdy beggar: he first demands a present and then menaces us to a compliance with his unjust demands." Cathcart thought \$10,000 would probably keep the Pasha quiet, but he recommended naval action: "A well-timed energy will without doubt intimidate the present Pasha and his successors from daring to insult our flag, while too great condescension will seem to indicate that he may commit depredations upon our commerce with impunity."

In October, 1800, a Tripolitan cruiser of eighteen guns brought in the American brig "Catherine" of New York as a prize, although the two nations were ostensibly at peace. The Pasha finally yielded the brig, after rifling her of plunder to the value of \$217, but Cathcart was not relieved by the Pasha comments: "Consul, there is no nation I wish more to be at peace with than yours; but all nations pay me and so must the American." Hoping that the President's answer would be accompanied by "two of our largest frigates," Cathcart wrote to the Secretary of State that "This is the period that our national character ought to be established with this Regency."

The Pasha having agreed to wait six months for an answer, Cathcart sent a circular to all American agents in Europe, November 12, 1800, informing them that after six months the Mediterranean would be unsafe for American shipping and commerce. Early in 1801 Sweden bought peace with Tripoli and the Pasha increased his demands for tribute from the United States. He declared war on the United States in May, 1801. Cathcart left Tripoli May 24, and reached Leghorn June 2, after stopping at Malta to forward the news to America. During the war between the Pasha of Tripoli and the United States, William Eaton, acting upon the suggestion of Cathcart, espoused the cause of Hamet Karamanli, former Pasha of Tripoli, then living in Tunis.

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After a year of hostilities Cathcart was authorized by the President to treat with the Tripolitan sovereign. The latter, feeling secure in his position, rejected the terms offered by Cathcart (1802). In the same year Cathcart was appointed Consul General to Algiers. The Dey of Algiers refused to accept him and Jefferson then appointed Cathcart Consul to Tunis (1803). The Bey of Tunis said he wanted "a man that is not known in the other parts of Barbary" and told Eaton that Cathcart was an *embroglione*, interpreted by Eaton as troublesome, litigious trifle. When Cathcart arrived in Tunis the Bey denounced him to the President of the United States. Jefferson made apologetic reply and Cathcart turned homeward.

Cathcart later became Consul at Madeira (1807-15) and at Cadiz (1815-17). From 1818 to 1820 he was naval agent for the protection of live oak timber in the South. He was granted a Revolutionary pension in 1833. The last twenty years of his life he spent as a clerk in the Treasury at Washington, District of Columbia. When he died in Washington on October 6, 1843, few men recalled his stormy career in Barbary: another government clerk had died.



Ralph Izard and Alice de Lancey, Famous Huguenot Belle, His Wife

BY MARY-ELIZABETH LYNNAH, CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA



THE time might be roughly approximated as somewhere in the neighborhood of the year 1769. The place—the cool and shaded interior of the little Episcopal Church of St. James, Goose Creek, in the Province of South Carolina. The actors—none other than that staid, old Tory minister, the Rev. Mr. Ellington, and his aristocratic, but bristling, congregation of rebel sympathizers.

Mr. Ellington's familiar voice droned on, throughout the lengthy Litany, pausing now and then, only long enough to permit the necessary responses from parishioners whose minds, could they have been x-rayed, would have been found to harbor thoughts far from Sabbatical in color.

"That it may please Thee to bless and preserve our Sovereign Lord, King George," the loyal man intoned, absent-mindedly awaiting the usual invocation.

An ominous hush fell upon the obstinate, rebel gathering, but the response, though disconcerting, finally arrived.

"Good Lord, deliver us!" boomed a bold, male voice, issuing from the general direction of the Izard pew, and later traced directly to Ralph Izard himself.

Such downright zeal on the part of Ralph Izard, master of "The Elms" plantation, Goose Creek, must have brought becoming blushes to the cheeks of his beautiful, young wife, and encouraged immoderate, but comradely, snickers on the part of his church-going relatives and friends. It would appear, therefore, that Izard, a strict Huguenot by inheritance as well as by upbringing (whose grandfather, another Ralph Izard, had conveyed to the French Protestant emigrants the very land on which they erected their "French Church," on upper Church Street, Charles Town, about the year 1687), had been unduely blasphemous, while attending the Episcopal Church of his



MR. AND MRS. RALPH IZARD
By Copley

The original, done in Rome in 1764, now hangs in the gallery of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts

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adoption. Such, however, was not the case. The verbal eruption must be attributed to sincere, if unbridled, patriotic fervour, rather than to intentional sensationalism.

Ralph Izard was, without a doubt, an aristocrat and conservative by birth and education. A descendant of one of the oldest and most honorable families of South Carolina, he was born at his father's plantation, "The Elms," St. James, Goose Creek, on January 23, 1742. At the age of twelve, young Ralph was packed off to England by his family, and entered as a student at Hackney School, where he completed his pre-collegiate training. After having finished the course offered by Hackney, he matriculated at Cambridge University, at which institution of learning he polished off his European, or properly speaking, English education. Then, his father having died and left him the vast majority of his slaves and the greater portion of his estate, including the home plantation, "The Elms," young Izard decided to return to South Carolina, to undertake the management of his rich inheritance.

In spite of the fact that he had acquired, at his father's death, a charming town house, located on Broad Street, just one door west of King Street, and boasting a graceful, iron balcony, Ralph Izard preferred to retain "The Elms" as his general headquarters and actual home.

How he managed to remain a bachelor until he was actually twenty-five years old, in spite of all the scheming Charles Town *grande dames* intent upon ridding themselves of marriageable daughters and acquiring, at the same time, wealthy sons-in-law, remains a dark secret. At such a time, however, his undeniable courage, ingenuity and unquestioned taste must have proved invaluable.

Business interests, as it chanced, often demanded his urgent attention and frequent visits back and forth between Charles Town and New York. As the Charles Town beauties held no appeal for him, it is, therefore, not surprising that in 1767 he finally succumbed to feminine allure, fell utterly in love with Alice de Lancey, of New York, proposed marriage to her, and was immediately and joyfully accepted.

Alice de Lancey, it seems, though a reigning belle of New York, noted for her grace and delicate charm, was by no means a mere coquette. Something derived from her distinguished and practical

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Huguenot forebears, perhaps, caused her to welcome the prospect of a change from presiding over the teacups in her staid, northern living room, to becoming mistress of a number of flourishing, southern plantations, as the wife of the accomplished and wealthy Ralph Izard.

Soon after his marriage, therefore, Izard returned triumphantly to "The Elms," bringing with him as lovely a bride as ever graced a Carolina estate. Many happy days were passed in driving over and inspecting the hundreds of fertile acres attached to the plantation, as well as in entertaining lavishly in honor of the new mistress of "The Elms." A regrettable scandal, however, soon shattered the Izards' happiness, and forced the young couple to seek peace and forget their personal distress along the highways and bypaths of Europe.

The scandal in question was the cold-blooded murder of Izard's young brother-in-law, deLancey, during a visit to his sister in Charles Town. De Lancey, unlike Ralph Izard and many of his friends, was an out-and-out Loyalist, and just as staunch in his allegiance to King George as others were lax.

One evening, during his stay in Charles Town, it happened that he visited a tavern down in St. Michael's Alley, and after several rounds of drinks, got into a surly argument with one Dr. Haley, an ardent rebel. Heated words, centering around party loyalties, threatened to develop into blows, and finally resulted in the two gentlemen retiring to an upper room, unaccompanied by seconds, or witnesses, and attempting to blow one another's brains out with the aid of a couple of gigantic and almost unwieldy pistols.

The doctor escaped, quite alive. The Izards, however, were horrified to learn of the young deLancey's untimely and unwarranted end, and, while everyone was engrossed by the morbid sort of entertainment always afforded by a murder, they determined to put the ocean between themselves and the seething little Charles Town, at least until the public interest in their personal affairs should have abated.

Europe, of course, proved fascinating. By 1771, Ralph Izard even took his wife across the channel to London, England, where he purchased a house on Berners Street, with the serious intention of making that city his permanent address. In that same year their first child, a son, was born and christened Henry, after Izard's father. Henry was, indeed, but the forerunner of a numerous family. The Izards were permitted to taste the joys and sorrows of parenthood

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fourteen times, although four of their offspring died within a few months after birth. The care of the children, however, did not in any way disturb the serenity or lessen the brilliant success of Mrs. Izard's social life.

Wherever she went, her drawing room became a veritable salon, and her wit and beauty the toast of Europe. In 1774, moreover, after traveling through Germany, Switzerland, France and Italy, the Izards spent considerable time in Rome. There, the painter Copley, a close personal friend, persuaded husband and wife to sit for a joint portrait, and the result is that charming, vibrant canvas which depicts Ralph and Alice Izard, seated at an elaborately carved Italian table. They are, presumably, discussing the merits of a sketch of the very Roman statue which stands at their elbow. Izard holds the drawing in his hand, and in the background the artist has sketched in the Coliseum, which serves to remind the onlooker that the sitting occurred in the Holy City.

Although other artists clamored to and often succeeded in painting Mrs. Izard, notably the miniature painters, Fraser and Malbone, and the famous Gainsborough, this Italian canvas seems the most warmly personal of all likenesses. The same holds true for Izard, who also sat to Trumbull. The portrait, moreover, holds a special interest for the collector of rare stories, as tradition and a few scattered facts point out that, because of increasing difficulties in securing money from his Carolina estates once the revolutionary movement had commenced, Ralph Izard was unable to pay for the picture at its completion. Even more remarkable is the story that Copley preferred to allow the canvas to remain hidden in his attic for fifty long years, rather than give it to his friend unpaid for.

However, perhaps the most romantic and exquisite of all the portraits of the lovely Mrs. Izard, is the miniature painted on the cover of a gold snuff box, once used by Ralph Izard himself. This box, now in the possession of descendants, is on exhibition in the main gallery of the Gibbes Art Building, Charleston, South Carolina, and has excited the admiration and curiosity of art lovers, particularly in view of the fact that it has been impossible, thus far, to decipher the mysterious signature of the French artist, although the date is known to be 1774.

Ralph Izard, in his long, picturesque and heir-tight will, on file at the Charleston, South Carolina, Probate Court, makes mention of this

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valuable heirloom. "To my Son George I give my gold snuff box, with the enamelled picture of his Mother." He neglected, however, to attribute the miniature to any particular artist, although, in another codicil, he said: "I give to my Daughter Margaret the miniature of her Mother painted by Meyers, and to my daughter Anne the portrait painted by Gainsborough."

It is very probable, however, that he claimed this very artist as one of his most intimate circle of friends, just as he did Copley, with whom he explored the ruins of the crumbling city of Paestum, in the spring of 1775. For, up until the time just proceeding the actual commencement of hostilities in America, Izard had been at leisure to indulge his passion for music and the fine arts, studying at first hand the numberless masterpieces of Europe.

His seemingly inexhaustible wealth, which in the possession of a man of grosser tastes would have been squandered in riotous living, not only permitted him to maintain and educate his children in a manner becoming his social status, but also enabled him to live the life of a connoisseur, moving at will, from one spot of beauty or strange charm to another.

Intelligence and sobriety of purpose prevented his great love of all that was worth while in literature, music or art from degenerating into the mere self-indulgence of the dilettante. His very masculine instincts, on the other hand, evidently had much to do with his selection of horseback riding as his favorite sport, and the expert skill which followed daily practice as a boy, and constant riding as a man, was the subject and the admiration of his friends and the despair of his rivals. Izard did, however, upon occasion, deign to ride alongside of his aristocratic wife in their handsome carriage, which was easily recognized by pedestrians who were wise enough to admire his proudly stepping steeds from a position of reasonable safety and respectful distance. In his will he pointed out that he desired his wife to receive at his death this "carriage and a pair of my best carriage horses."

With the bursting of the revolutionary bubble back in his native country, however, Izard's old interest in politics was revived. Every other interest assumed secondary importance, and was immediately relegated to the background. The delights of travel were forgotten in the determination to serve his American friends in their struggle

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for liberty. As the leaders of the rebel party back home were confident that he could accomplish more by remaining abroad and keeping "on the spot," so to speak, Ralph Izard, instead of returning to Carolina, hurried back to England to try his hand at diplomacy.

A break with the Crown appeared to him neither advisable nor reassuring. Conciliation and compromise seemed more worth while, and less expensive to all concerned, if one were to judge from the outrageous treatment to which his estates were being subjected in Carolina since his political affiliations had become known. It soon became apparent, however, that the tidal wave of revolution could not be withstood or averted. Izard and a number of influential Americans then residing in London discovered this regrettable fact only after they had vainly petitioned King George against passage of the Boston Port Bill. He, therefore, ceased manipulations, gathered his small family together, and renting his house on Berners Street, in London, retreated to Paris and security, marking time until he might return to America and his Southern plantations.

By this time, however, his efforts in behalf of the possible reconciliation between England her Colonies had gained the admiration and invited the confidence of Congress, which felt with justifiable certainty that Ralph Izard had the interests of the Colonies at heart. In recognition of his voluntary services, therefore, while in England, Congress appointed him Commissioner to the Court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, on December 30, 1776, thus availing themselves of his unusual diplomatic finesse. Under ordinary circumstances, it would have been customary for Izard to proceed directly to the place of his commission, but on account of the stormy political weather then prevailing, he preferred to remain in cosmopolitan Paris and treat with Tuscany from that vantage point. For this reason he sold his London mansion and easily reconciled himself to an indefinite period of sojourn in the liveliest city of France.

Opportunities for assisting in furthering the plans of his American co-patriots were numerous and frequent. Commodore Alexander Gillon, one time merchant of little Charles Town, then entrusted with the important mission of procuring sufficient ships and supplies to provide South Carolina with a neat, if minute, navy of her own, found encouragement awaiting him in the person of Ralph Izard, and if

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Gillon proved notably unsuccessful in his efforts, it was through no fault of the hard-working, determined Commissioner.

Lee, also, was likewise only too glad to accept Ralph Izard's advice while arranging the terms of the treaty with France, in spite of the fact that the South Carolinian was, later on, drawn into a prolonged and serious controversy with Silas Deane, who delivered the treaty into Congress' outspread hands, and with the venerable Benjamin Franklin, American Ambassador at the Court of Versailles.

With the culmination of the dispute Ralph Izard was scarcely surprised to find himself stripped of the vestments of a Commissioner and summoned to proceed to America without delay. Izard was well aware of the fact that he faced the necessity of explaining his actions to Congress. Apparent disgrace in the diplomatic corps would be the only reward for all his months of arduous effort were he unable to convince that stiff-lipped body of politicians that he had acted for the best. Even in the midst of his distress, however, Ralph Izard maintained his dignified calm.

Personally confident of the correctness of his course, the former Commissioner to the Court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany carefully prepared his explanatory dispatches, bid his family good-bye, and set out for Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and the headquarters of his staunch friend, General George Washington, reaching the Quaker City in August, 1780.

Congress, upon reviewing Izard's personal account of the French negotiations, whole-heartedly approved and indorsed the stand he had taken, much to the satisfaction of his great admirer, the general, whose deep-seated affection and confidence in the South Carolina patriot would have remained unaffected by even the most adverse criticism and unfavorable verdict. No one knew more intimately or had experienced more forcefully than General Washington, Congress' often ill-directed power, petty subterfuge and venomous intrigues.

Izard's opinion, in Washington's estimation, was superior in quality and, consequently, he consulted his Southern friend regarding the replacement of General Gates and rearrangement of the command of the Southern Army, a problem which was affording him much worry and considerable distress at that time.

Nathanael Greene, a self-educated, Rhode Island Quaker, whose name had been dropped from the rolls of the Friends' Society as a



MRS. RALPH IZARD
(née Alice deLancey)

Miniature by Unidentified Artist
Dated 1704

This exquisite likeness appears on the cover of an old, gold snuff box,
once used by Ralph Izard, and now owned by descendants.

It is on exhibition at the Gibbes Art Gallery, Charleston, South Carolina.

Courtesy of Hawkins Jenkins Estate.

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result of his manifest delight in wielding the sword in behalf of the Colonies' independence, was Izard's choice and nominee. Greene, thereupon, secured Washington's appointment, and his subsequent and brilliant successes in the Southern campaign speak well for the discernment and good judgment displayed by his sponsors.

By now the general public itself had been inevitably attracted to Ralph Izard's political skill and honesty of purpose. South Carolinians, who had previously considered him somewhat of a man of leisure, given over to perfecting his horsemanship and dabbling in the arts by virtue of his wealth, now joined forces with his closest friends in acclaiming him a man of unusual power and an asset to his native Carolina. It was only natural, therefore, that on December 26, 1781, *The Royal Gazette*, in mentioning the fact that the Assembly was soon to meet in order that a new Governor might be selected, casually printed the following bit of political gossip, as "information from rebel country":

"The aristocratick party as they are styled are strenuous for Mr. Ralph Izard, Senior—to whom Mr. Sumter (General Thomas Sumter) is opposed by a considerable body of the Back-Country people."

General Sumter, rather hopefully, wrote Izard's friend, General Nathanael Greene, stating that he might "serve if elected," but had never "solicited any public appointment," and couldn't "think of doing it" then. Ralph Izard, however, startled his following by suddenly and stubbornly refusing even to consider running for an office. Meanwhile, his far-flung estates had been confiscated as rebel property and were rapidly disintegrating into practical ruin. In spite of his aversion to being elected Governor, Izard, nevertheless, countenanced his own election as Representative of his parish of St. James, Goose Creek, in the South Carolina Legislature of 1781, which, however, did not meet until the year 1782, and then only to win fame as the celebrated Jacksonborough Legislature during Governor Rutledge's régime.

Yet another honor was conferred upon Ralph Izard, in 1782, when he was elected Delegate from South Carolina to the Continental Congress, along with Dr. David Ramsay and other distinguished men of the day. On February 4, 1783, he was reelected to Congress, and Philadelphia continued to be his place of residence until the actual conclusion of the peace.

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Then, with hostilities at an end, Ralph Izard arranged for the prompt return of his family to the newly-formed states, and, upon the arrival of his wife, by that time at the height of her matured beauty, he set out for South Carolina, the dominant purpose governing his mind being the restoration and rehabilitation of his miserably neglected estates. That he was successful in this giant undertaking there can be no doubt. According to all available statistics, the usual number of slaves employed on any one eighteenth century plantation seldom exceeded from twenty-five to thirty "heads." Within the course of seven strenuous years, however, Ralph Izard had so molded and enlarged his holdings that the value of his properties far outweighed the ante-bellum appraisal.

By 1790, moreover, he owned and worked as many as five hundred and ninety-four (594) negroes on his eight scattered plantations, not to mention ten (10) slaves employed in Charles Town, where he owned a sumptuous mansion on the corner of South Bay and Meeting Street, as well as a lovely, though less pretentious dwelling, on Broad Street, near King. The census for 1790 boldly lists Ralph Izard as the second largest planter in the State of South Carolina, and this is easily believed when one realizes that "The Elms," alone, as the home plantation, covered some 300 cultivated and 1,100 uncultivated acres of land.

Thus, when General Washington, during his Southern tour, arrived at Charles Town on May 2, 1791, it is not surprising that Ralph Izard was one of "the two Senators of the State," who stood waiting on the wharf side by side with the Governor and his welcoming committee. Together with Pierce Butler, the other Senator present, Izard shared the great honor of being the first South Carolinian to sit in the newly-formed United States Senate. Elected in 1789, he held office until the expiration of his term on March 4, 1795. Then, still loving beautiful ceremonies and enjoying the game of politics with undimmed enthusiasm, the sudden prospect of foreswearing either of his favorite avocations must have evoked for Izard considerable displeasure and sorrow.

As Izard's riches increased, however, and age gained hold on his physical strength, the great planter, like many of his wealthy prototypes, quietly withdrew from public life and, retiring to his home plantation as if to a social stronghold, accessible only to a chosen few,

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entered upon a peaceful, unruffled mode of living. His family and friends, books and music won and retained his entire attention. His plantations by this time, under their systematic management, were almost capable of self-maintenance and so demanded very little of his personal observance or care.

Ralph Izard's retirement may be said to date from 1795, the year of his withdrawal to "The Elms." From that year on, in spite of the increased leisure and minimized responsibilities, his health grew gradually worse, instead of better. Death had been a constant visitor to his family, taking from him in the course of thirty-two years eight of his sons and daughters.

The thought that it must soon call on him did not alarm the suffering man, who was transferred from his home plantation to his South Bay residence, in order to facilitate the regrettably inadequate medical treatment which physicians were able to give in those days antedating sterilized instrument and powerful disinfectant. Finally, the end could be prolonged no further, and the *Philadelphia Advertiser* of May 30, 1804, found occasion to print the following notice:

"Yesterday at 3 o'clock" (at his home on South Bay according to the *Courier* of May 31st), "in the afternoon, departed this life, at the age of 62, after a long, severe, and uninterrupted illness, the Hon. Ralph Izard, Esq., for many years a member of the Legislature of South-Carolina, and of the old Continental Congress, late a senator in the Congress of the United States."

In his curiously drawn, but seemingly inescapable will, Izard provided nobly for the welfare of his wife and six children. Naming his wife, Alice deLancey Izard, executrix, together with his "Sons Henry and George" (and also his "Son Ralph as soon as he shall have attained the Age of twenty one years") executors, together with his "Sons-in-law Gabriel Manigault, William Smith and William Allen Deas, Esquires," Izard proceeded to picture in his mind and provide for in his will all the needs of his bereaved family, remembering to distribute even his most personal effects. To his wife he left, besides the "household and kitchen furniture and linen of every species and kind," the sum of "one thousand british guineas to be paid as soon as all my just debts are satisfied and discharged," as well as "five hundred british guineas yearly" during the "term of her natural life." To Mrs. Izard also went the "house and lot at the corner of Meeting

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Street and South Bay, together with the water lot belonging to the same and the lot adjoining it, which I have lately purchased from Mr. Holmes," as well as the carriage and horses previously mentioned.

Then in a codicil, dated February 22, 1800, he assigned to his wife two slaves—"the boy named Isaac, the Son of Statira," and "the girl named Juba, the daughter of Beck," as well as his "gold repeating Watch." To Henry, his heir and eldest son, was given the lovely old home plantation, "The Elms," together with the "mansion house, out houses and buildings," with directions governing its disposal at Henry Izard's death.

It is of unusual interest that according to old Ralph Izard, Sr.'s wishes, "The Elms" must remain, if possible, in the possession of the Izard family, and in the event that its owner should become desirous of selling it, he was to offer it to his brothers and sisters before placing it on public sale.

All of which goes to show that Izard, no doubt, relied on the family's pride in saving the plantation from falling into strangers' hands, after all his years of watchful planning and loving care.

To Henry Izard was left another plantation, "The Camp," and a bequest which though of less magnitude, must have been invaluable as far as personal attachment went—"all my books." Ralph, the youngest boy, was to receive "my telescope," and George, the exquisite snuff box already referred to above.

Slaves, like so many pieces of property, were allotted the various children, but with this difference—Ralph Izard decreed with humane and almost regal authority that the slaves in question should *remain with and not be separated from* their respective families, and even charged his children with the conscientious support of their negroes, commanding them to deduct the cost of their slaves' proper upkeep from their respective share of his estate.

"I have given the following Negroes to my children," he wrote, in a memorandum dated December, 1799: "To my Son Henry, Joe. To George, Abraham. To Ralph, Jacob. To My Daughter Margaret, Marianne. To Anne, Nanny. To Georgina, Statira." And, remembering "my Grand Daughter Caroline Smith," he gave her black "Rachel the daughter of Moses." In a codicil, bearing date May 28, 1800, at Charleston, he left "to my Daughter Margaret, the Miniature picture of her Mother painted by Meyers, and to my daughter Anne



MRS. RALPH IZARD
Miniature by Charles Fraser

This delightful study of the famous New York "belle," as an old lady, is owned by a descendant, deLancey Kountze, of New York City.

Courtesy of deLancey Kountze, New York City.

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the portrait painted by Gainsborough," mentioned in the first part of this article, and then, with his mind slipping with ease from the beautiful to the practical but necessary rudiments of existence, he desired "that my Wife shall be supplied during her life for the use of her house in Town, with provisions, Fire Wood, Poultry, Butter &c from my plantation in the same manner as my house in Town has hitherto been supplied. I desire my Executors to attend particularly to this direction," he declared, "and more especially I charge my Son Henry to see that it be complied with."

Mrs. Ralph Izard, however, preferred life in Philadelphia to Charles Town's staid and, occasionally gay, society. Philadelphia, Quaker City that it was, welcomed the once famous New York beauty to its inner circle, where she established a "famous salon" of her own, much as she had done during her travels abroad, and planned and executed card parties which, according to the Philadelphia *Advertiser*, were "amongst the most elegant and attractive of Society." With increasing age, however, the belle of former days, sobered by sure degrees into the gracious and lovely old lady pictured in Charles Fraser's charming miniature. She was eighty-seven years old when she died in Philadelphia the 1st of April, 1832, and when death claimed this last of the two famous Izards on April Fool's Day, surely no one could have been more surprised or annoyed by his impudent trick than the dear old soul herself.



The Story of Washington

BY WILLIAM SENER RUSK, PH. D.,

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Each of the recent Presidents has made quotable remarks approving the rebuilding and development of the Capital City in an effort to realize the magnificent dream of Major Charles Pierre L'Enfant, the originator of the plan. Even the present Administration finds it possible to further the current projects, the depression to the contrary notwithstanding. And what a far-sighted plan it is! It has been capable of providing for the early and present needs of the Federal Government, permitting such modifications in detail as time has suggested, and it promises to suffice for the future. Symbolically and practically there is no apparent reason for changing the essentials of the L'Enfant plan.

A review of the significant details in the growth of Washington is always an inspiring account to the patriotic American, especially if he is conscious of the usual insensitiveness to order and beauty of the average urban center. The political history of the city may be said to begin July 16, 1790, when Congress authorized the selection of the site, the laying of it out, and the construction of the necessary buildings thereon. Major L'Enfant, with a good record in the late war, a prior training in France in engineering, and recently the designer of the remodeled City Hall in New York, newly christened Federal Hall, was chosen by President Washington to prepare a plan. The plan was submitted August 27, 1791, possessed of the artistic ancestry to be noted later, but essentially original. The commissioners and their engineer were soon at loggerheads over matters of authority, the open break being precipitated by the location of the Carroll house on an important axis of the plan. The major's dismissal necessarily followed, February, 1792. Ten years later the commission form of government was replaced by a municipal system, and the Federal building program was placed in charge of a superintendent of public buildings and grounds. Until after the Civil War this municipal

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scheme held, leaving Washington for the most part a picturesque village with an occasional structure magnificent out of all relation to its environment. In 1871, however, a territorial government was established with A. H. Shepherd, the Commissioner of Public Buildings, after a short interval as Governor. The energetic and costly administration which followed led to the appellation, "Boss Shepherd," to the change back to a commission form of government, and in these later days to a Shepherd monument in front of the District Building. However, the Shepherd régime had awakened the District and, through the periodic assembling of Congress, the country to the deplorable state of affairs, and never again was the level so low. In the nineties a highway commission took charge of street planning, and parks were laid out, and in 1901 the Macmillan Commission (D. H. Burnham, F. L. Olmsted, Jr., C. F. McKim, and A. St. Gaudens), fresh from the triumphs of the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893, reaffirmed the L'Enfant plan as fundamental, and inaugurated the modern city. The last thirty-three years have witnessed steady progress in the development of the 1901 plan, the L'Enfant plan matured by experience. In 1910 a Commission of Fine Arts took charge, decreeing that future buildings might not be over the width of the street concerned plus twenty feet. In 1916 a Public Building Commission took charge of affairs. In 1920 a zoning law undertook to control the rapid spread of jerry-built suburbs and the demoralization of neighborhoods through ill-considered construction. The Zoning Commission, thus set up, determined that the Capitol should dominate all future development. Traffic problems, caused by the amazing growth in the number of motor cars, also received detailed consideration. In 1926 a National Capital Park and City Planning Commission visioned parks, radial highways, airports, sewerage, and water supply in its comprehensive deliberations. In 1928 the Treasury Department, through its control of the construction of public buildings, decided that all future public and semi-public buildings must be classical in design—a highly debatable decision if there is not a B. G. Goodhue available to design in the classical spirit rather than in the classical manner. Four years ago a regional park plan was adopted. On the occasion of its ratification President Hoover said, "This is more than the making of a beautiful city. Washington is not only the Nation's Capital, it is the symbol of America. By its dignity and

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architectural inspiration we stimulate pride in our country, we encourage that elevation of thought and character which comes from great architecture."

What were the salient features of the L'Enfant plan? Essentially, it was marked by a grandeur of scale, with the main avenues ninety to one hundred and sixty feet wide, and with triangles, squares, and circles providing vistas, and in these latter days centers for the redistribution of traffic. It was also marked by an admirable adaptation to the geographical setting, taking full advantage of the river and of the rolling contours. The Capitol, the White House, and the Washington Monument, originally thought of in equestrian form, were placed on hilltops at the apices of the major triangle. A *grand avenue* was stretched a mile and a half from the Capitol to the White House, an avenue only now being revealed as the Mall is cleared, in due time to be lined with public buildings, as originally conceived. Diagonally between Capitol and White House was run the broad commercial highway, Pennsylvania Avenue. A further characteristic was the use of a rectangular street system supplemented by radial streets to the chief points. The two sources which L'Enfant had in mind were in all probability Versailles and John Evelyn's third plan for the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire. Elbert Peets has made this clear in his recent researches. The features which suggest the first source are numerous. The Capitol area, for instance, multiplied by sixteen, repeats the area of the *Cour Royale* and *Cour des Ministres* at Versailles. The Mall in location is a definite reminiscence of the *Grand Canal*. Pennsylvania Avenue repeats *L'Avenue Trianon* in location and width, and the three apices of the major triangle referred to recall the locations of the *Chateau*, the *Grand Trianon*, and the park at Versailles. Finally, the "turkey feet" splay of avenues running from the Capitol is similar to the arrangement at Versailles. Blondel, *Architecture Française*, c. 1750, is suggested as the possible text used, although L'Enfant's long residence at Versailles would seem to make this assistance merely supplementary to his own remembrance.

The street plan relates Washington to the Evelyn scheme. There, too, streets at right angles are combined with diagonal streets running to the city churches and such focal points as St. Paul's and the London Bridge. Further, the very locations of the streets in the two cases is

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striking. For instance, parallel streets are not equidistant, though there is no apparent reason in the case of Washington. The rectangular streets are not through streets in either case. The irregular spaces at intersections is again an inexplicable feature of Washington if dependence on Evelyn is not posited. Further, such avenues as New York and Pennsylvania are duplicated on the London plan. A definite example of similarity is, finally, the methods used to reach Georgetown in the one case, the city churches in the other. Peets suggests a widely circulated engraving of the Evelyn plan, published by the Society of Antiquaries, London, 1748, as the form in which L'Enfant knew it.

The architectural history of the city started with the erection of the White House from designs by James Hoban and of the Capitol from designs by William Thornton, reorganized professionally by Stephen Hallet and Benjamin H. Latrobe. Fiske Kimball has pointed out that Hoban was influenced both by Leinster House in his native Dublin and by *A Gentleman's House* shown in James Gibbs' *A Book of Architecture*. The porticoes were added later by Latrobe. Kimball and Wells Bennett have resifted the extant evidence regarding the Capitol and have credited both Thornton and Hallet with significant details of the Old Capitol, the center of the present structure. Latrobe's régime as architect is best seen in the old legislative halls, now Statuary Hall and the Supreme Court, and in the eastern portico. Charles Bulfinch's work is preserved in the western portico. His dome has been replaced by the present dome, oversized for its base, but magnificent in its silhouette, by Thomas U. Walter. Walter also designed the wings. Thornton's Octagon House and Latrobe's St. John's Church suggest the structures which the growing city erected, at least in isolated grandeur. Public buildings continued to lead the advance, however. The gem of these latter buildings is no doubt the old City Hall, now the Supreme Court of the District, by George Hadfield. Classic refinement rather than functional planning is illustrated.

The second generation of architects in Washington was dominated by Robert Mills. His old Patent Office with its reminders of the Parthenon shows a masterful use of a remote style. The wings were added by Walter, who also finished the Treasury, started by Mills. The Washington Monument was fortunately saved from the pantheon designed for its base by Mills through lack of funds. Even the

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obelisk was not capped until 1884. The Post Office, later the Land Office, and now the seat of the Tariff Commission, is a more restless example than usual of Mills' stylization in the Classic or Renaissance manner.

Meanwhile, the L'Enfant plan was faring ill. The Treasury and later the Library of Congress were built on sites which blocked essential vistas. The Mall was treated with informality and much built on. Tiber Creek (under present B Street) was canalized and neighboring flats were reclaimed, causing the better residences to concentrate to the Northwest, replacing the even distribution designed by L'Enfant. Eventually the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad had its station near the Capitol, the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks crossed the Mall, and its station was on it. Just prior to the Shepherd era the city's water supply still depended on local springs, sewerage disposal was uncared for, even the larger streets depended on oil lamps, the parks were neglected, and the double rows of poplars planted down Pennsylvania Avenue by President Jefferson were neglected. Under Shepherd, Tiber Creek was bricked over as a sewer, the tree planting which marks Washington so delightfully among capital cities was started, and, in general, a modern city was initiated. The immediate result we have already noted, but the new vision led eventually to the plan of 1901.

The notable structures erected in the latter part of the century include the State, War, and Navy Building by A. B. Mullett, with some nine hundred too many colonettes, destined to be remodeled shortly as a pendant to the Treasury on the other side of the White House; the Library of Congress, *nouveau riche* in mood, but yet marking a step in the maturing of the American taste, and still functioning efficiently; the Post Office with Romanesque tower, hard to heat, and scheduled to be demolished by the builders of the New Washington; and, destined to outlive them all, the superb Adams Memorial in Rock Creek Cemetery by St. Gaudens, an inevitable statement of human experience which has already been accorded a high place among the memorials of all time.

The buildings erected since the reaffirmation of the L'Enfant plan in 1901 are numerous and notable. As a first step in clearing the Mall, the railroads were removed and a new Union Station was built, with the Roman triumphal arch as the motive. D. H. Burnham and

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Company were the architects. C. F. McKim supplied the executive offices adjacent to the White House with impeccable taste. In the Pan-American Building Kelsey and Cret produced the kind of building one dreams of and seldom sees—rich in imagination, practical in function, effective in form. W. B. Olmstead, in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, used repetition effectively to project his design across a surface of water. J. R. Pope, in the Scottish Rite Temple, despite the cramped site, produced a structure so majestic, mysterious, and yet sane that one hesitates to say the Mausoleum of Halicarnassos is no fit prototype for a building in the Capital City of Twentieth Century America. Henry Bacon's Lincoln Memorial superbly features the extended Mall. The first wish that the festooned frieze had been left plain is quickly suppressed as merely captious. It does not attempt to represent Lincoln. St. Gaudens in Chicago has done that. It symbolizes the Lincoln legend. And then there is nearby the National Academy of Sciences, where Goodhue, already "gone modern" and chaffing at the classical style insisted on, produced a masterpiece in the classical spirit revived by modernism. It is a star to aim at as the New Washington seeks uniformity coupled with significance. The Freer Gallery by C. A. Platt succeeds, albeit conservatively, in creating a treasure chest, beautifully adapted to its varied functions. Finally, Paul Cret, in the Folger Shakespearean Library, fulfilled the promise of the Pan-American Building. In simple lines and planes he has designed a library, theatre, and exhibition gallery which soberly recalls the playwright and a bit gaily the musty commentators. Parks and memorials and driveways and bridges have also helped to integrate Washington and Arlington and Mt. Vernon into a noble reminder of the past and challenge to the future.

Of the buildings and plans now in progress or recently finished we can speak of only a few. The new Executive Triangle, Pennsylvania Avenue, Fifteenth Street, and the Mall is the farthest advanced toward completion. The danger of uniformity has not been entirely avoided, or the occasional awkwardnesses which are only dissolved at the touch of genius. The Commerce Building, the new Post Office, the Internal Revenue Building, the Archives Building, the Interstate Commerce and Labor buildings are all imposing. They are a trifle self-conscious, however, and lack the charm of old and the vitality of newly expressed forms. In the Northwest Triangle, Seventeenth

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Street, B Street, and New York Avenue, the United States Public Health Service strives with only measurable success to equal the National Academy of Sciences. In the White House group the remodeling of the State Department (the War and Navy are extensively accommodated elsewhere) is awaited with eagerness. In time it may be turned into Executive Offices, and the State Department moved to new quarters in the projected group surrounding Lafayette Park. In the Southwest Triangle, Fifteenth Street, B Street, and Maryland Avenue, the Agricultural group is developing rapidly. The triangle bounded by Maryland Avenue, Virginia Avenue, and B Street is reserved for future buildings of the Smithsonian Institution. The present Smithsonian buildings and the Administration Building of the agricultural group already line one side of the Mall, the National Museum, the projected Art Museum, and the projected Memorial Building to George Washington, the other. In the Capitol group, the Supreme Court by the late Cass Gilbert promises to provide a fit companion to Capitol and Library. The new House and Senate Office buildings received their latest addition in a structure reminiscent of L'Enfant Federal Hall in New York. Extensive additions to the Library are also prepared for early execution. West of the Capitol the head of the Mall will be treated in a manner reminiscent of the *Place de la Concorde* in Paris, the Botanic Gardens being moved to one side. The great Plaza between the Capitol and Union Station is now completed, destroying much of the older Washington; the houses, for example, erected by Thornton for Washington, for rental to members of the government, Washington himself planning in 1799 to build for himself elsewhere in the city. Finally, there is the projected Municipal Group, with Hadfield's City Hall at the head of the vista reaching to Pennsylvania Avenue. And there are the cathedrals rising on Mt. Albans and at Brookland; and the numerous educational and scientific and artistic institutions clamoring for places in the New Washington; and the increasing population of those who look to Washington as a desirable place of residence, with all the problems resulting from civilian developments. It is clear that if the \$400,000,000 appropriated by 1932 is wisely used, Washington ought to be, and perhaps will be, the world's most beautiful capital.

In 1931 C. W. Eliot, Jr., at the time Director of Planning, stated the aims of the present designers to plan a city marked by balance,

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rhythm, and harmony; but he found dangers in the uniformity of cornice and color, in triangles congesting the traffic, and in commercially initiated suburbs. When one hesitates, however, at the complicated features of the problem, one is reassured by Burnham's dynamic words, "Make no little plans; they have no magic to stir men's blood." And looking back over one hundred and fifty years of growth and development, one is likely to agree that in the public mind Washington has changed from a plan to a connotation; from an idea to a symbol.



History Repeated In Regional Planning

BY JANE HOWLAND,

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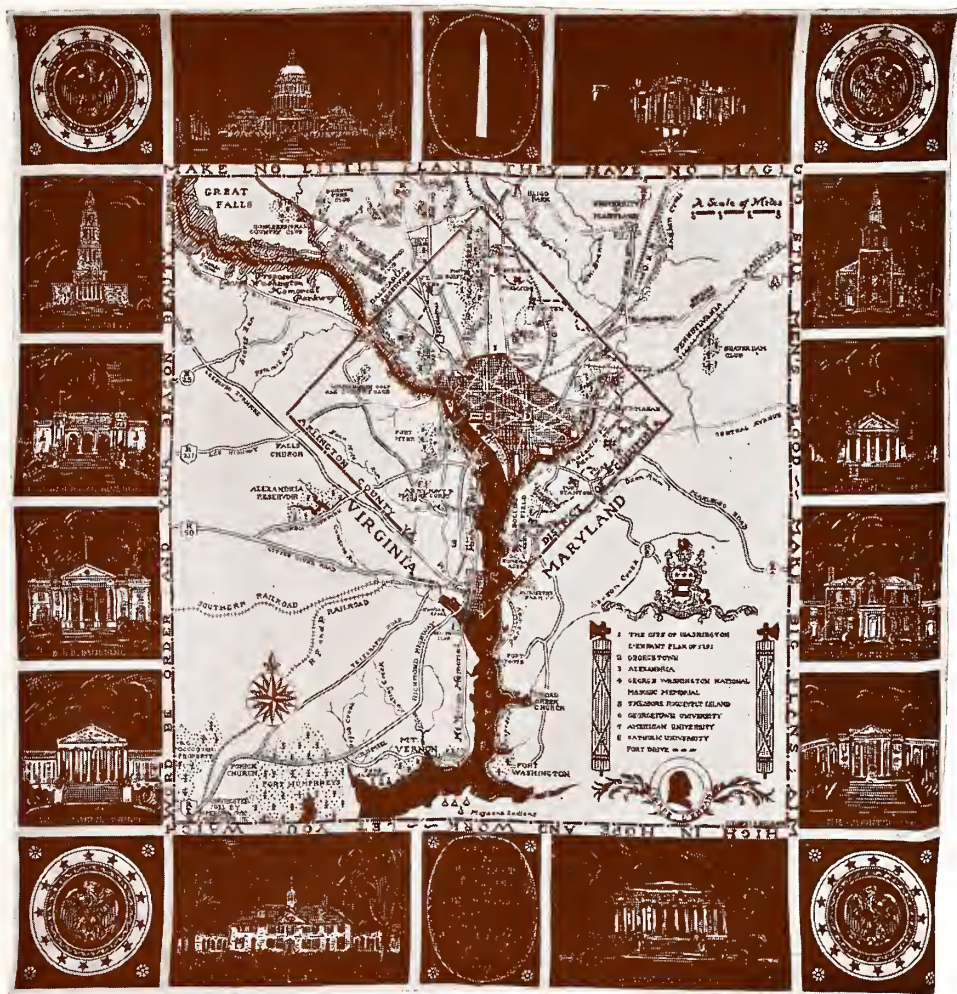


ADVOCATING the purchase of land by advertising? Certainly, it is done every day. Nothing unusual about that. What *is* unusual, however, is that our first President, George Washington, in 1792 and 1796 did this very thing, "saying it with Handkerchief Maps."

For the moment, let us imagine ourselves transported back to 1787. Washington had then commissioned Pierre L'Enfant to lay out plans for the "New Federal Town," which was later to take the name of Washington. Both L'Enfant and Washington worked closely and faithfully upon the planning of this town. About 1791 the plans were ready, and there was much talk about them amongst the people of neighboring towns. In 1792, the time seemed propitious really to bring the matter to a head, and urge the people to visit the "New Federal Town" with the idea of buying land to use as dwelling sites. To doubly impress the neighboring townspeople, George Washington had the Pierre L'Enfant map printed on linen handkerchiefs. These maps were either sold or distributed amongst the visiting guests as a unique advertising method to stimulate the auction sale of lots.

In 1796 a second linen handkerchief map was brought out, probably in October of that year, when the corner stone was being laid to what is now known as the East Wing of the White House, and many visitors were expected for the occasion. Two of these early maps are now hanging in the Congressional Library; there may be a few others in private collections that have not yet come to light.

The 1933-34 first edition of a handkerchief map of Washington has now been printed by the American Civic Association of Washington. Using the original Pierre L'Enfant map as a base, the present map depicts the growth of Washington since 1792. A decorative border of historical buildings in and about Washington is interesting from an architectural standpoint of progress.



HANDKERCHIEF MAP OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

HISTORY REPEATED IN REGIONAL PLANNING

The purpose of these present maps is closely allied to that of Washington's idea in 1792-96. This time the land to be bought is for the George Washington Memorial Parkway. This real estate, when purchased, will be presented to the government, who in turn will build the parkway and the road. When this is accomplished, it will bring George Washington's dream of a continued right of way along the Potomac from Mt. Vernon to Great Falls to a successful conclusion.

One hundred and forty-four years have elapsed since our first President voiced his hopes to the first Congress of 1791 regarding this roadway. That the Mt. Vernon Memorial Highway from Mt. Vernon to the Theodore Roosevelt Monument in Washington has now been completed and opened to the public, shows the progress made.

Must another one hundred and forty-four years elapse before the continuation of this parkway to Great Falls be finished? We all sincerely hope not.

Those familiar with the Capper-Crampton Act, passed in 1930, authorizing the creation of this parkway, will remember that Congress provided that Federal funds may be made available only upon condition that State and local funds were secured to assist in the purchase of private lands within the proposed highway or park area, which is to be called the George Washington Memorial Parkway in memory of our first President.

Frederic A. Delano, well-known regional and city planner, president of the American Civic Association and chairman of the National Capital Park and Planning Commission, took his inspiration for the present 1933-34 handkerchief map from those of Washington's era, for the definite purpose of bringing the proposed parkway to the attention of the public at large, so that all might, through the purchase of these maps, share in the building of this parkway, and at the same time have an interesting memento of their coöperation.

Between the border and the map proper runs the inscription quoted from the late Daniel Burnham, of Chicago, eminent as an architect and city planner. It reads: "Make no little plans; they have no magic to stir men's blood. Make big plans. Aim high in life and work. Let your watch-word be order and your beacon beauty." The proposed George Washington Memorial Parkway is a big plan; the watch-word of the American Civic Association is "the preservation of the natural beauties of the Potomac."

Education in Essex County, Massachusetts*

BY SCOTT H. PARADISE, M. A. OXON.,

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IN Massachusetts Bay Colony it is recorded that everybody could read, a condition of literacy which no other colony in America could equal. The Commonwealth has justly received much praise as the first to establish free, universal education at public expense. If we put ourselves, by an exercise of imagination, in the position of those early settlers, it is easy to see why education should have held a foremost place in their thoughts, living as they did under conditions extremely primitive, three thousand miles in distance and three months in time from the nearest source of mental stimulation. Their children were growing up, and without education, without contact through books with the great minds of the past, what was to prevent them from lapsing into a condition of barbarism as low as that of the red men about them? Moreover, the clergy were the leaders of the community, the backbone of the social structure, and without schools how could new clergymen be trained?

We find the colonists' fears quaintly expressed in "New England's First Fruits":†

"After God had carried us safe to New England and we had builded our houses, provided necessities for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civil government, one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches when our present ministry shall be in the dust."

As more colonists arrived of the uneducated classes, who had not the ability to teach their own children, the problem became acute, and the old methods of instruction in the home and by the village clergy-

*This article is from advance sheets of "The Story of Essex County," of which Mr. Paradise is compiler and Claude M. Fuess, Ph. D., Litt. D., is editor-in-chief. This four volume work is scheduled for 1935 publication by The American Historical Society, Inc.

†"Old South Leaflet," No. 51.

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man broke down. As a result the General Court was obliged at an early date to make some provision for the establishment of public schools, and from this necessity came the famous law of 1647, the foundation of Massachusetts and Essex County schools:

"It being one chief proiect of y^t ould deluder Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of ye Scriptures, as in former times by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times, by perswading from ye use of tongues, y^t so at least ye true sense and meaning of ye original might be clouded by false glasses of saint-seeming deceivers, y^t learning may not be buried in ye grave of our fathers in ye church and commonwealth, ye Lord assisting our endeavors: It is therefore ordered y^t every township in this jurisdiction after ye Lord hath increased them to ye number of 50 householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their towne to teach all such children as shall resort to him, to write and reade," . . . "And it is further ordered, y^t where any towne shall increase to ye number of 100 families, or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, ye master thereof being able to instruct youth so farr as they may be fitted for ye university, provided y^t if any towne neglect ye performance hereof above one yeare, then every such toune shall pay £5 to ye next schoole till they shall perform this order."

. According to this epoch-making law the towns were not required to have a school building until they contained a hundred households. Until that time merely a teacher sufficed, and we find our first teachers, men like Ezekiel Collins, who taught at Gloucester in 1644, Thomas Nasse at Haverhill in 1660, Captain Thomas Fiske in Wenham in 1700, Anthony Somerby at Newbury in 1639, and Abraham Norman-ton at Lynn in 1696, going from house to house or keeping school wherever a room could be found to accommodate the pupils.

In one respect our ancestors were like their descendants of the present day: they resisted the compulsion of laws even when made by men wiser than themselves and for their own advantage. The towns were poor, they were occupied with the struggle for existence, the Indians were a much more pressing problem than educational needs. Consequently, and to our surprise, for we have always thought of the early Essex County settlers as holding education in the highest esteem, several towns neglected to enforce the law and were "presented" to the General Court for their negligence. In 1658 Newbury

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was admonished for not maintaining a "lattin scule," and fined £5, to be paid to the Ipswich Latin School, "if by the next courte they do not provyde a lattin scule master according to law." Salisbury and Amesbury, through indifference or negligence, were frequently "presented" as delinquent in obeying the school law. In 1701 and again in 1707 Gloucester was remiss in providing a schoolmaster, and by this time the penalty had been increased becoming £10 in 1692 and £20 in 1701. Wenham was found guilty of evading the law in 1700, and Haverhill, where as late as 1816 a distinguished citizen wrote, "This town has never been remarkable for its liberal support of schools. . . . No other provision has ever been made for schools than is required by law," was continually in hot water. In 1687 the Ipswich Court, in speaking of Haverhill, said: "judging that what is now done and provided by them does not answer the law, nor is convenient to be rested in, doe order that the town, before the next court at Ipswich provide an able and meet schoolmaster." At a town meeting in 1701 "The question being moved by some of the inhabitants whether the town is obliged by the Law to be provided with a Grammar school-master—Yea or no; the Town answers in the negative and therefore do not proceed to do it, because they do not find they have the number of one hundred families or householders which the law mentions." But the very next year we find the selectmen of Haverhill ordered to get a schoolmaster for this year, "with all the speed they possibly can," and we find them offering Mr. Tufts the munificent sum of thirty-four pounds for his services. But their haste and their liberality is explained when we learn that the town had once more been charged with being without a school. In spite of its generosity to the fortunate Mr. Tufts it was required to pay the fine. On July 21, 1703, a meeting was held at Haverhill to see about a schoolmaster, which was adjourned to August 18, and then to September 15, when, "After much discussion about getting a schoolmaster, the town, in consideration of their troubles with the Indians, resolved to do nothing in the premises." Apparently there was some justification in Haverhill's excuse at this time, for in November, 1705, the General Court made an order exempting all towns of less than two hundred families from keeping a grammar school for three years on account of the general impoverishment caused by the Indian wars. Throughout this period it is evident that Haverhill looked upon the need for schooling

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as no more important, or, perhaps, secondary to the other needs of the community. In 1670 it was voted to erect a schoolhouse "as near the meeting-house that now is as may be, which may be convenient for the keeping of a public school in & for the service of a watch-house, & and for the entertainment of such persons on the sabbath days at noon as may desire to repair thither, & shall not repair between the forenoon and afternoon exercises to their own dwellings." Again, in 1700, a building was ordered to be erected for a watch-house, schoolhouse, and for any other use to which it might be appropriated.

But in spite of reluctance here and there to comply with the law, schoolhouses inevitably were built, and the old itinerant teacher was replaced by a more permanent incumbent. Salem, as in so many other respects, claims priority. In 1637, nine years after the coming of Endicott, John Fiske opened a public school in Salem, which has some claim to being the oldest free school in America. It is true that Virginia established a school in 1621, but in 1671 we find the Governor of Virginia crying that he "thanked God there were no free schools, nor printing, and hoped they would not have any these hundred years," and for a long time afterwards the Old Dominion taxed schoolmasters twenty shillings a head. In Boston a petition was presented to the authorities asking for a free school in 1636, and though it was probably established before 1642,* that is the first year that definite mention of it appears on the records. At any rate Salem's Latin School has enjoyed an uninterrupted existence to the present day. A vote passed September 30, 1644, said: "If any poor body hath children or a childe to be put to school, and not able to pay for their schooling, that the town will pay it by a rate." In 1677, Daniel Epes, the third master, agreed with the selectmen to teach English, Latin, and Greek (Latin and Greek had been taught by Edward Norris, his predecessor), and fit pupils for the university; also to teach them good manners and instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion. A second school was established in 1712 when Nathaniel Higginson established a "school for reading, writing, and cyphering, in the north

*A pamphlet, "Material Suggested for Use in the Schools in Observance of the Tercentenary of Massachusetts Colony," prepared by a committee under the chairmanship of Frank P. Morse, and published by The Department of Education, states that the Boston Latin School was established on the "13th of the 2nd month of 1635." The authority is not given.

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end of the town-house." The first of these schools was the prototype of the Latin or grammar school, and the second, of the English school.

By a natural development the Latin school became in time the present high school, the school for "reading, writing, and cyphering" became the present grammar school, and a school kept by Mrs. Gill, where from April 10, 1773, she taught "the poorest people's children at Women's School," became the present primary school.

Ipswich very nearly took precedence of Salem in establishing a grammar school, for a school was "set up" in 1636 by Lionel Chute, but unfortunately, though perhaps quite naturally, it did "not succeed." However, the seed of this early attempt had taken root, and about 1649 Robert Paine offered to erect a school provided a tract of land was set aside for its endowment. The town, accordingly, on January 11, 1650, granted to Robert Paine, William Paine, Major Denison, and Mr. Bartholomew in trust "for the use of schools all that neck beyond Chebacco River and the rest of the ground (up to Gloucester line) adjoining to it." Being thus endowed the Ipswich Grammar School was put in charge of nine, later ten, trustees known as the "feoffees," and consequently in the early records it is spoken of as the "Feoffees' Latin School." The first master was Ezekiel Cheever, who kept it for ten years and afterwards moved to Boston, where he became, as master of the Boston Latin School, the celebrated schoolmaster of the day. Cheever's "Accidence" was the most famous and widely circulated of all early American Latin grammars, and the twentieth edition of this text was published as late as 1838.†

Haverhill, in 1670, permitted the erection of a schoolhouse with the conditions and reservations which we have already noticed. The early records of Lynn being lost it is not possible to say when the first schoolhouse was erected, but Mr. Lewis remarks, under date of 1687, "Mr. Shepard kept the school several months this winter," so there must then have been an established school. Gloucester's first schoolhouse was built in 1708 "on the easterly side of the meeting-house"; in 1701 the selectmen of Groveland were ordered to "provide a school according to their discretion" and to "assess the town for the expense of the same." The man instrumental in building the first schoolhouse at Danvers was the Reverend Joseph Green. Certain passages of his diary, March, 1708, bear upon the subject:

†"Old South Leaflet," No. 177, p. 35.

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"March 11. . . . I spoke to several about building a school-house and determined to do it, etc.

"18. I rode to ye neighbors about a schoolhouse and found them generally willing to help.

"22. Meeting of the Inhabitants. I spoke with several about building a schoolhouse. I went into ye Town Meeting (village meeting) and said to this effect: Neighbors I am about building a schoolhouse for the good education of our children. . . . Some replied that it was a new thing to them and they desired to know where it should stand, and what the design of it was. To them I answered that Deacon Ingersoll would give land for it to stand on, at the upper end of the Training Field, and that I designed to have a good school-master to teach their children to read and write and cypher and everything that is good. Many commended the design and none objected to it.

"25. Began to get timber for schoolhouse."

These first schoolhouses were small and crude enough. At Gloucester the building measured twenty-four feet in length, sixteen feet in width, and six feet was the height of stud. The cost of the completed building was £24 15s. The first Bradford schoolhouse was twenty-two feet long, eighteen feet wide, had seven foot posts, and cost £25. That at Methuen was similar in size, eighteen by twenty feet, and cost about £29. At Georgetown the inhabitants voted on March 20, 1737, to "Bould a Schoal House, & to set it between the Brook by Capt. Bradstreets, and Mr. Francis Brocklebank's Brook," and later determined "to allow seven shillings and a piney for Rhum, at the Raising of the School House." The little building was twenty feet long, sixteen feet wide, and eight feet high, and Ebenezer Burpee was paid for "meching forms and tables, for said school-house." The interior of the "old red school-house" at Nahant is described thus by one of the scholars: "Benches ran across both sides of the school-room, so that we faced each other; long benches for our seats ran behind these; and the teacher had a table at the end of the room, where she sat."

The above description no doubt exhausts the entire equipment of the first schools. There were no blackboards, maps, or charts of any kind. The children were first taught the alphabet by a method that Pestalozzi was accustomed to call the "first torment of the young

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learner," the child being required to name the letters in all orders, day after day, until he could correctly designate any letter at which the teacher happened to point. The child might be aided in his studies by the Horn Book, a single leaf laid upon a thin piece of oak and covered with a transparent sheet of horn, secured by eight tacks driven through the border. Upon this leaf was printed at the beginning of the first line, a cross, to show that the end of training is piety. After the cross there followed the letters of the alphabet, the small letters and the capitals, the vowels, syllables of two letters, and the words: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost—*Amen.*" Then came the Lord's Prayer. Or the young student might possess a copy of "The New England Primer," which contained an illustrated alphabet, each picture being accompanied by the familiar rhymes such as,

"In Adam's fall
We sinned all."

"Zaccheus he
Did climb a tree
Our Lord to see."

such moral precepts, according to one writer, having done more to form the New England character than the contents of any book, except the Bible.

Spelling was allowed to range loosely about the alphabet, there being no fixed standard. So long as the letters used gave the right sound to the word it was sufficient, a fact which no doubt accounts for the quaint spelling of the old documents. Arithmetic, or "cyphering" was taught by dictation, or the instructor wrote the sums on the pupil's slate. The first "Commercial Arithmetic" published in New England was written by Michael Walsh, of Salisbury, who was preëminent among the early teachers of the county.

Having learned to read the Psalter, and the Bible, the student was admitted to the grammar school, where he prepared to enjoy the classic tongues by memorizing verbatim Brinsley's "Accidence, or Directions for Young Latinists," or Cheever's celebrated "Accidence." He then was permitted to read the "Colloquies of Corderius," Eutropius, Ovid, Vergil, Cæsar, and Cicero. In the same way the Greek grammar was memorized word for word before the pupil might read

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the Greek Testament or Homer's "Iliad." Having graduated from the Latin or grammar school, the boy might enter the university provided he could read Latin at sight, write and speak good Latin verse and prose, and was letter perfect in the declensions and conjugations of the Greek tongue.

At first boys alone were deemed worthy of education. Girls did not need "book-learning," and their services were required at home, where they might pick up all in the way of sewing and housekeeping which a wife and mother should know. But in 1793 Salem instructed its committee to "provide at the writing school, or elsewhere, for the tuition of girls in reading, writing and cyphering." At Lynn girl students are first mentioned in a school report of 1817. Women teachers, too, were not at first employed in the schools. But as early as September 2, 1707, Thomas Ayer petitioned the commoners of Haverhill "for a small piece of land to set a house on near the meeting-house that so said Ayer's wife might be the better accommodated to teach children to read." The selectmen were empowered to grant his petition, but Ruth Ayer was killed by the Indians, August 29, 1708. Katherine Doland is mentioned as teaching at Danvers in 1708 or before, and Bradford passed a vote on March 23, 1710: "The toun ded then Impoure the Selectmen to impley wemen to teach letel children to read." Wenham was perhaps the leader in employing women teachers, because in 1702 it was "voted that the selectmen have full power to agree with such school-dames as are necessary to learn children to read," but it was not until 1749 that Methuen voted to employ school-mistresses and chose a committee "to agree with school-mistresses and appoint convenient places for them to be kept in."

There were interesting characters among the early schoolmasters like the Irishman, Michael Walsh, of Salisbury, whose "Commercial Arithmetic" has been mentioned, and who taught many of the Newburyport sea captains their navigation, and among whose pupils was that eminent jurist, Caleb Cushing. Walsh ran away from his home in Ireland and came to Salisbury, and being a good Latinist, an excellent Greek scholar, and qualified to teach the higher branches of mathematics, he eventually established a school. Tradition points him as one of the last in the village to wear knee breeches, shoes with buckles, velvet coat, and the tri-cornered hat of pre-Revolutionary

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days. He was of short stature, agile as a cat, possessed fiery red hair, and a temper to match. Mr. Samuel Hoyt records that he had a long rope, "filled with hard knots. When he meditated a castigation, he would not suffer himself to inflict it until he had untied all these and tied them again, and by that time he had cooled off. . . . When angry he would jump up and down like corn in a popper." At church when the boys would misbehave, he would shout, "Boys, if I had my way with ye now, I'd flog ye within an inch of your lives."

At Bradford the first schoolmaster rejoiced in the name of Ichabod, which makes us wonder whether Washington Irving patterned Ichabod Crane after a living model.

The teacher's lot was far from a happy one. Theirs was an itinerant unsettled existence; school often kept only eight weeks, they moved from town to town, from district to district, and must have always held in their hearts a longing for a more stable, respected career. Mr. Lovewell, of Topsfield, must have had doubts of the dignity of learning when the town voted on March 6, 1694, "that Goodman Lovewell, Schoolmaster, shall live in ye Parsonage house this Yeare ensewing, to kepe Schole and swepe ye meeting house." There was always the problem of disciplining the big boys, and it must have terrified a bookish youth fresh from college to be confronted with a group of lads just off the farm, no doubt older and stronger than he, and itching for trouble. Master Dole, of Georgetown, was fortunate in that it was said one sweep of his muscular arm had sent his whole class ignominiously to the floor.

There was always the problem of poverty confronting our early teachers, and it is to be hoped that the estimation in which they were held was not measured by the wages paid them. Anthony Somerby was appointed schoolmaster in Newbury in 1639, receiving as an inducement to keep school for a year "four acres of land near the river Parker and some meadow land." In 1675 Henry Short was engaged by the same town and provided £5 for his first half year and 6^d a week for each scholar. Seth Shove was hired in 1687, fresh from Harvard, on the agreement that he teach "readers" free, Latin scholars at 6^d a week, and "cipherers" at 4^d a week. A step towards having the town pay for education in the fundamentals was taken in the case of Nicholas Webster, Harvard, 1695, who was given £30

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in "country pay" 4^d a week for Latin scholars, but nothing more for "readers, writers, and cipherers."

Illustration of the small pay offered teachers is provided by the other Essex County towns. At Lynn, in 1702, the grammar master was allowed ten pounds and in addition two pence a week for each pupil in reading, three pence a week for each pupil in writing and ciphering, and six pence a week for each Latin scholar. Methuen paid Ebenezer Barker, Zebediah Barker, and Thomas Eaton each £2 10s. for keeping school in 1733. Thomas Riggs, Sr., was chosen school-master of Gloucester in 1698 and was allowed "one shilling and six pence a day during the town's pleasure, and the said Riggs likeing to carry it on." In 1672 Haverhill hired Thomas Nasse for school-master "provided that they do not allow the said Thomas Nasse more than ten pounds by the year, he having the like liberty to agree with the parents or masters of those that came to him as formerly." Next year the salary was "taken off, and no more to be allowed or voted for." It was perhaps thought that the amount received from parents and masters was sufficient for his compensation, but Nasse apparently did not find it so and gave up his position. It was not until 1768 that schools were supported in this Commonwealth wholly by taxation.

To the teacher carrying on his exacting duties in the schoolhouse, often bearing half the responsibilities of the minister in addition to teaching, as Christopher Toppan did in Newbury; or like Richard Brown in Newbury, holding the position of town clerk, as well as teacher, there must have often come a feeling of bitterness and a sense of the thanklessness of his toil. Richard Brown, when he resigned to become minister at Reading in 1711, unburdened his soul with a frankness that is refreshing:

"I have served Newbury as school-master eleven years, and as Town Clerk five and a half years, and have been repaid with abuse, ingratitude and contempt. I have sent nigh as many to college as all the masters before since the Reverend and learned Parker. Those I bred think themselves better than their master (God make them better still), and yet they may remember the foundation of all their growing greatness was laid in the sweat of my brow. I pray that . . . Newbury may get them that may serve them better and find thanks when they have done. If to find a house for the school two years when the town had none; if to take the scholars to my own fire when

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there was no wood at the school as frequently; if to give records to the poor and record their births and death gratis deserve acknowledgement then it is my due, but hard to come by."

This is not the place to describe the development of educational theory and practice for the last two hundred years. Essex County has been among the first to adopt all the improved methods of teaching devised during that period—the district school, permitted by legislation in 1768, the emphasis upon civics rather than upon religion, the introduction of teacher training and graded schools, the discussion of educational problems among teachers (Essex County Teachers' Association, the first permanent county association, was formed in 1829), the enrichment of the curriculum by the study of history, the sciences, and the arts, and the attention to pupil health—all these were improvements welcomed by Essex County before 1860. Since that year Essex County has not been backward in adopting compulsory education for all, manual training, vocational education, the scientific attitude toward child psychology, improved organization of courses, and intelligence tests based on the work of Binet and Simon.

While the above matters were not more characteristic of Essex County than of other parts of the country, there was one movement in which Essex County played an important part and which led to the founding of her most distinguished schools. That movement was the rise of the academies. In England academies had come into being after the Act of Uniformity (1662) had excluded dissenters from the public schools and universities, and these academies served to train dissenting clergymen. Jonathan Edwards, in his "Thoughts on the Revival," drew especial attention to the English academies, and advised his American friends to imitate the idea. Thoughtful people saw that such institutions started by individuals or groups in communities where there was no grammar school, combining emphasis on religion with training along social and economic lines, would provide a much more practical education than the Latin Grammar School required by law but rarely provided by the town.* Benjamin Franklin opened an academy in Philadelphia in 1749, and in Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts thirty-seven were founded between 1763 and 1805. Of these six were in Essex County, and five more

*Bradford: "A New England Academy," by Jean Sarah Pond, pp. 33, 34, Bradford, Massachusetts, 1930.

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were founded there before 1830. Governor Dummer, Phillips Academy, Bradford Junior College, and Abbot Academy still thrive and are ranked among the most famous schools in America. The others, after a shorter or longer existence, have ceased to be.

In 1789 several influential citizens who styled themselves "benefactors" contributed funds for the establishment of Marblehead Academy. For some time it was successful as a co-educational school, but eventually became a high school. Lynn Academy was opened in 1805, had a somewhat checkered career, and was superseded by the high school in 1849. The excellent Dr. Spofford established Merrimac Academy, at Bradford, in 1821. In spite of being so near Bradford Academy, which was co-educational until 1836, it prospered until 1870, when it was merged with the Groveland system of public schools. Topsfield Academy was founded in 1828 and was successfully carried on until 1860. Byfield Female Seminary was established in 1818 by the Reverend Joseph Emerson, who was remarkably liberal in his educational theories and attracted many young women to his school. But he never succeeded in placing it on a permanent basis, and it was discontinued in 1822. Zilpah Grant, a faithful follower of Mr. Emerson's ideals, established Ipswich Seminary in 1826 as a school from which teachers should go out by the hundreds to destitute children of the Nation, and as a place to train the "superfluous women of the East" for teaching in the West. Had not the ill health of Miss Grant and her able collaborator, Mary Lyon, and the failure of the trustees to create a permanent school forced its abandonment in 1839, Ipswich Seminary might have been a rival, as it was a forerunner, of Mount Holyoke Seminary.‡

FRANKLIN ACADEMY

The first incorporated academy in the State to which girls were admitted was Franklin Academy, established in 1799 in North Andover. The academy was built with two rooms of equal size, one for the male department and the other for the female department. Though no records of Franklin Academy survive, it had a flourishing life of more than fifty years and numbered among its members students from more than a hundred different towns, a dozen states, and several foreign countries. Nathaniel Peabody was the first preceptor

‡Bradford: "A New England Academy," by Jean S. Pond, pp. 131, 132.

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and his wife, Elizabeth Palmer, the first preceptress. One of its instructors, Cyrus Pierce, was chosen by Horace Mann to head the first normal school in the United States. But the name which overshadows all others is that of Master Simeon Putnam, "Old Put," whose harsh discipline and irascible temper became a legend, but who for fifteen years kept his classes constantly filled with students from all parts of the country.

From 1817-33 Mr. Putnam conducted the academy with the exception of an interlude lasting slightly more than a year, 1825-27. The trustees, feeling that his profits from the school were too large, determined to revise their agreement with him. Whereupon, Putnam at once put up his own schoolhouse and attracted so many students away from Franklin Academy that the trustees were obliged to relent. A new contract was made by which Putnam leased Franklin Academy from the trustees, agreeing to "receive all the children of the inhabitants of the North Parish, at a tuition of twenty-five dollars for forty-five weeks, or in that proportion for a term, and to allow the Trustees the use of his school-house for their Female School thereon, such portions of the year as they may require." He must have been an extraordinary schoolmaster, indeed, to so hold the trustees in the hollow of his hand, and to make money by charging twenty-five dollars tuition!

Like the usual pedagog of his day, Master Putnam was, without question, often unjust, always harsh, and sometimes cruel to the idle and disobedient. But he had boys to manage who had less sense of discipline than the youngster of today and they, in many cases, lived with him in his house, thus irritating him twenty-four hours of the day. Moreover, he was in ill health, and the constant pain of acute neuralgia so broke him down that he died in the prime of life at the age of forty-seven. Dull boys, or even ordinary boys must have exasperated him when we learn what Professor Cornelius C. Felton accomplished under his tutelage in 1822-23. Professor Felton, speaking of himself, recalls that "In this year and a quarter, while at Franklin Academy, he read 'Sallust' four times, 'Cicero's Orations' four times, 'Virgil' six times, 'Graeca Minora' five or six times, and the poetry of it, till he could repeat nearly all of it by memory; the 'Annals and Histories of Tacitus,' 'Justin,' 'Cornelius Nepos,' the 'Anabasis of Xenophon,' four books of 'Robinson's Selections from the Iliad,' Greek Testament four times, besides writing a translation of

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one of the Gospels and a translation of 'Grotius de Veritate,' which he brought in the manuscript to college. He also wrote a volume of about two hundred pages of Latin exercises, and one of about one hundred pages of Greek exercises, and studied carefully all the mathematics and geography requisite to enter college."

Of the "Female Department" at Franklin Academy almost nothing is known except the names of the preceptresses. But the females must have enjoyed themselves, as in the early 1800's the rigidity of Puritan customs had so far relaxed as to permit frequent dances at "Mr. Parker's Hall." In one case, in 1806, the name of the preceptor, himself, headed the list of "managers" of the festivity. Miss Lucy Foster was thinking of these good times at Franklin Academy when she wrote from the lonely wilds of Canterbury, New Hampshire:

"I hear oftener than I wish to of your dances and other amusements, not, my dear girl, that I wish you to be deprived of them; far from it, altho' I am not altogether happy, I wish my friends all the happiness they can enjoy, but at the same time it wounds my feelings to think of those diversions which you know I am so fond of, and can't partake of them."

Distinguished and successful as it had been, Franklin Academy finally succumbed to the competition of Phillips Academy and Abbot Academy, which were only a few miles away, and about 1853 the school closed its doors.*

The presence of so many academies in Essex County is indicative of the vital interest in education that existed here in the early years of the nineteenth century, an interest fostered by the work of Horace Mann, who married one of the daughters of Mrs. Peabody, first preceptress of Franklin Academy, and an interest which has flowered in the four great schools which now distinguish our county. It remains to give a brief sketch, all too brief because of limitations of space, of each of these flourishing institutions.

GOVERNOR DUMMER ACADEMY

Governor Dummer Academy,† first known as Dummer School, the oldest endowed boys' boarding school in the United States, was established in Byfield on March 1, 1763, in accordance with the terms of

*For the fullest account of Franklin Academy, see "Historical Sketches of Andover," by Sarah Loring Bailey, Boston, 1880, pp. 542-55.

†"A History of Dummer Academy," Newburyport, 1914.

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the will of the late Lieutenant-Governor William Dummer. William Dummer had a distinguished political career and twice served as actual Governor of the Province, once at the departure for England of Governor Shute, and once upon the death of Governor Burnet. But he is best remembered for founding the academy which bears his name.

The trustees erected a small, one-story building, about twenty feet square, in 1762, and chose as first master Samuel Moody. Master Moody was a conscientious and persevering teacher, and the school prospered exceedingly under him. He started with twenty-eight pupils, and twenty-seven years later five hundred and twenty-five students had passed through his hands. Among them we find such distinguished names as Hon. Elias Hasket Derby, of Salem; Hon. Rufus King, of Scarborough; Hon. Samuel Phillips, of Andover, and Commodore Preble, of Portland.

In 1782 Dummer School was incorporated as Dummer Academy and the entire charge of the institution, including the selection of teachers, placed in the hands of fifteen trustees. Master Moody resigned on March 25, 1790, and died in Exeter the following December 17. In 1797 the General Court recommended that half a township in Maine should be appropriated for the use of the Academy. This grant was in line with the principles laid down at this time that academies were, in most respects, public schools; that they were a part of an organized system of education; that they ought to be distributed to suit the needs of different localities, one to every twenty-five thousand people; and that their advantages should be used for the common benefit.‡

Samuel Moody§ was such a remarkable man and raised Dummer School to such heights that it is fitting to describe him at some length here. Harsh, masterful, scholarly, and distinctly eccentric seem to be the adjectives which apply to the great schoolmasters of Essex County, and Moody answered the description in every particular. He had taught for sixteen or seventeen years at York, Maine, where his eccentric father, "Handkerchief" Moody, and equally eccentric grand-

‡"An Old New England School, a History of Phillips Academy, Andover," by Claude M. Fuess, Boston and New York, 1917, p. 81.

§The material on Samuel Moody in the following paragraphs is drawn from Nehemiah Cleaveland's "Centennial Discourse," delivered on August 12, 1863.

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father, "Faithful" Moody, lived, before he came to Dummer School. For nineteen years he conducted the academy in every respect. The trustees under the will did nothing, and had nothing to do. The parish committee was annually chosen, but their office was little more than a sinecure; and the overseers of Harvard College were never called upon.

Samuel had, literally, no care beside his school, which soon filled up. For a good many years there were from seventy to eighty boys in the school, twenty or twenty-five of whom boarded at the Mansion House. How the master continued to pack them in his diminutive school room, and how the steward managed to lodge and to feed them in a building which would seem crowded with half that number, are insoluble problems.

Our knowledge of this celebrated man is wholly traditional, and has been handed down to us from his pupils. Large and somewhat coarse, vigorous rather than graceful, unquestioned master in his own domain, and yet lively in feeling, thought, manner, and speech, sturdy, earnest, and sincere—such would seem to be a good description of Master Moody. His scholarship was somewhat limited in scope, for he made no pretense to mathematics, natural science, or even to common arithmetic. French he read well and accurately, but it was in Latin and Greek—especially the former—that his strength as a scholar and a teacher mainly lay. There is no reason to suppose he had read many of the ancient authors, but his knowledge of the text books required to prepare boys for college was exhaustive and at his fingers' ends. To maintain his accuracy at its highest pitch it is said on good authority that Master Moody was in the habit of studying the French and Latin dictionaries, in regular course, from A to Z.

"The promptness and exactness for which he was so remarkable were the qualities which he required in his pupils, and which he labored, not in vain, to create. Of his peculiar methods and appliances, a few only are remembered. His views of order in a school room differed from those which usually prevail. Silence, there, he thought, was more distracting than noise. Accordingly, he not only permitted, but encouraged his scholars to study audibly. The buzz of sixty or seventy boys loudly conning their various tasks, not only filled the room, but could be heard at some distance from the house. Newcomers unused to the practice were disturbed at first, but soon

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fell in with the current, and liked it well. This confused murmur made the recitation of classes and remarks of teachers inaudible to the rest, and thus favored abstraction and attention.

"Though he lived long before the days of gymnastic apparatus and instruction, he looked carefully after the amusements, the health, and the safety of his boys. In the matter of bathing his regulations were strict and peculiar. The time and the place were fixed by him. The state of the tide was carefully observed, and if the favorable moment happened to come in the midst of school hours, he suspended work for awhile, and sent the boys out to bathe—so important in his view was the salubrious immersion."

An amusing story is told of one of Master Moody's outbreaks in the class room. "Mr. Moody generally dubbed his pupils with the prefixes borne by their fathers. Young Preble, whose sire was a Brigadier of considerable note, was falsely charged with some offence, of great atrocity in the Master's view, who, believing it true, seized the fire-shovel, a large flat-bladed implement of home-make, rushed rapidly to the place where Preble sat, and brought it down with great force and much show of passion, very near to the boy's head. Then, returning to his seat—the look of anger all gone—he pleasantly said: 'Boys, did you observe the Brigadier, when I struck? He never winked. He'll be a general yet.'"

An interesting comment on the early curriculum at Governor Dummer Academy is made by Charles D. Brodhead in "The Archon," a magazine published by the school, in the June, 1933, number:

"From 1763 to 1837 the Academy existed as a 'grammar school' according to the will of its founder, that name implying then the study of Latin and Greek languages as the basis of preparation for the 'Cambridge College.' Observe the curriculum as it was announced in the catalogue of 1837.

"First Year: Latin Grammar, Jacob's 'Latin Reader,' Cæsar's 'Commentaries,' Sallust, 'Reading and Making Latin,' Ancient and Modern Geography, Roman Antiquities, Arithmetic.

"Second Year: 'Reading and Making Latin,' Sallust, Virgil's 'Aeneid,' Cicero's 'Orations,' Fisk's 'Greek Grammar,' Jacob's 'Greek Reader,' Arithmetic, and English Grammar.

"Third Year: Same Latin and Greek authors as before, Virgil's 'Bucolics' and 'Georgics,' English Grammar, Declamation, Exercises in Latin and English translations, Composition, Algebra.

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"Notice the absence of geometry, physics, chemistry, French, German, and history. It is probable that 'English Grammar' included the literature of the day, but think what was missing to Master Moody's pupils; Bobby Burns was born only four years before classes started; so there was no 'Highland Mary'; no Wordsworth yet could say 'My heart with pleasure fills and dances with the daffodils'; no noble knights of Tennyson's; no 'Hail to thee blithe spirit' from revolutionist Shelley; no 'Last Duchess' from the suitor of Miss Barrett of Wimpole Street. Doctor Johnson was the Literary Guild and Webster's 'Collegiate Dictionary' combined, Jean Jaques Rousseau was furnishing a prototype for Havelock Ellis and Bernard Shaw with his 'advanced' ideas on rearing of children and the rights of man. Voltaire was the H. G. Wells and Mencken who debunked contemporary civilization.

"As for natural sciences, what was there of worth in them for the school boy, even had they been taught? True, Robert Boyle's laws of expansion were known, but Priestley found oxygen in 1774, and Lavoiser discovered in the same year the burning of materials did not destroy them, but only created other compounds. Messrs. Gay-Lussac, Arrhenius, and Bunsen of the famous burner, were yet unborn, and men never had to worry over electrolysis even in *the* College. Darwin had caused no Protestant or Catholic expounder of St. Paul to tremble at the thought of evolution.

"In the list of studies above, the subject of 'Roman Antiquities' has a meager place in the first year and apparently passed for history, but what history? If we take ancient history, what was there? Mr. Gibbon, whose antique f's for s's so bother the peruser of his musty volumes, had not yet worked out the story of Rome's 'Decline and Fall.' Pompeii had not yet made 'Cave canem' the school boy's image of Roman domestic architecture. The Rosetta Stone was only found in 1799, and so all Egypt, except for Herodotus' yarn spinning, was yet a closed book. Babylonia, lacking the Behistun Rock language key, was in the same condition. Consider, too, that in reading the Greek of the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey' those boys were taught that they were probably only the delightful imagery of ancient mind, not the wells of knowledge of pre-classic culture that Schliemann's diggings at Troy and Mycenae have proved them to be. How could anybody be bothered with understanding those bogies of U. S. History: 'tariffs,'

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'internal improvements,' 'strict and loose construction,' 'citizenship of corporations,' when there wasn't any United States and 'taxation without representation' was not nearer to history than the 'Impartial Herald' of Newburyport. 'British Imperialistic Policy' was studying at the Academy in person; for Sir David Ochterlony, the colleague of Hastings, was preparing to quell Indian Sikhs and Sepoys by conjugating Latin verbs under Master Moody's eye.

"With all the lack of what is now considered the elements required for a good education, and despite the 'dread language drill,' the old system had its blessings. As for Latin and Greek, a pupil offers his testimony, with which we shall close: 'I was obliged to learn everything about every word of every lesson. . . . I learned to love Greek better than any other study. . . . The sufficient reason was, I made a better beginning in it than in anything else, and what I learned, I learned better than I ever learned anything before.'"

Ever since Samuel Moody's day Governor Dummer Academy has continued its useful work under twenty-two successive masters. Under Edward W. Eames, a youthful and able administrator, who became headmaster in 1930, the school has recovered from temporary difficulties, and is functioning with renewed vigor and success. It has now (1933) a capacity enrollment of 114 students, including boys from thirteen states other than Massachusetts, from the District of Columbia, and from two foreign countries. The faculty consists of sixteen masters.

PHILLIPS ACADEMY

Among Master Moody's first pupils were two youths who together were to found Phillips Academy, Andover, and establish it upon an enduring basis. They were Samuel Phillips, Jr., and Eliphalet Pearson. The former graduated from Harvard in 1771 and became a man who, while modest, introspective, and somewhat sombre, exhibited an amazing energy and versatility in affairs, and a public spirit which caused him to be chosen as Justice of the Court of Common Pleas of Essex County, President of the Massachusetts Senate, and Lieutenant-Governor of the Commonwealth. At some time before his twenty-sixth year, he began to speculate on the subject of education and the need for an academy independent of town or parish committees, of a new type, and of a broader scope than any then in



ANDOVER—PHILLIPS ACADEMY
Portico of the Addison Gallery of American Art

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existence in the colonies. He secured the coöperation in his slowly maturing plan of his father and of his uncle, Dr. John Phillips, purchased an ample tract of land in the South Parish, and on April 21, 1778, the constitution was signed.

This often quoted document, undoubtedly the work of Samuel Phillips' hand, shows him to have been a pioneer in a new field and worthy to be ranked with Horace Mann and Andrew D. White as one of the few original minds in American education.* Among its provisions are:

"The foundation of a public free School or Academy for the purpose of instructing Youth, not only in English and Latin Grammar, Writing, Arithmetic, and those Sciences, wherein they are commonly taught, but more especially to learn them the *great end and real business of living*. . . .

"But above all, it is expected that the Master's attention to the disposition of the *minds* and *morals* of the youth under his charge will exceed every other care; well considering that, though goodness without knowledge (as it respects others) is weak and feeble, yet knowledge without goodness is dangerous, and that both united form the noblest character, and lay the surest foundation of usefulness to mankind.

"This Seminary shall be ever equally open to youth of requisite qualifications from every quarter.

"And, in order to prevent the smallest perversion of the true intent of this Foundation, it is again declared, that the *first* and principal object of this Institution is the promotion of true Piety and Virtue; the *second*, instruction in the English, Latin, and Greek languages. . . . "

On April 30, 1778, school was opened by Principal Eliphalet Pearson with thirteen pupils in an old, unpainted carpenter shop. Pearson "has been called 'in some respects the most remarkable man ever connected with the institutions of Andover.' He was a stubborn, autocratic pedagogue of the old school, powerful in physique, domineering in manner, and exacting in his requirements from his pupils. But he was something more than merely a master in the class room. Washington once said of him, 'His eye shows him worthy, not only to lead boys but to command men.' His astounding energy and versatility

*Fuess: "An Old New England School," p. 72.

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made him seem to be a kind of 'superman.'"[†] He was a musician, a skilled mechanic, a shrewd farmer and trader, and the master of six foreign languages. After retiring from the principalship he became president of Harvard, and later professor at Andover Theological Seminary.

Space does not permit an account of Phillips Academy's ten headmasters (from 1786 to 1927 the head of the academy bore the title of principal), of whom at least four, besides Pearson, have been conspicuous in education—John Adams, Samuel H. Taylor (Uncle Sam), Cecil F. P. Bancroft, and Alfred E. Stearns.

"Uncle Sam" Taylor left his indelible stamp upon the school. A strong man, a harsh disciplinarian, a precise and exacting scholar, he aroused devoted loyalty or bitter animosity among all with whom he came in contact. But under his guidance Phillips Academy grew to be a great American school, reaching to the Far West and South, and even to foreign countries, for its scholars. Parents spoke of sending their sons, not to Phillips Academy, but to Dr. Taylor. In a school where little supervision of the boys was possible, he established law and order by the severity of his reprimands and by a system of personal observation which those who were caught spoke of as spying and sneaking. His methods in the class room were terrifying to the timid or bashful boy, but those who passed through his classes learned once and for all the value of thorough scholarship, and the dignity of honest labor. On January 29, 1871, Dr. Taylor died suddenly in the vestibule of the Academy Building in the thirty-fourth year of his administration, the longest in the history of the school.

Dr. Taylor was succeeded by Dr. Cecil F. P. Bancroft, who was principal until his death in 1901. Under his shrewd and patient guidance the school entered a new period of effectiveness and prosperity. He made a complete revision of the curriculum, greatly broadening the range of studies and enabling the school to meet the entrance requirements of any college or scientific school, and he gathered about himself a larger and more efficient body of teachers. The attendance increased: In 1873 there were 262 pupils; in 1895, 524; and after 1892 the number never dropped below 400. Dr. Bancroft also strove to secure additions to the equipment; dormitories, a good laboratory, and the Borden Gymnasium were built through his efforts.

[†]Fuess: "An Old New England School," p. 86.

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In 1933 Dr. Alfred E. Stearns, for thirty years headmaster, who more than any other had built up the school's present position and reputation, was forced through ill health to resign. Professor Charles H. Forbes, who for over forty years had been one of Andover's most beloved teachers, assumed the duties of acting headmaster. With the death of Dr. Forbes, on March 12, 1933, the trustees appointed Dr. Claude M. Fuess acting headmaster and, on May 29 of the same year, elected him headmaster of the school.

Established in the very first years of the Republic, Phillips Academy has shared in the Nation's history, and the school is notable for the names of great Americans in every walk of life who have been associated with it. The Act of Incorporation was the last measure passed by the old Great and General Court, and it was duly signed by John Hancock, the presiding officer, with that flourish of the pen familiar to every American school boy.‡ The official seal of the school, in use until a few years ago, was engraved by Paul Revere in 1782, for which payment of £2 8s. was made. It is a disk of silver, one inch and three-eighths in diameter and approximately one-eighth of an inch thick. During the siege of Boston, Samuel Phillips, Jr., had met George Washington, and on November 5, 1789, the first President of the United States visited the school, was entertained by Judge Phillips, and addressed the students assembled on the Old Training Field. Through his influence one of his nephews and eight of his grandnephews attended the school in the years 1785-1803. Bulfinch Hall and Pearson Hall were built from designs by Charles Bulfinch, architect of the Boston State House, and one of the greatest American architects. It was Bulfinch Hall which Oliver Wendell Holmes, a student in the class of 1825, later described in his poem "The School-Boy":

How all comes back! The upward-slanting floor,
The masters' thrones that flank the central door,
The large outstretching alleys that divide
The rows of desks that stand on either side,
The staring boys, a face to every desk,
Bright, dull, pale, blooming, common, picturesque.
Grave is the Master's look, his forehead wears
Thick rows of wrinkles, prints of worrying cares,

‡"Men of Andover," Claude M. Fuess, p. 15, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1928.

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Uneasy lie the heads of all that rule
He most of all whose kingdom is a school.
Supreme he sits. Before the awful frown
That bends his brows the boldest eye goes down.

Samuel F. B. Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, was a member of the class of 1805, and among other graduates internationally famous in scientific fields were William Henry Rowland, one of the world's greatest physicists; Othniel C. March, the paleontologist, and George B. Clark, maker of telescopes.

During the Civil War the academy maintained a military company composed of students known as the "Ellsworth Guards," and at least six generals in the Northern Army were Andover graduates, among the most famous being General William F. Bartlett, General David B. Birney, and General Isaac I. Stevens, who was at one time first territorial governor of Washington. During the World War the ambulance unit of Phillips Academy, which sailed overseas in April, 1917, was the first to be organized by any American school. Of the alumni two thousand three hundred were enrolled in the military or naval service of the United States or its allies. The Memorial Tower, with a carillon of bells, commemorates the loyalty of the eighty-seven who gave their lives for their country.

Among Andover graduates who have been prominent in political life are William Henry Moody, Secretary of the Navy, Attorney-General of the United States, and Justice of the Supreme Court, who played an important rôle in President Theodore Roosevelt's campaign against the trusts, and Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War, Secretary of State, and Governor of the Philippines.

It is a far cry from the Andover of the last century, where the boys lived in the Latin and English Commons, two rows of ugly wooden buildings designed on the "packing-box" style of architecture, or boarded with landladies, whose prices went up as the degree of supervision she exercised over her lodgers went down, to the present beautiful and carefully administered school. A few examples from the life of the past will suffice to show anyone familiar with conditions in a modern school the contrast between the present and the crude conditions of an earlier time.

A graduate of the class of 1811 presents a gloomy picture of the curriculum in his day:

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"I well remember that the general object sought was to grind into us and gerund us in a knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages. All other knowledge was of minor consequence, this being attained by a severe course of the most persistent gerund-grinding; and exclusive memorizing, first of all, of the entire Greek and Latin Grammar before entering upon any practical application of its forms or rules. The whole business, and it was the same all over the land, was a melancholy misunderstanding of the function of education."

How this method of teaching worked in practice is described by Dr. William Goodell, who graduated in 1813:

"We would decline any noun in any declension, naming it in every case from the nominative singular to the ablative plural, going through the whole at one breath. Then we would go backward at one breath from the ablative plural to the nominative singular. To us this was real fun, and to Mr. Adams it seemed real fun to hear us."

While today the boys live a carefully regulated life at combined study, physical exercise, and recreation, a letter from John B. Smith, written October 6, 1850, shows the monotonous routine of a student of that day:

"My work and study hours are something as follows: rise in the morning at about 5.30 o'clock, build two fires (probably more when it is colder), work around the barn, such as milk one cow, take care of the horses, and saw wood until 7.30, when I eat my breakfast; then, if there is anything in particular to do, if a man has stopped here over night, he usually starts away about this time, I put his horse in, etc.; if not, I prepare for school and look over my lesson, if I have time, till 8.30, when I attend prayers in the Academy. My recitations commence at 9 o'clock, continue until 10.30, then go to my room and study till 12 o'clock, chore around till about 1 o'clock. Afternoon recitations, 1.30 to 3, study till 4.30, prayers at the Academy till 5, work till dark, supper. I study some in the evening and read some."

A full account of the famous Andover Theological Seminary, which for a hundred years dominated Phillips Academy and was a leading influence in the religious and intellectual life of the country, will be found in the chapter on Religion.

On May 18 and 19, 1928, Phillips Academy observed its sesquicentennial anniversary, at which the principal address was made by Calvin Coolidge, the President of the United States. That year

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ushered in the greatest period of physical expansion in the school's history, and today with its Oliver Wendell Holmes Library, its Addison Gallery of American Art, its new Academy Chapel, its Archaeological Department, its modern dormitories and athletic fields, it has become not only one of the most beautiful schools in America, but it possesses unequalled facilities for stimulating the intellectual and cultural interests of its 650 students.

BRADFORD ACADEMY

Of the many academies founded in Essex County, that at Bradford* was among the small number destined to live and prosper. An old record states: "At a meeting of a number of the inhabitants of the First Parish in Bradford, March 7, 1803, it was mutually agreed upon that a building should be erected for an academy, and the following persons became subscribers to defray the charges of building said house." Among the signers were thirty heads of the families in the parish. So prompt was their action that in three months, on the first of June, a building had been erected, a preceptor and a preceptress engaged, and a school of fifty-one pupils had been assembled. Like many academies of the day, Bradford began on a co-educational basis, and of the first pupils thirty-seven were girls and fourteen were boys.

In its first dozen years Bradford Academy had fourteen preceptors. As none of them expected to make school teaching his profession, there was a distinct lack of system and continuity in the administration of the school. Then, in 1814, came Benjamin Greenleaf, one of the great names in Bradford's history. Jean Sarah Pond describes him thus:

"His own students remember him nervously pacing back and forth in the schoolroom, his black hair either covering his forehead and temples or rumpled by his hands, while in the back it was braided into a queue of respectable length, and tied with a broad black ribbon. This queue he was constantly tossing back over his shoulder. One of his 1816 students has described him: 'Sit or stand he could not; in him experimenters for perpetual motion would have found a solution. So impatient were his thoughts for utterance they set in motion his

*"Bradford, a New England Academy," by Jean Sarah Pond. See also "Old Bradford Days," by Arthur Howard Hall, Norwood, Massachusetts, 1910.

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hands, arms—his whole body.’” Greenleaf’s restless ambition and boundless energy were utilized not only in bettering the instruction at Bradford, but in publishing a variety of textbooks, in performing calculation for numerous almanacs, especially those which had some philanthropic mission, and in surveying and mapping the neighborhood. When Mr. Greenleaf left Bradford in 1836, the boys’ department was discontinued.

A contemporary of Mr. Greenleaf was Abigail Carleton Hasseltine, who became preceptress in 1815. Of her Miss Pond says: “The main question which a history of Bradford Academy should answer is—how did it happen that a co-educational academy became a school for the higher education of young women? The answer can be reduced to one name—Abigail Hasseltine. Her growth to womanhood coincided with the early development of the Academy, and her maturity happily synchronized with the great movement for the education of women in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.” The remarkable development of the school under her guidance is well summarized by Miss Pond:

“In 1815 her position was nominally subordinate to the preceptor, though she was practically free. She taught without assistance seventy-seven girls, packed into one small room, the common English subjects, with history, needlework and drawing. There was no grading of classes, no planned course of study, no graduation. This teaching she must confine to two summer terms, April to August, and August to November, while in the winter she assisted the preceptor if he needed her. In 1853 she was the sole head of a school of two hundred and thirty-nine girls with a faculty of twelve, occupying the new academy building erected largely by her efforts, where were eight rooms and an assembly hall, and nearby a boarding house already inadequate for the housing of students. A regular course of study of four years leading to the diploma included considerable work of collegiate grade.” At her death Miss Hasseltine had devoted as preceptress, as principal, and as honorary principal a total of fifty-eight years to furthering the interests of Bradford Academy.

Under later devoted headmistresses, Miss Abby H. Johnson and Miss Annie E. Johnson, the school continued to advance in intellectual and material ways. It was in 1902, during the principalship of Miss Laura A. Knott, that a course of study definitely designed for high

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school graduates was differentiated from the older "general course" and from the strictly college preparatory course. This was the natural foundation of the present Junior College. The material equipment and the curricula were further improved under the leadership of Miss Marion Coats, principal from 1918 to 1927. In 1927 Dr. Katharine M. Denworth, a professionally trained administrator and supervisor of junior colleges and secondary schools, became president of Bradford Academy. She has reorganized the Junior College in accordance with the methods approved by nationally recognized educators and has strengthened the faculty and improved the physical facilities.†

Today Bradford Academy is surrounded by an area of thirty-seven acres, where wide lawns, walks, drives, and natural woodland scenery have been skillfully combined to make a beautiful campus and adequate athletic fields. There are eighteen regular members of the faculty, eleven instructors in special departments, and a student body of one hundred and eighty-eight drawn from twenty-three states, the District of Columbia, Alaska, and Greece.

ABBOT ACADEMY

At a time when there was so much interest in the education of women, it was natural that the idea of establishing a "Female Seminary" near the flourishing Phillips Academy and Andover Theological Seminary should arise. On February 15, 1828, the following notice appeared:

"Those persons who feel favorably disposed towards the establishment of a Female High School in the South Parish of Andover are requested to meet at Mr. James Locke's, on Thursday evening next, the 19th inst., at 6 o'clock P. M." Then and there the school was determined upon, seven trustees, Mark Newman, Milton Badger, Samuel C. Jackson, Samuel Farrar, Amos Blanchard, Hobart Clark, and Amos Abbot, were appointed, and the constitution drawn up. The lofty motives of the founders are shown by a passage from that document:

"The primary objects to be arrived at in this school shall ever be to regulate the tempers, to improve the taste, to discipline and enlarge the minds and form the morals of the youth who may be members of

†The above paragraph is based upon statements in "The Bradford Academy Catalogue," 1933.

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it. To form the immortal mind to habits suited to an immortal being, and to instil principles of conduct and form the character of an immortal destiny, shall be subordinate to no other care. Solid acquirements shall always have precedence of those which are merely showy, and the useful of those which are merely ornamental."

But difficulties were encountered. The first site chosen was not endorsed by some of the mothers or prospective students, since it was on "the street most frequented by the 'Theologues and Academy boys.'" And money was not forthcoming. But these problems were solved when Deacon Newman gave an acre of land on the present site of Abbot Academy, and when Madame Sarah Abbot contributed \$1,000. The story runs that this lady, who had been a lifelong friend of Madame Phillips, wife of the founder of Phillips Academy, approached 'Squire Farrar and asked, "What shall I do with my surplus funds?" He answered, "Found an Academy in Andover for the education of women." With these slender resources the academy was incorporated on February 26, 1829, the first incorporated school for girls in New England.

For its first twenty-four years the school had seven principals, all young men recently graduated from the theological seminary or still pursuing their theological studies. Their compensation at best being only the income from tuition, and their main interest, no doubt, fixed upon securing a parish, their terms of service varied from one to three years with the exception of the Reverend Asa Farwell, who held office from 1842 to 1852. "Very gradually, but naturally" the trustees began to feel that the school might safely be entrusted to a woman, and from 1853 to 1859 Miss Nancy Hasseltine, Miss Maria J. B. Browne, and Miss Emma L. Taylor served as principals. In 1859 Miss Philena McKeen was elected principal, and for thirty-three years gave the best of her life to the school. She was a woman of almost masculine strength of mind as is shown by her successful efforts to replace the dreary discomforts of Abbot Hall with the modern improvements of Draper Hall. She was a woman of wide and accurate scholarship, of great will power, and of aggressive Christianity, but withal she did not lack feminine subtlety. She had found that the school possessed not a single silver teaspoon, and she knew that a request to the trustees would only result in renewed explanations of the poverty of the institution. Consequently, she invited the board to

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tea and served their cups with the cheap clumsy tablespoons which were all she had. A few days later Mr. Davis sent a package containing five dozen teaspoons, a dozen dessert spoons, and another dozen of tablespoons, all of solid silver and nicely marked.

Miss Laura Sophia Watson was principal from September, 1892, to June, 1898, and under her guidance the curriculum was enlarged, a college preparatory course was developed, and improvements were made in Abbot and Draper Halls. At her resignation Miss Emily Adams Means assumed the duties of principal. Although her work, hitherto, had been that of an artist and writer, she showed that she had the creative power, and the sense of discipline to govern a school, to exact faithful work from faculty and students, and to preserve and increase the property entrusted to her care. In her thirteen years as principal she was influential in the erection of McKeen Memorial and Davis Hall, made over old Abbot Hall into an excellent science building, built the John-Esther Art Gallery, improved the interior of Draper Hall, and planned a new laundry and central heating unit.

In 1912 Miss Bertha Bailey succeeded Miss Means as principal, and has continued to govern the school wisely and well, weighing with care the traditions of the past, keeping those of value and casting aside those that have outlived their usefulness, maintaining in our restless, uncertain world the dignity and charm which are part of Abbot Academy.

Abbot Academy now has a faculty of seventeen and a student body of one hundred and seventeen drawn from fourteen different states and from four foreign countries.

CATHOLIC EDUCATION

For many years Catholic schools* in Essex County were few in number and poor in equipment. The pioneer Catholics of the county possessed little of this world's goods. They had for the most part been deprived of educational advantages in their own lands. Their efforts to establish and maintain schools met with bitter opposition. Yet in spite of painful and not always successful effort Catholic educa-

*The material for the section on Catholic schools is drawn from an article, "A Century of Catholic Education," by the Reverend Richard J. Quinlan, S. T. L., in "The Pilot, Centenary Edition," 1929, and from "Historical Sketch of the Catholic Parochial Schools in the Archdiocese of Boston and Chronological Statement of Schools, 1820-1900," very kindly loaned by Father Richard J. Quinlan, Diocesan Supervisor of Schools.

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tion grew and developed until today thirteen towns in the county have flourishing parochial schools, the total of such schools is forty, and 19,397 children are enrolled in them.†

Catholic education here may be said to have begun in the days of Bishop Cheverus (1808-23), and Father Matignon, who maintained a day school in the tower of their church on Franklin Street, Boston. The first real Catholic school in New England, if a school for the Indians which was in existence at an earlier period be excepted, was the Ursuline School, which was opened in Boston in 1820.

Catholic efforts to establish schools continued, and eventually schoolmasters from Ireland came to New England and settled wherever Catholics were gathered. At times they opened schools on their own responsibility and trusted to the parents for their pay. Salem, Lawrence, and other places saw the rise and fall of several Catholic schools under the discipline and educational methods of these schoolmasters, who were assisted by young and elderly ladies of the various parishes.

The lack of means and scarcity of religious teachers made progress difficult, but in 1849 a more systematic and very successful movement was begun by the introduction of the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur. These sisters confined their teaching to girls and small boys. The education of older boys was looked out for by the Sisters of St. Joseph, introduced into the diocese in 1873, who opened schools for boys and girls of all ages, by several other religious communities of women, and by four Orders of Christian Brothers to teach large boys.

As early as 1831 a school was opened at Salem by the Reverend William Wiley, a convert from Protestantism, and was taught by a Miss Sharpe. There are now five parochial schools in Salem: St. James', founded in 1852; St. Mary's, founded in 1855; St. Joseph's, founded in 1886; St. John the Baptist's, founded in 1908, and St. Ann's, founded in 1908. A school opened at Lawrence by the Reverend Father French, "for young Irishmen out of employment," was continued with more or less interruption until 1868. There are now twelve parochial schools in that city. Lynn supports seven schools, Beverly and Haverhill three each, and Amesbury and Newburyport two each, while Peabody, Methuen, Andover, Swampscott and Ipswich have each one.

†The figures given are those of 1934.

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Lawrence has two Catholic institutional schools, The Protectory of Mary Immaculate and the St. John Baptist School. The House of the Angel Guardian is supported at West Newbury.

Ste. Chretienne Academy was opened in 1917 by the French Order of Sisters of Ste. Chretienne, who came to the United States in 1904 for the purpose of establishing the congregation in this country and were welcomed to the Archdiocese of Boston. The Sisters were able teachers, and as they had long desired to conduct a boarding and day school for girls, after the fashion of the schools of their native France, they appealed to his Eminence, the Cardinal, who heartily approved and sanctioned their plan. When the epidemic of influenza swept the country in 1917, the Sisters of Ste. Chretienne lost no time in closing their school for academic purposes and converting it into a temporary hospital. Thus, these nuns, who were primarily teachers, found themselves nurses through necessity. After the epidemic had passed, the academy was opened once again. Since that time it has flourished to a remarkable extent and has more than doubled the number of its pupils in both grammar and high school since 1922. The enrollment is more than 100.

The present year, 1934, will mark the twenty-seventh successful year of St. John's Preparatory School, at Danvers. Founded in 1907 under the patronage of His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell, the school is at present one of the most flourishing of Archdiocesan institutions. Before becoming a preparatory school for boys, St. John's was a private training school for members of the Xaverian congregation. The Xaverian Brothers are familiar throughout New England, for they have been engaged in parochial work here for many years. When it was decided that a preparatory school for Catholic boys was needed, the Danvers training school was converted into the academy as it is known today. The school is well equipped with a chapel, administration building, dormitories and class rooms for older and younger boys, gymnasium, dining hall, and athletic fields. The boys receive a thorough training in the regular four-year high school courses. They are prepared to enter any college in the country, and to this is added comprehensive religious training and sound moral instruction. The enrollment at St. John's is 400.

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THE STATE TEACHERS' COLLEGE AT SALEM*

A full century has passed since the beginning of the revival of education in Massachusetts which a decade later gave birth to the first normal school in America. Then followed, for the remainder of the first quarter of that century, a period of storm and stress in which the professional schools of this type were constantly attacked by the public press, platform, and pulpit and, most bitterly of all, by organized groups of alleged educators, who, in 1840, carried their fight into the State Legislature. The answer to this attack was the opening of the normal school at Bridgewater in September of that year; later, increased capacity and more generous provision for this school and the two other already existing schools; and in 1846, the erection at Bridgewater of the first normal school building in America. The enrollment in these three schools steadily increased, and the question of the establishment of a fourth school soon received serious consideration.

Apparently the first suggestion that this proposed school should be located in Salem was made in August, 1852, by the Honorable Charles W. Upham, then mayor of the city, following the examination by the Governor and the State Board of Education of the site offered by the town of Framingham for the normal school which was first established at Lexington and later removed to West Newton. Later in the year, at the same meeting at which the proposals from Framingham were accepted, the board resolved to recommend to the Legislature the establishment of a normal school in Essex County. This recommendation was adopted, and the board was authorized to expend "the sum of six thousand dollars, from the proceeds of the public lands or the school fund, to defray the expense of providing a site, of erecting or purchasing a suitable building and furnishing the necessary appurtenances and apparatus for said school." This resolve received the signature of Governor George S. Boutwell on April 16, 1853.

Proposals were received by the State Board of Education from North Andover, Groveland, Chelsea, and Salem. At a meeting held June 2, 1853, after a comparison of the advantages offered by the several localities, the board decided on Salem as "the most accessible,

*This sketch has been kindly contributed by Dr. J. Asbury Pitman, President of the State Teachers' College.

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nearly central as to population, and offering facilities for the improvement of the pupils by its school and its literary and scientific advantages surpassed by those of few towns in the commonwealth."

The building was dedicated and the school opened on September 14, 1854. Addresses were delivered by the Honorable George S. Boutwell, then a member of the State Board of Education, and one who as Governor had been interested in the establishment of the school and in its location at Salem; Barnas Sears, secretary of the board; and others. The building was formally presented to the State by Mayor Joseph Andrews and accepted by Governor Emory Washburn.

The school opened with a faculty consisting of the principal and one assistant teacher and with seventy-two students, of whom forty-eight were subsequently graduated.

Since the establishment of the school, there have been enrolled nearly ten thousand students, of whom more than six thousand have been graduated. During its history there have been five principals and about two hundred and fifty teachers, including those who have taught in the training school.

In consequence of the steadily increasing enrollment, the original building which served the needs of the school until 1870 was enlarged at an expense of \$25,000. This building, now owned by the city of Salem and occupied by the administration offices of the School Department, continued to serve the purposes of the State until the present building was completed and occupied in September, 1896. From that time until 1912, when the training school building was erected, the elementary school occupied the first floor of the normal school building.

History and biography are inseparable. Not only had this school the advantage of the experience of the earlier normal schools and of a much larger measure of popular support, but it was extremely fortunate in its early leaders. Dr. Richard Edwards, the first principal, was of Welsh stock, coming to this country with his parents at an early age. His educational opportunities in Ohio were limited, but at the age of twenty-one he had taught for a limited time in country schools in that State. It was at about that time that he became acquainted with two Harvard graduates who induced him to migrate to Massachusetts and to become a student in the State Normal School at Bridgewater, where he came under the influence of Nicholas Til-

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linghast, the able first principal of that school. Later he earned degrees in science and in engineering in Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. He was a teacher at Bridgewater from 1848 to 1853, when he came to Salem as principal of the Bowditch High School for Boys. In the same year he was appointed agent of the State Board of Education, and less than a year later he was promoted to the principalship of the new normal school.

His vigorous and constructive administration attracted wide attention; and, after but three years of service in this position, he became, on the recommendation of Horace Mann, the first principal of the city normal school at St. Louis, now Harris Teachers' College. In the early days of the Civil War, he was called to succeed the first principal of the Illinois State Normal University, which was then in its infancy. In his later years, after having practically established three normal schools, he was successively State Superintendent of Schools of Illinois and president of Blackburn College.

In 1857 Alpheus Crosby, for many years professor of Greek in Dartmouth College, became the successor of Dr. Edwards. He had long been conscious of the need of greatly increased educational opportunities for women, and it was doubtless this interest that led him to accept an appointment somewhat foreign to his previous educational experience. It was only natural that he should place less emphasis on the professional aspects of his work than did his predecessor, but he not only magnified the importance of scholarship but did much to keep the fires of patriotism burning during the four dark years of the Civil War.

For many years Professor Crosby had been actively interested in the abolition of slavery. At the end of the war, feeling that the freedmen needed his services more than did the school, he resigned the principalship to become the editor of a paper devoted to the interests of a race which was wholly unprepared to discharge the responsibilities of citizenship and whose rights were in grave danger.

Professor Crosby was succeeded by Dr. Daniel B. Hagar, a scholarly man already widely known in educational circles as the efficient principal of the Jamaica Plain High School, who served the State as principal from 1865 to 1896. Under his efficient leadership high standards of scholarship and culture were maintained.

In 1896, Dr. Walter P. Beckwith, a favorite son of Tufts College, became principal of the school. His ten years of service was con-

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spicuous for a highly practical administration, which was the logical sequence of his long experience as a teacher and city superintendent of schools at Adams, Massachusetts. His administration was marked by the occupancy of a thoroughly new building in South Salem and by the establishment within that building of a well-equipped elementary school of observation and practice.

The present incumbent, Dr. J. Asbury Pitman, has held the position of principal of the normal school and president of the State Teachers' College at Salem since 1906. He is a native of Maine, where his professional training began in the State Normal School at Castine. His studies were continued at Clark, Harvard, and Columbia universities and he holds the degree of Doctor of Education from the Rhode Island College of Education.

Following his early experience in Maine as a teacher in rural schools and as the principal of high schools, he came to Massachusetts, where he served as principal of elementary schools for a short time, after which he engaged in supervision, first in a district in Worcester County and later for several years as city superintendent at Marlborough.

Dr. Pitman has served as president of important educational associations, including the Massachusetts Superintendents' Association, the Massachusetts Schoolmasters' Club, the American Institute of Instruction, and the Association of Teachers' Colleges. He has also been active in various forms of community service, having been president of the Salem City Planning Board and of the Salem Chamber of Commerce. His professional preparation has also included an extensive study of education in the leading countries of Europe.

During the present administration the school has continued to make substantial progress. The training school has been enlarged and completely reorganized and transferred to a new building on the campus, one-half of the cost of which was contributed by the city of Salem. This is one of the best buildings for its purpose in New England, if not in the entire country. The membership of this school is drawn from an entire school district, and the work of instruction is carried on under the direction of the college, but subject to the approval of the local school department.

The preparation of teachers for junior high schools has also formed an important part of the work for several years. In 1914,

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this course, leading to a diploma upon the completion of three years of work, was established. Since 1931 it has been maintained as a full college course leading to a degree. The practice in teaching is begun in the campus training school and is continued in approved junior high schools in the towns and cities in the area which the college serves.

The department for training teachers of commercial subjects was established in 1908, and it has the distinction of being the first in the country to provide a normal school for the training of commercial teachers in the full sense of the word. This department draws students from the entire State and supplies a large proportion of the teachers of these subjects employed in the high schools in Massachusetts.

The course was soon prolonged from two to three years; then to four years, including a half year of supervised practice in approved business offices, and now the degree of Bachelor of Science in education is conferred only upon students who have had this amount of business experience in addition to a full four-year course which includes cultural, technical, and professional training, of which actual experience in teaching under supervision is an important part.

In 1919 the Legislature enacted a law requiring school committees of every town and city in the State in which there are in attendance at the public schools at least ten children three years or more retarded in mental development to establish special classes for their instruction according to their mental attainments. This law has been amended from time to time and a reasonably satisfactory system, including the professional preparation of teachers of mentally retarded children at the State Teachers' College at Salem, has been established. There are now in the Commonwealth nearly nine thousand such children, taught in about six hundred classes in one hundred twenty-four different towns and cities. This department was established in 1927 and is rendering useful service in providing teachers who are doing much to help the children under their charge to become self-respecting and useful members of society.

Through an arrangement with the Clark School for the Deaf at Northampton, the college is able to provide the foundation of the training for a limited number of teachers who complete their preparation at that school and who receive their degree from this institution, which became a college in 1932 by authority of the Legislature.

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In all of these fields and also in the elementary course students may now continue their studies for four years and upon the completion of this work receive the degree of Bachelor of Science in education.

During the present administration the membership in the school, which by an act of the Legislature became a college in 1932, has increased more than three fold, and each year it is necessary to reject large numbers of students because of limited accommodations.

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The Coming of the English to South Carolina, 1670*

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HE first settlement within the grant to the Lords Proprietors was a sort of trickling down from Virginia perhaps as early as 1653 into northeastern North Carolina. Settlement along Albermarle Sound certainly antedates 1662. Similarly spontaneous and unauthorized was the settlement by a number of New Englanders about 1661 near the mouth of the Cape Fear for raising cattle. They soon abandoned the region, leaving their cattle as prized possessions of the neighboring Indians. To a group of prosperous planters of the wealthy British West Indian Island of Barbados, already turning their eyes toward the mainland for new plantations, the enterprise of the Lords Proprietors offered an opportunity. A proposal by the Barbadians to settle a colony thirty-two miles square was welcome, but refusal by the Proprietors to grant all the conditions desired diverted the leading enterprise to Jamaica. The short-lived Barbadian colony of 1664 to 1667 near the mouth of the Cape Fear has already been noticed.

Outfitting the Expedition—The Proprietors during the six years following their grant had developed no effective program; but even so their various offers, advertisements and negotiations had served to adumbrate a sort of policy, for the period, fairly liberal. In 1669 Lord Ashley, better known by his title conferred three years later of Earl of Shaftesbury, assumed leadership and at once made his habitual energy felt. March 9, 1670, the Palatine, Lord Berkeley, devolved on Shaftesbury all his duties.⁷⁵ Quarrels with squatters, the drain of expenses, and the unavoidable remission of quit rents to necessitous settlers determined the Proprietors to launch a better planned colony at Port Royal.

* From "The History of South Carolina," by Dr. Wallace, about to appear from the press of The American Historical Society, Inc.

75. Shaftesbury Papers, 162.

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The Commission of July 26, 1669, made out for a Governor to be selected by Sir John Yeamans of Barbados, where the expedition was to touch, set the Governor over all Carolina southwest of Cape Cartaret, as they called Cape Romain, following Sanford's vain attempt of 1666 to "blot out" that Spanish name. In view of the small population and the absence of Landgraves and Cassiques, he was directed to put into practice the Grand Model of the Fundamental Constitutions only so far as practicable. For the time being, five men to be elected by the freemen together with the five Proprietors' deputies were to constitute the Council, by whose advice and consent he was to administer the government in accordance with the further details of his instructions. The freemen were to elect also twenty members of Parliament. Acts of this body (a majority being a quorum) when signed by the Governor and three of the Proprietors' deputies were to be law.

Every freeman above sixteen years of age coming to the Colony before March 25, 1670, should have one hundred and fifty acres of land and a like amount for every able man servant, slaves included, whom he might bring and one hundred acres for every woman servant or boy under sixteen.⁷⁶ Such grants were later reduced to fifty acres per capita, at which they remained throughout colonial history. To every servant serving out his or her time the Proprietors promised one hundred acres.

Following the fantastic classification of Proprietors, nobles, and commoners' land, the territory was to be blocked off in squares of 12,000 acres each, any one 12,000-acre seigniorship being taken by a Proprietor remaining exclusively for him, any one 12,000 "barony" taken up by a landgrave or cassique being exclusively for him, and any one 12,000 "colony" assigned to the people being exclusively for commoners. But these aristocratic assignments were to be made so as not to engross land near the first settlement or encroach too near any Indian town. The proportion was to be preserved of twenty-four colonies to eight seigniorships and eight baronies. No person was to have river frontage of more than a fifth of the depth of his land.

Precautions were ordered for just distribution of provisions, etc., to the needy and for the prudent conducting of the Indian trade. The very inception of the Colony witnessed a trick of the Proprietors to force the Fundamental Constitutions upon the people contrary to their

76. Sh. P., 164.

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free right guaranteed in the charter to pass upon all laws. Every person before receiving titles to land was to swear submission to the Fundamental Constitutions, and in the early years many, if not all, did.

As the yet-to-be-named Governor was on the further side of the ocean, Joseph West, one of the most useful men in early South Carolina, was appointed Governor and commander-in-chief of our fleet and "ye⁷⁷ persons embarked in it." If the Proprietors had shown as good judgment in the important details of selecting a head for their Colony as they did in selecting its physical equipment, they would have made this excellent man the Governor, instead of leaving the decision to a West Indian agent. But instead, West was to yield up his authority when whoever Yeamans might name should appear.⁷⁸

West was directed to stop at Kinsale in South Ireland for immigrant servants. On arriving at Barbados he was to obtain from Thomas Colleton (son of the Proprietor) cotton and indigo seed, roots of ginger, sugar cane, vines and olives. The prompt planting of these and a variety of vegetables and grains was strictly enjoined, with exemplary directions and warnings, including the care of the cattle to be brought from Virginia and the hogs from Barbados. Detailed reports on each variety of crop and animal were to be periodically rendered. And, conclude the thrifty Proprietors, see to it that our ships return to Barbados carrying cargoes of lumber.

Instructions went to the storekeeper and the surveyor-general. Eighteen months' provisions were sent, though a large portion was lost at sea. The account of the stores on shipboard, down to the number of each different size of nails, with the cost of each, shows how careful the Proprietors were of the £500 which each had agreed to advance for the enterprise. The King gave twelve cannon and twelve rounds of ammunition for each. The cost of the ship "Carolina," the frigate "Port Royal," and the shallop "Albemarle" and their outfitting not omitting 240 pounds of glass beads and sundry hatchets, hoes, knives, adzes, scissors, and "striped suits" for the Indian trade, totaled £3,200 16s. 6d. It is interesting to note that Captain Brayne of the "Carolina" was paid £5 a month, the mate £3, the carpenter £3 5s., and the sailors £1 10s. Multiplying these figures by four or five (the degree to which money has since depreciated) and adding board, we get an idea of sailors' pay in those days.

77. Initial y in ye, yem, yat, etc., is of course merely a modification of the Anglo-Saxon letter thorn (th), and was never pronounced any way except as th until moderns forgot its use.

78. Sh. P., 123, 125.

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These prosaic details in large measure account for the success of the colony and its freedom from the heart-rendering privations that so commonly attended such enterprises. But there were other favoring circumstances. The colony was in constant touch with the prosperous and well established colony of Barbados, some of whose leading merchants and planters were in active coöperation with the new planting. The colonists themselves, composed in part of shrewd men of business and of "servants" who were ready to hew out a better destiny for themselves in a new country, were better fitted than some earlier adventurers to found a self-sustaining community. They were to prove the vast superiority of a normal industrial community over a military force for founding a state.

It must be remembered, too, that Carolina had the advantage of earlier settlers' mistakes. And, finally, it must not be overlooked that Spain, the implacable enemy of every intruder on the South Atlantic, had sadly declined since Ribaut's forces were massacred on the Matanzas. Had there been a Menendez at St. Augustine with the forces that he commanded in 1565, the handful of Englishmen in Charlestown in 1670 would have gone there merely to perish.

The Voyage to Carolina—A list of the 93 passengers aboard the largest vessel, the "Carolina," as she lay in the Downs, August 10, 1669, contains names that were to become distinguished in South Carolina history. With the exception of a few Scotch and Irish names, all were thoroughly English. Of the two French looking names, one is evidently plain English misspelled, and the other apparently the name of an Englishman of old French ancestry. Sixty-two were servants; seventeen were masters (including the wife of a master), and thirteen were unbound persons without servants. Sixteen were women.⁷⁹ Several appear as "servants," however, who were much above the servant class and were really near relatives of their "masters," who adopted this means of increasing their allotments of land. Later the "servants" would also be entitled to their allotments. How many were in reality indentured servants cannot be known; but such were expected from the first and soon began to be imported.

Among the varying social levels of these approximately 148 emigrants there was a small group of pushing, active men of affairs, well able to turn opportunity to their advantage, on whom the develop-

79. Shaftesbury Papers, 134.

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ment of the Colony must largely depend. Some we know were from families of wealth and standing. Numerous letters prove some to have been of good education, and several aptly nailed a point with a Latin phrase. Most, however, were servants, but this affords us in the early years of South Carolina little definite knowledge. As late as 1658 and perhaps later men of wealth and standing put down names of their family or friends as servants to secure the land allotted for each servant brought in. But many were so poor as to be obliged to go out under the assistance of those styled masters. Joseph West complains in September, 1670, that there are not enough freemen in the Colony to constitute a Parliament; and the editor of the Shaftesbury papers comments by naming seventeen in addition to the five deputies and five councillors.⁸⁰

It being "at home a hot persecuting time," says Archdale, "many dissenters went over, men of estates," and many other persons, says Oldmixon, "in hopes to mend their estates." The eager seeking for good profits runs through the letters of the leaders, and the humbler folk, like millions since, were seeking a better life in a new and freer and kindlier world. The King in the charter and the Proprietors in the Fundamental Constitutions had bid for Dissenter settlers by deliberately omitting in the one case and forbidding in the other the persecutions that afflicted all but Anglicans in England.

The bad men among the first settlers were few; and against them there quickly developed a healthy reaction. The pious Governor Sayle, "wholly guided by the ministers,"⁸¹ was not speaking for himself alone in begging the Proprietors to secure the services of Rev. Bond, who had edified them in Bermudas. Joseph West, writing March 2, 1671, likewise desired "some godly ministers" and earnestly prays that anyone named as Governor shall be not only "honest and able," but "one that desires to fear God above all worldly interest."

The three vessels sailed from the Downs late in August, 1669.⁸² The stop at Kinsale was costly, as it lost them a good wind and several runaways, without a single enlistment.⁸³ Stories of mistreatment, and even of selling immigrants into slavery, made even the poorest

80. Shaftesbury Papers, 204-53.

81. Sh. Papers, 476.

82. The "Albemarle" arrived at Kinsale, Ireland, August 29th, the "Carolina" the night of the 30th.—Sh. Papers, 152.

83. I do not know on what authority McCrady, I, 122, says they took on seven servants at Kinsale.

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"loath to leave the smoke of their own cabin if they can but beg near it." Sailing after September 17, they arrived at Barbados late in October, where on November 2 a storm wrecked the "Albemarle," without loss of life, however, and injured the other vessels. They landed their people to save provisions while awaiting repairs and recruits and securing a sloop to replace the "Albemarle." About the middle of November or later,⁸⁴ they sailed for Port Royal. After touching at Nevis they were separated by a storm. The "Port Royal" was wrecked, January 12, 1669-70, near the island of Munjake near Abeco in the Bahamas after experiencing the horrors of thirst from the exhaustion of their water during six weeks of wandering. Although the crew of eight and the thirty-six passengers got to shore, many died before the captain, delayed by the refusal of the carpenter to work, built a boat that took them to Eleutheria. At New Providence he hired a shallop that took most of the survivors to Bermudas, where the "Carolina" had already taken refuge. Of the third vessel they had no news for months.⁸⁵

At last the storm-tossed emigrants were ready for their fourth, and with some their sixth, start for Carolina. But their unintended stop at the Bermudas had important results, for it determined the selection of their first Governor. Though Sir John Yeamans' commission as Governor of 1664 extended over the whole country from the Cape Fear to the St. John's, it had always been intended that the colony contemplated on the coast now called South Carolina should have its own separate head. The Proprietors therefore instructed Yeamans to insert the name of a Governor in the blank in the commission which they sent with the fleet. Yeamans joined the expedition at Barbados with the intention of seeing the colony planted; but the long delay, he explained, necessitated his hurrying back from the stop at Bermudas to act as a commissioner on the French expulsion of the English from St. Christopher. He accordingly inserted in the blank commission the name of Colonel William Sayle, of Bermudas, whom he described as "a man of no great sufficiency, yet the best I could get."⁸⁶

84. Sh. P., 158, shows them still at Barbados Nov. 11th.

85. Sh. Papers, 165, 278. O'Sullivan says, Sept. 10, 1670, that all but the master and two or three more in the "Port Royal" were lost in the wreck in the Bahamas; but Capt. Russell's account seems to contradict this. O'Sullivan was an irresponsible character.

86. Shaftesbury Papers, 49, 52, 76, 119, n.

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Sayle was now about seventy-nine or eighty years of age, an experienced colonial administrator, a steady man of character, and according to Yeamans a dissenting "zealot"; but he offended the New England Puritans by seeking to found a colony in the Bahamas with complete liberty of conscience and separation of church and state.⁸⁷ Both his age and his religion caused such grave dissatisfaction among the colonists that some threatened legal action against Yeamans; but the matter was smoothed over. Sayle had been a Councillor in the Bermudas in 1630. Made Governor in 1641, he vacated the office in 1642, but was reappointed in 1643. He antagonized both the royal and the parliamentary factions, and was suspected, as a Dissenter, of attempting to subvert the colony to the Commonwealth. He was one of those to whom in 1646 the Bahamas were granted for establishing a Puritan colony, which he attempted unsuccessfully in 1648. He returned to Bermudas in 1657 and, June 30, 1658, was again appointed Governor, but was soon accused of seeking to break up the Bermudas colony for the sake of Eleutheria in the Bahamas, and in 1662 was removed at the urgency of his religious enemies.⁸⁸

Under the command of Governor Sayle, the ship "Carolina" and the vessel obtained in Bermudas sailed February 26, 1669-70, for Port Royal, and March 15, 1670, sighted the South Carolina coast at Bull's Bay. A party at once landed from the long boat. The Indians recognized them as English, perhaps from their flag, and hailed them in the most friendly fashion as "bony conrara Angles," their broken Spanish showing how far north the influence of St. Augustine extended. The 17th the Governor and others landed.⁸⁹ The enterprising cacique of Kiawah, the same, judging by his conduct, as sought to induce Sandford to visit his locality in 1666, quickly put in an appearance to sing the praises of the country along the Ashley. He accompanied the ships as they sailed away to Port Royal, where the Indians who appeared after two days, confirmed the report that the terrible Westos had ravaged the country as far as the Ashley. They desired the help of the newcomers against these supposed man-eaters who lived some leagues up what we now call the Savannah.

Moving from Port Royal Sound into St. Helena Sound or one of its branches, the Governor, according to his instructions, had the free-

87. Winthrop's "History of New England," in Rivers, 386.

88. "Dictionary of National Biog.," Sh. Papers, 117, n. 2, 119, n.

89. Sh. Papers, 165 and n., 395; Council Journal, June 8 (not 28), 1672.

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men elect five Council members to be associated with the five representing the Proprietors. The lowness of the ground and the proximity to the Spaniards raised serious doubts as to the advisability of settling at Port Royal, doubts which were actively fostered by the cacique of Kiawah. Accordingly the sloop was sent with a party to report on the lands along the Ashley so highly praised by "this very ingenious Indian." On their reporting it a better location, and the Governor's leaning that way, the voices of the Council and the people were generally for Kiawah.

The colonists entered Charleston Harbor early in April. May 23 the Barbados sloop, which had been driven by the storm to Nasemond River, Virginia, came straggling in. She had been as far south as St. Catherine's Island, Georgia, where May 15, she put in for water and provisions. Lord Ashley's kinsman and agent, John Rivers, the master, the mate, six or seven men, a woman and a girl, eleven or twelve in all, venturing ashore, were seized by the Indians. Governor Sayle sent to demand the release of his people, but two of his messengers, in disregard of their flag of truce, were detained by the Spanish friar. One of these, Joseph Bailey, who was still a prisoner at St. Augustine, December 12, 1672, wrote that day that eight of the English were murdered by the Indians when seized.⁹⁰ The excuse for their detention was that they were "pirates," without proper credentials. The real reason was probably that the Spaniards did not dare let them carry away an account of the weakness of St. Augustine.

Thus three vessels had landed their passengers at Ashley River; but it is indicative of the trials of the voyage that only the "Carolina" among the three that left England escaped the fury of storms. Yet the survivors of the two wrecked vessels, in spite of peril, suffering, and the death of their companions, had pressed on to their original purpose. The little settlement numbered about one hundred and forty-eight souls.⁹¹

The nine-acre site chosen for the town was on the western bank of the Ashley just above Town Creek, a short distance above where the Seaboard Air Line Railroad now crosses the Ashley and nearly opposite the new Citadel buildings. An inspection of the spot reveals

90. "S. C. H. M.," 18, 54; Sh. Papers, 167, 174, 206.

91. Sh. Papers, 156, 163, 178, and most important, 381-82 and n.

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its strategic advantages; for safety against Spanish attack was the supreme consideration. The fertile land, elevated some six or eight feet above high tide, is protected by the steep bank of Town Creek on the lower side, at which was the boat landing, and on the side next the river by an "inaccessible marsh" flooded at high tide; while the approach from inland could be closed by a short palisade. The situation is invisible to vessels coming in from sea until they round the bend of the river at the foot of the present Charleston several miles down stream.⁹² Safety against the Spaniards, and until they had made sure of their attachment also against the Indians, forced them to keep together. As late as September, 1670, West writes they had only taken up ten acres apiece near town, and would not scatter until more people came.

The settlers called their town Albemarle Point, in honor of the eldest of the Lords Proprietors, who by the Fundamental Constitutions possessed the dignity of Palatine. But the Proprietors complimented the King by changing the name to Charles Town.⁹³

The long voyage and their shipwrecks had brought their provisions near exhaustion. The sloop was dispatched to Bermudas and the "Carolina" to Virginia for supplies; but before they returned the colonists were forced to draw provisions from the Indians and to submit to a ration of a pint of peas a day.⁹⁴ The lack of energy on a restricted diet and the necessity of completing their defenses prevented labor in the fields or the exportation of timber to Barbados for the profit of the Proprietors.

Their measures for defense were soon justified. The Spaniards at St. Augustine came in August with a body of Indians to cut off the ships and destroy the settlement. The invaluable services of Dr. Henry Woodward now bore fruit. He had recently returned from an exploration to the delightful fertile rolling country around Chufy-tachyqi (as he spells it), at or near Silver Bluff on the Savannah, with whose "emperor" and with the intervening petty caciques he had formed a league. The little South Carolina coast tribes welcomed the English as possible defenders against the Spaniards and the ter-

92. The substantial granite monument erected some years ago was placed some distance away from the correct spot, apparently to make its observation more easy for tourists. On location, cf. Sh. Papers, 167, n. 170, 193, 196, 283; Salley, "Narratives Early Carolina," 102, 167, n. 2; Rivers, 95, n.

93. Sh. Papers, 210.

94. Brayne to Proprietors, No. 20, 1670, in Sh. Papers.

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rible Westos. It was the Indians of St. Helena (that is Port Royal Sound), with whom he had thus renewed the friendship formed four years before, who gave warning that the Spaniards and their Indian allies were approaching. Their twelve or fourteen periagos lay at Stono Inlet some miles south of the settlement, and their three frigates, August 18, lay out to sea with the purpose of cutting off the "Carolina." The Indians, although coming within a few miles and camping for six days at the harbor's mouth, were badly scared by the booming of the cannon and confined their hindrance of the ship to a few shots and a little scrimmage with a landing party on August 22. The next day the "Carolina" entered the Ashley with eight months' provisions. The Spaniards' account explains their failure by a heavy sea's carrying away their cables; but at all events on the 23d they withdrew with threats of destroying the "English" Indians of St. Helena, Combahee, and Edisto.

The Indians' report that there were two hundred Spaniards and three hundred of their savage allies is incredible. The feeble garrison at St. Augustine could supply no such force. Searle had been able in 1668 to beat it and liberate the prisoners; and in 1670 he had only "70 stout men." But a second attempt by St. Augustine only slumbered while awaiting aid from Havana.⁹⁵ Only one Spaniard, a friar, seems to have been actually seen by the Carolinians. A force of five hundred would not have retreated before the little body of a hundred and fifty English, women and children included, and their Indian allies without a desperate effort to expel them in the infancy of their trespass upon territory claimed by Spain. The fiasco proves how profoundly Spain had declined from her terrible power in the days when Menendez annihilated the French under Ribaut.

Already twice before the colonists believed the Spaniards had attempted to set the Indians upon the settlement, although, as one settler wrote, if taxed with it they would blame the savages with conduct which they could not restrain. The exact part of Spanish agents in various serious Indian crises will probably never be known. They were, of course, always glad to see misfortune befall the trespassers; and the English required little evidence to believe that their hand was back of any Indian troubles.⁹⁶ "Settled in the very chaps of the Span-

95. Sh. Papers, 190, n.; Bolton's "Spain's Title to Georgia," 33-34; Crane, "So. Frontier," 10-11.

96. Affair of 1670, Sh. Papers, 179, 187, 194, 199, 203, 239.

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iards," as Dalton, Secretary of the Council in South Carolina, wrote, September 9, 1670, the little settlement was forced to live more like soldiers in garrison than planters. The tyranny of the Spaniards, he says, renders their Indians almost as much a danger to the Spaniards as a help. Searle's "prank" at St. Augustine, when he sacked the town in 1668 and rescued Dr. Woodward, had greatly impaired Spanish prestige with the savages. Though claiming the territory of Carolina, Spain had only four friars, it was understood, between Ashley and St. Augustine. The three, or perhaps four, missions between Edisto Island and Port Royal had all been abandoned, leaving the nearest mission that at St. Catherine's Island in "Wallie," or Guale, as the Spaniards spelled the Indian name of the Georgia coast with their way of using *gu* where the English used *w*. Spain drew in her outposts but strengthened her central station. The coming of the English, says Professor Bolton, began the stone age at St. Augustine. By 1687 the castle was "completed in the main" of stone instead of wood as before.⁹⁷

The eight months' provisions that arrived from Virginia during the Spanish and Indian attack not only relieved a great need, but cost a great price. The little cows were smaller and dearer than those from Barbados, and thirty shillings were charged for a hog worth seven to ten in England. The privations had not been severe, for only four persons, moreover of sickly constitution, had died by September 9, 1670, and they of "distempers usual in other parts." The terrible malarial disease, the "country fever," which attacked the settlers after they had pushed into the rich swamp-infested interior, had not yet caused them to modify their delight in the healthfulness of their new home; but they might have sensed an ominous warning in cases of "fever and ague," which only twentieth century science has finally conquered.

A Wise Governor and Factional Politics—The smallness of the discontents common amid the hardships of a new colony attest the general good sense and character of the settlers; and this is the more creditable in view of the lack of a vigorous and inspiring leader. The constant reference of business to Sayle and West indicates the insufficiency of the eighty-year-old Governor. Leaving aside the fault-finding

97. Sh. Papers, Sept. 15, 1670; Bolton's "Spain's Title to Georgia," 35.

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of less admirable characters, we may accept the judgment of such men as Captain Brayne of the "Carolina" and Joseph West. "Our Governor . . . is very aged, and hath much lost himself in his government. . . . I doubt he will not be so advantageous to a new colony as we did expect," wrote West in September, 1670. Captain Brayne wrote, November 20, 1670, that Sayle, "being a person verie anchant or aged and verie feble, having gon threw a great deale of sickness of late . . . what small reason he had is almost taken from him. . . . He is one of the onfittest men in the world for . . . being Governor." His "illcontrivances" and the lack of men in Council of judgment and of experience in colony planting have been expensive and damaging.⁹⁸

And yet we may easily overlook Sayle's merits in impatience with his infirmities. He showed sound judgment in refusing to settle at Port Royal, where the peril of destruction by Spaniards would have been much greater, and he selected a strong natural position at Albemarle Point, which it is just to note that the Spaniards and Indians did not venture to attack when they faced it in 1670; and he discerned the tongue of land between the Ashley and the Cooper was a much better permanent site for a town than the one temporarily chosen, and ordered 600 acres reserved there for that purpose.⁹⁹ And not least among the proofs of his sound judgment is his having on his death-bed selected for his successor the man whom historians have ever since united in praising as the most valuable man in our early history, Joseph West. The old man undertook a task from which the tempestuous selfseeking Yeamans shrank, and proved that though he no longer possessed the energy which he had abundantly manifested in earlier years, he still possessed character and judgment. Governor Sayle died at noon, March 4, 1671¹⁰⁰ The Council unanimously confirmed his nomination of Joseph West as his successor until the will of the Proprietors should be known.

The "anchant" Governor ere he fell on sleep, and the "four or five men of the Council that have any reason," according to Captain Brayne, had trouble enough with agitators aggressively urging their superior services. William Owen "censured the legality" of the very

98. Sh. Papers, 203, 214, 235.

99. Sh. Papers, 378-79.

100. All years are new style unless otherwise stated; but the day of the month is always as originally written, unless specifically stated.

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first election, that held immediately on arrival at St. Helena Sound for the people's five members of the Council. This active politician, itching for authority and popular applause, was answered, but only temporarily silenced, by reflection of the same men. When the Governor and Council, finding, in their opinion, too few freemen to elect a Parliament of twenty members as directed by the Proprietors, issued of their own authority needful ordinances to correct profanation of the Sabbath and other abuses, Owen challenged their authority and urged upon the people that only a Parliament could pass laws. Owen, a bright and well-educated man, knew himself to be here on surer ground. The practical and well-intentioned Governor and Council were somewhat embarrassed by his telling them to their faces that their assuming this authority and the character of some of their penalties were against the charter, their instructions, and the laws of England. The reading of the laws to the assembled people, and the securing of their general approval, only stirred the determination of this keen-minded stickler for legality to force attention by spreading the extravagant propaganda that unless his views were adopted everybody's land titles, unconfirmed by a legal parliament, would be void. He was greatly strengthened by the support of Dr. William Scrivener, a member of the Council itself as Lord Berkeley's deputy. He proceeded, July 4, 1670, to an "election," or more probably the selection, of fifteen men who he informed the Council, added to the five people's representatives in the body, would constitute a Parliament as directed by the Proprietors' instructions. The proceedings failed of being revolutionary only because it was practically unsupported. The people accepted the Governor's explanation, although he and the Council did not escape being made a little ridiculous by their keen-witted antagonist in the mistaken position in which they had been caught. Owen's zeal for legality and popular rights was plainly motivated in part by his hatred of the Puritanical strictness of Sayle and of his successor West. The new Governor, about March 11, 1671, for the benefit of recent immigrants, read again the regulations somewhat revised, before the people, by whom they were approved.

The Owen-Scrivener faction informed the Governor that the King of England himself did not inflict fines or corporal punishment on any of his subjects; and how then could a mere subject do this to a fellow-

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subject? Only a Parliament elected by the people could bind them by law.

Again turned down by authority and, some would say common sense, Owen, now openly supported by Scrivener, forced the issue by the extreme means of spreading the propaganda that, there being no great seal in the province, nobody's land titles were safe without a Parliament. "The people's prolocutor," West was obliged to admit, "now . . . hath hit the mark." But this more alarmed state of the popular mind was quieted, and the Governor and Council still further stretched their authority for the sake, as they considered, of good order, by suspending Scrivener from the Council and declaring him and Owen incapable of holding any office until notice from the Proprietors; but Scrivener was soon back in his place, and the Council was before long forced to admit Owen as deputy of Lord Ashley himself.¹⁰¹ And so on run the long letters from various persons complaining of all sorts of mismanagement by other people, advising what ought to be done, and frequently ending with a request for an office or some other favor.

The Barbadians—Economic Beginnings—Despite the glowing letters and advertisements, hardships were prolonged and growth was slow. Governor West writes of being personally in need. February 8, 1671, there arrived from Barbados the first considerable reënforcement of about forty-two settlers. Eight days later sixty-four arrived from the same island. The Barbadians thus at once came to be almost half the population, and since they soon included many of the strongest and most experienced personalities, supremely self-confident from their success in an older colony, they for a while so dominated the province as to make it seem at times a sort of Barbadian outpost. Despite a tendency to wait until at least a year had proved whether the new colony would escape the Indians, starvation, and the Spaniards, the future was in fact encouraging. The energetic Captain Brayne and a number of Barbadian planters of wealth and experience were actively promoting settlement and commerce. Try to send back ships that brought the immigrants just alluded to, wrote the half owner of one, Thomas Colleton, loaded with timber, as good trade will mean more settlers. The Proprietors' ship, "Carolina," is

101. Sh. Papers, 277, 290, 298, 300, 330.

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to bring timber for their account. It cost £200 sterling to fit the "Carolina" for this trip, which cannot be kept up if she returns empty. The enterprising Captain Brayne of the "Carolina" planned to bring 150 or 200 immigrants from the West Indies in the spring, return to Barbados with timber, and from thence to London "laden with sugar as deep as she could swim," with the hope of bringing back from London two or three hundred people for Carolina. It was hard to feed the new mouths. West writes that he has cleared thirty acres and built houses and pallisades fit to hold against a thousand Indians. This was apparently on the Proprietors' plantation, the first land settled on the southern unprotected side of Old Town Creek.¹⁰² There appeared thus early the conflict between the interests of the colonists and the Proprietors. Thomas Colleton complains to his brother the Proprietor, November 23, 1670, that their interests are neglected while the timid colonists are concerned about two or three Spaniards and a few Indians. Indeed, these men feel that the Proprietors should keep them up, while thinking only of their own interests, not of the Proprietors'. Another conflict of tendencies is discerned in the neglect of agriculture and the activity in timber cutting. The latter offered an immediate profit. It was easier to buy food with timber than to raise it. Twelve cedar planks received in Barbados, writes Yeamans, November 15, 1670, are to be forwarded "as the first fruits of that glorious province."

The necessity of first providing houses and defenses on landing in April was a sufficient reason for late and inadequate planting the first season. Stephen Bull, writing September 12, 1670, like the Proprietors, judging from the plants which they ordered carried from Barbados, naturally in his first summer esteemed the climate more nearly tropical than it was. The oranges, lemons, limes, pomcitternes, pomgranates, figs, and plantains "flourish very bravely"; but the frosts of the first winter were to dash his confidence that "they will come to maturity." They had lately taken up a semicircle about the town, he continues, ten acres a head for present plantations, and had chosen their large lots for later development up and down the river, where there is good land for thousands of happy settlers.¹⁰³

Slavery was coeval with the settling of the province. Governor Sayle brought in three negroes in the first fleet, and a fourth in Septem-

102. Sh. Papers, 267.

103. Sh. Papers, 193.

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ber, 1670. Captain Henry Brayne of the "Carolina" owned "a lusty negro man" in South Carolina in November, 1670. Three slaves arrived in February, 1671, and 1671-74 Lady Margaret Yeamans imported eight. The same allotment of land was allowed as for white settlers, that is, one hundred and fifty acres for each adult male, later reduced to fifty acres for any person. Sir John Yeamans apparently did not carry out his plans to import negroes.¹⁰⁴

With the spring of 1671 the Colony faced its second year with reasonably encouraging prospects. The friendship of the Indians over a wide area had been gained—an absolute essential for so weak a settlement. This, as well as their own self-reliance, had saved them without the loss of a single life, from destruction or expulsion. A profitable extractive industry in a long inexhaustible resource had quickly become the basis of a wholesome commerce. Planting of food crops had been unduly, but not wholly, neglected, and ample land had been taken up and some cleared for the coming year. A simple and practical system of government was generally approved, despite protests of agitators. The temporary basis of wealth that was ultimately to prove a lasting curse on every phase of social, political, and economic life, negro slavery, had perfectly naturally, and under the circumstances inevitably, begun practically with the landing of the first colonists. Accretions by immigration had already set in, and the Barbadian element that was to exercise such a powerful influence for many years was already present, and constituted an immensely helpful commercial bond with the prosperous and firmly established English colonies in the West Indies, with which relations were for a century to be so close. Destiny was fatefully being shaped by the acts of this little company of pioneers. By the energy and foresight of the active member among the Lords Proprietors, the business enterprise of a group of pushing Barbadian planters, and the hopes of a band of misused Dissenters seeking a freer atmosphere for their religion, a new English community had risen, and England had thrust her outposts far down upon Spain in the contest for empire.

¹⁰⁴. "Warrants for Land in S. C.," 1670-79, 52-54, 112; Shaftesbury Papers, 164, etc. I thank Mr. A. S. Salley for the material in this paragraph.



George L. Center

George Lillie Center---Assayer, Manufacturer

BY ALVIN BARBER, NEW YORK CITY



IN his eighteenth year George Lillie Center joined the westward tide of immigration which brought to the Pacific coast the founders of the Commonwealth of California and the great golden empire of the West. He was a true pioneer, a sturdy son of Scottish forebears, endowed by nature with the qualities of heart and character which have gone into the building of this Nation from its earliest days. In his business interests and in his civic activities he contributed his full share to the development of his adopted State, winning an honorable place in its life and the profound respect of its people.

George Lillie Center was born at New Deer, Scotland, on November 10, 1842, a son of George and Sophia (Lillie) Center. He received his education in Scottish schools, but the resources which were the determining factor in his life could not be learned through education; his gifts were inborn and his career was but the outward expression of an inner strength. Mr. Center arrived in California in 1860. The mining fever was still at its height and he immediately turned his attention to this typical and essential western industry. He became a mining assayer, devoting himself to the exacting duties of this profession for many years. Even when the early rush of prospectors had subsided and the mining industry of the State assumed a saner and more permanent aspect, competent assayers were much in demand. His talents and integrity won him wide recognition and resulted in continued requests for his services from many California mines.

With passing years, however, Mr. Center's interests extended to many other fields and in all of them his vision and constructive energy, his soundness of judgment and executive talents, brought their just reward. As manager of his uncle's real estate business and as president of the California Cotton Mills in Oakland, he guided their affairs with sure hand along the pathway of success. He achieved a position of recognized prominence in the business and financial life of the

GEORGE LILLIE CENTER—ASSAYER, MANUFACTURER

San Francisco district and was associated, as a director or large stockholder, with a number of its leading institutions, including the Bank of California. In spite of the heavy pressure of his business interests, he was deeply concerned with civic affairs and kept in close touch with the developments in public life. There were very few community movements of any merit which did not benefit through his active support. Mr. Center recognized the obligations of his position and assumed them unhesitatingly. He had, however, no personal ambition for public preferment and only from 1908 to 1912, as a member of the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco, did he hold public office. To the duties of this position he brought the same distinguished talents which marked his business career and his services to the city were of notable value.

Mr. Center was a member of the Presbyterian Church, and was devout in his adherence to the faith of his fathers. He was always independent in politics, and had few connections with organizations of any kind aside from his business. The chief exception was his interest in the Free and Accepted Masons. In this order he was a member of Occident Lodge and of various higher bodies, including the Temple, Ancient Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine.

On April 6, 1877, George Lillie Center married Margaret E. Malcolm, who was born in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, on February 5, 1848. She is a daughter of William and Anne (Michael) Malcolm, and a granddaughter in the paternal line of William Malcolm. The early origin of this old Scottish family is certainly of interest to all who bear the name. Its recorded history is as follows:

Malcolm was originally a personal name signifying "Maol-Cholumb, the Servant of Columba," the famous saint of Iona in the Hebrides, Argyllshire, Scotland. This famous saint, Saint Columba, established the center of his civilizing and Christianizing efforts at that place. He had many grateful disciples. From this personal name, a clan, which was a small Argyllshire clan, took its name. They were settled there at an early date. Representatives of the clan settled in various parts of Scotland.

Mrs. Center's mother, a daughter of Andrew and Elizabeth Michael, also came from an Aberdeenshire family. Mrs. Center, who survives her husband, resides in Berkeley. Always thoroughly in



"TWIN PINES"
BELMONT, CALIFORNIA
FORMER RESIDENCE OF MR. AND MRS. GEORGE L. CENTER

GEORGE LILLIE CENTER—ASSAYER, MANUFACTURER

sympathy with the activities of his life, she continues his charitable interests, contributing both to philanthropies and the church.

George Lillie Center died in 1923, in his eighty-first year. His long career was rich in constructive influences, and his accomplishments have become a part of the fabric of California life. A man of quiet dignity, of simple tastes and habits, scholarly by nature, and delighting in the intellectual pleasures afforded him by his library, he will be remembered for his appealing personal qualities and exemplary Christian citizenship.



Baylor and Wadsworth Families

BY M. M. LEWIS, GLEN ROCK, NEW JERSEY



SEVERAL theories exist as to the origin of the Baylor family. The less likely one claims the Bayers were originally Hungarian Magyars, settling for a time in England before coming to America. The more generally accepted tradition, however, says the family was originally resident of Normandy, where, many years prior to the conquest of England by William the Conqueror, there lived a family of nobles by the name of de Bailleur. French records show the family prominent in Normandy as early as 1347. Among the early members of the family were Phillippe de Bailleur, Antoinette de Bailleur, Anthony Balleure, and John Balleure, the spelling varying and becoming in time, Baylor, the present-day form. The first of the family to land on English soil, it is said, was Antoinette de Bailleur, who in the latter part of the sixteenth century, settled in Tiverton, a town of North Devon, and here the English home of the family was established. Antoinette de Bailleur was the father of at least two children. One was John, who became John Balleure (Bayleur, Bayler, Baylor), "Grosser," of Devon and London, while the other was Anthony Balleure, who appears in English records in 1637. After a thorough discussion of this phase of the family history, Orval W. Baylor, editor of "Baylor's Quarterly," magazine of the Baylor family, says in the first issue: "With the material set forth in the preceding paragraphs as a presumptive basis we may now proceed to set up the following chronological order, remembering, always, that much of the arrangement is presumptive rather than documentary."

(Orval W. Baylor: "Early Family Records," in "Baylor's Quarterly," Vol. I, No. 1. Orval W. Baylor and Henry B. Baylor: "History of the Bayers," p. 4. "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," Vol. VI, p. 197.)

Bayleur (Baylor) Arms—Gules, a saltire, vairé.

(Burke: "Encyclopædia of Heraldry." Frontispiece: "Baylor's Quarterly," Vol. II, No. 2.)

BAYLOR AND WADSWORTH FAMILIES

I. John (1) Baylor (Bayleaur, Bayler), merchant, was born in Tiverton, Devonshire, England, probably about 1560, and died prior to 1621. He married and had: 1. Jane (whose surname is recorded "Bayle"), born about 1590; married, April 11, 1621, Lambert Rogers. 2. John (2), of whom further.

(Orval W. Baylor: "Early Family Records," in "Baylor's Quarterly," Vol. I, No. 1.)

II. John (2) Baylor, son of John (1) Baylor, was born probably in Tiverton, Devonshire, England, between 1600 and 1615, and lived there apparently for some years, as two of his children were born there. It is said that he owned property in Virginia as early as 1650, and in 1654 Lancaster County records show that he was assessed with three tithables. It is quite possible, of course, that he had not been in Virginia at all until many years later, after his sons had permanently located in the New World. It seems more likely, however, that he came to America for a time, and then returned to England, where his children were born. His descendants have long been prominent, first in the tidewater section of Virginia, and later in numerous parts of the United States, some achieving national importance, as this record will show.

The old records of Gloucester, King and Queen, and Caroline counties (the latter having been formed from King and Queen County in 1726), where members of the Baylor family first located, have almost all been destroyed, Caroline County records having fared comparatively well until the War Between the States, when they were seriously impaired. The possessions of the Baylor family fell in Caroline County when King and Queen County was divided, but fortunately records of early Baylors were preserved in the family, and it is not necessary to rely on public records only for their history. Children, order unknown: 1. John (3), of whom further. 2. Robert, born in Tiverton, Devonshire, about 1652-55, came to Virginia about 1676; married about 1700. 3. James, born about 1658, emigrated to Virginia about 1676 and, after residing there a few years, removed to the Colony of Pennsylvania, and married there.

("Lancaster County, Virginia, Land Office Records," at Richmond, Virginia. Records in possession of James B. Baylor, of Newmarket Plantation, Caroline County, Virginia, and Washington, District of Columbia. Orval W. Baylor: "Early Family Records," in "Baylor's Quarterly," Vol. I, No. 1.)

BAYLOR AND WADSWORTH FAMILIES

III. John (3) Baylor, son of John (2) Baylor, was born in Tiverton, Devonshire, England, in 1651, and died in 1721. Accompanied by his brother Robert and probably by his brother James, he came to Virginia about 1676, settling first in Gloucester County. Here he achieved a position of considerable prominence, and represented the county in the House of Burgesses in 1718. Mr. Baylor was a merchant as well as a planter, and he employed a number of ships to bring in goods for his stores in Gloucester, King and Queen, and New Kent counties, his principal warehouse being at a place called "Baylor's," on the Mattaponi River between Walkerton and King and Queen Court House.

John (3) Baylor married, in 1696, Mrs. Lucy (Todd) O'Brien, of New Kent County, Virginia. Child: 1. John (4), of whom further.

(Records in possession of James B. Baylor, of Newmarket Plantation, Caroline County, Virginia, and Washington, District of Columbia. W. G. Stanard: "Colonial Register," pp. 88, 108. Orval W. Baylor: "Plantation Days on the Mattaponi," in "Baylor's Quarterly," July, 1931, p. 21.)

IV. Colonel John (4) Baylor, son of John (3) and Lucy (Todd-O'Brien) Baylor, was born in Walkerton, Virginia, May 12, 1705, and died April 6, 1772. He was educated in England, at Putney Grammar School and Caius College, Cambridge, and was a gentleman of culture. In 1726 he was granted lands in King and Queen County, and there established his home, on the Fredericksburg and Richmond Post Road, calling it "Newmarket." Caroline County was formed from King and Queen County soon afterward, and Colonel Baylor's plantation fell in the new division. He was a colonel in the Caroline County Militia, and, as a burgess, represented the county from 1742 to 1765. He was also county lieutenant for Orange, and his commission is still preserved. He was noted as an importer and breeder of thoroughbred horses. Among the famous horses brought to America by Colonel Baylor was "Fearnaught," costing one thousand guineas, as the bill of sale, still preserved in the family, shows. As late as February 12, 1922, the "New York Herald" printed an article on the importance of "Fearnaught" as a sire, and of Colonel Baylor's activities in horse breeding.



American Historical Socy.

Steel Engraving by Finlay & Carr

Captain Walker Bayler

BAYLOR AND WADSWORTH FAMILIES

Colonel John (4) Baylor married, in Yorktown, Virginia, June 2, 1744, Frances Walker. Children: 1. Courtenay. 2. Lucy, married a Mr. Armistead. 3. Frances. 4. Elizabeth. 5. Colonel John, became master of "Newmarket"; married, in London, Frances Norton, daughter of Sir John Norton, of Gould Square. 6. Colonel George, was an aide to General George Washington during the Revolution; was at the battle of Trenton and, after the victory, was sent with the news to Baltimore; General Washington generously praised the daring and bravery of the youthful colonel in several letters; he married Lucy Page, and they lived in Hanover County, Virginia. 7. Ensign Robert; married Frances Gwynn. 8. Walker, of whom further.

(Orval W. Baylor: "Life in Old Kentucky," in "Baylor's Quarterly," July, 1931, pp. 5, 9, 15, 20. "Baylor's Quarterly," Vol. I, No. 1. Records in possession of James B. Baylor, of Newmarket Plantation, Caroline County, Virginia, and Washington, District of Columbia. W. G. Stanard: "Colonial Register," p. 122. Marshall Wingfield: "History of Caroline County, Virginia," pp. 371-74. "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," Vol. VI, p. 198.)

V. Captain Walker Baylor, youngest son of Colonel John (4) and Frances (Walker) Baylor, was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, serving until June 10, 1780, when he resigned, having become disabled by a crushed foot caused by a spent bullet either at Brandywine or Germantown. He was a lieutenant in the 3d Continental Light Dragoons, June 28, 1777, and a captain 1780. Captain Baylor was buried in his Revolutionary uniform. It was during his convalescence at "Newmarket" that he met and fell in love with the charming Jane Bledsoe, who, as his wife, accompanied him when he removed to Kentucky in 1783. They traveled by way of the Warrior's Path through Cumberland Gap, some five hundred miles from "Newmarket." Captain Baylor bought land, some three hundred and forty-seven acres, in Lincoln County, Kentucky, for £120, from his friend, Hubbard Taylor, and on this land he built the first Baylor home in Kentucky. Nearby stood the new Bledsoe home and the Baptist Church, called Gilbert's Creek Church (in Garrard County), and here Joseph Bledsoe and his brother, Aaron, preached. On his marriage Captain Baylor departed from the Episcopal faith of his fathers and was until his death a devout Baptist.

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According to Orval W. Baylor in his article, an order of the Lincoln County, Kentucky, Court, in March, 1784, reads: "On motion of Walker Baylor, it is ordered that the mill be considered a Public Mill." Captain Walker Baylor built this mill on the Dix River and near it he built a large brick dwelling house, living there with his family until 1795, when he removed to Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky. In 1792 Captain Baylor became one of the judges of the Court of Quarterly Sessions for Lincoln County, and he served in this capacity until he removed to Lexington, where he became one of the foremost citizens of independent means in that community. He divided his time between his farm of six hundred acres and the operation of a tavern in Lexington.

Captain Walker Baylor married Jane Bledsoe. Children: 1. John Walker, of whom further. 2. Cyrus A. 3. Betsey N. 4. George W. 5. William M. 6. Robert E. B., became a prominent judge. Baylor University, Waco, Texas, is named for him. He procured the charter for this institution from the Congress of the Republic of Texas, February 1, 1845, and endowed it with all he had. 7. Judge Walker Keith, born in Fayette County, Kentucky, in 1795; removed to Elyton, Alabama, where he practiced law; was a member of the Alabama State Senate and served as judge of the Third Judicial Court. 8. Francis N. 9. Joseph A. 10. Patrick Henry. 11. Thomas Jefferson.

(Orval W. Baylor and Henry B. Baylor: "History of the Bayers," pp. 26-31. Orval W. Baylor: "Judge Walker Keith Baylor," in "Baylor's Quarterly," Vol. II, No. 2, p. 30. Family data.)

VI. John Walker Baylor, eldest son of Captain Walker and Jane (Bledsoe) Baylor, was for many years an assistant surgeon in the Seventh United States Infantry.

John Walker Baylor married Sophie Marie Weidner. Children: 1. Walker. 2. Mary. 3. Jane. 4. Sophie F. 5. Henry Weidner. 6. John. 7. Charles Gano, of whom further. 8. Fanny N. 9. George W.

(Orval W. Baylor and Henry B. Baylor: "History of the Bayers," p. 27. Records in possession of descendants.)

VII. Charles Gano Baylor, son of John Walker and Sophie Marie (Weidner) Baylor, was born in Paris, Kentucky, June 19, 1826, and died in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1906. Soldier in his youth in the Mexican War, lawyer and diplomat, he came of old American fami-

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lies, and in his career was loyal to the best traditions of the names with which he was allied by right of birth. He was a man of distinguished talents and wide versatility which found expression in the numerous fields he entered during the course of a long life. In the last half of the nineteenth century he was an invalid, but he took a deep interest in politics to the end of his life. Charles Gano Baylor prepared for a legal career following the completion of his preliminary education and was admitted to the bar in Cincinnati, Ohio. At the outbreak of the Mexican War he enlisted in his country's cause and served until the successful termination of the conflict. When he returned home, Mr. Baylor did not resume the practice of his profession, but, instead, he secured an appointment as United States consul, and was sent to Amsterdam, Holland. Later he was consul in Manchester, England. This was in the 1850's, and in the interval between his consular appointments he returned to the United States to be married. At the time of the War Between the States, Mr. Baylor resigned from his diplomatic service, and illness caused him to retire from active public life. In the years which followed, he devoted himself to writing. He was a well-known figure in Washington life before the War Between the States, and thereafter maintained a deep interest in politics and public affairs. A man of broad culture and of enlightened public spirit, a close personal friend of Wendell Phillips, associated with his work, Mr. Baylor gave his influence to many worthy causes, contributing largely of his time to those enterprises and aims with which he was in sympathy. His religious affiliation was with the Episcopal Church, that being the church of most of his ancestors. Mr. Baylor devoted much of his leisure to music, and was himself an accomplished flutist. In addition, he possessed a wide knowledge of the whole field of music.

Charles Gano Baylor married, in Washington, District of Columbia, in January, 1853, Louisa Denison Wadsworth. (Wadsworth VII.)

(The Wadsworth Line).

Arms—Gules, three fleurs-de-lis stalked and slipped argent.

Crest—On a globe between two wings proper, an eagle rising or.

Motto—*Aquila non capit muscas.*

(H. A. Wadsworth: "Two Hundred and Fifty Years of the Wadsworth Family in America," pp. 18-28.)

The family name Wadsworth or Wordsworth is of local derivation, "of Wadsworth," a large township in the parish of Halifax,

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County York, England. In the parish church of Silkstone the name is variously found as Waddysworth, 1556; Wardworth, 1650; Wadsworth, 1666; and Wordsworth, 1668, and forward. The Wadsworth family is of Norman extraction and made an early settlement in Kent, England. The Civil War caused divisions in the family, some supporting the King, others Cromwell. The latter group emigrated to America, and the former became woolen manufacturers of Yorkshire.

(Bardsley: "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames." H. A. Wadsworth: "Two Hundred and Fifty Years of the Wadsworth Family in America," pp. 18-28.)

I. Christopher Wadsworth, earliest known ancestor of this line and perhaps a son of Thomas Wadsworth, was born in England, and died in Duxbury, Massachusetts. The exact date of his arrival in America, or how he came, is not known. Some say he landed at Duxbury, September 15, 1632, a day before the "Lion" arrived in Boston. On the "Lion" were William Wadsworth and a family of four. In "American Ancestry," it is said that Christopher Wadsworth was a brother of William. It is but a conjectural theory that Christopher Wadsworth was on the "Lion" and may have come ashore in a boat to Duxbury, while the ship was searching the entrance to Boston harbor. It is evident that these Wadsworths landed about the same time, whatever their connections may have been, and it is believed that William Wadsworth had made a previous visit to America. "Xtof'er Waddesworth," or Christopher Wadsworth, settled, lived and died in Duxbury, and Myles Standish, Elder Brewster and John Alden were his neighbors. He early took a prominent part in town affairs, and is said to have been quite young, when he first came to the New World. He was a freeman in 1633, and was taxed that year. Mr. Wadsworth was the first constable of Duxbury, January, 1633 or 1634, and repeatedly held town offices; he was deputy, in 1639, selectman and surveyor. He served in Captain Myles Standish's company in 1633. In 1638 he had land at Holly Swamp, and in 1655 he bought land from John Starr and Job Cole. The house where he lived was on Kingston Road, and his lands ran down to the bay, known as "Morton's Hole." The place was sold in 1855. It had been in the hands of Joseph F. Wadsworth previously. With

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William Bradford, Christopher Wadsworth witnessed a will, September 16, 1633. At his death his estate was £70.

Christopher Wadsworth married Grace Cole, who died in 1687-1688. Children (probably not in order; named in will, excepting Samuel): 1. Joseph, born about 1636, died in 1689; married (first), in 1655, Abigail Wait; (second), probably Mary. 2. John (1), of whom further. 3. Captain Samuel, of Milton, Massachusetts, killed while fighting Indians at Sudbury in 1676; married Abigail Lindall, of Marshfield. 4. Mary, married a Mr. Andrews.

(H. A. Wadsworth: "Two Hundred and Fifty Years of the Wadsworth Family in America," pp. 30-34, 39-41, 164, 213. Justin Winsor: "A History of the Town of Duxbury, Massachusetts, with Genealogical Registers," p. 328. "American Ancestry," Vol. VI, p. 187.)

II. Deacon John (1) Wadsworth, son of Christopher and Grace (Cole) Wadsworth, was born in Duxbury, Massachusetts, about 1638, and died May 15, 1700, aged about sixty-two years. His will was dated April 23, 1700. John (1) Wadsworth, who was a deacon in the Duxbury Church for several years, lived and died at the homestead of his father in Duxbury.

Deacon John (1) Wadsworth married, July 25, 1667, Abigail Andrews, who was born about 1647 and died in November, 1723. "She deceased about midnight betwixt ye 24th and 25th days of November, anno Domini 1723, being about 76 years of age." Children: 1. Mary, born December 18, 1668. 2. Abigail, born October 25, 1670. 3. John (2), of whom further. 4. Christopher, born March 15, 1684-85, died before 1748; married, February 19, 1713-1714, Mehitabel Wormall. 5. Ichabod, born March 16, 1686-87, died August 1, 1745-46; married, February 10, 1719-20, Margaret Marshall. 6. Isaac, died in Pembroke, Massachusetts, in 1749. 7. Lydia. 8. Sarah. 9. Grace, married William Sprague. 10. Hopestill, born in 1687, died March 25, 1773; married, May 20, 1708, William Brewster. 11. Mercy.

(H. A. Wadsworth: "Two Hundred and Fifty Years of the Wadsworth Family in America," pp. 164, 193, 202. Justin Winsor: "History of Duxbury, Massachusetts," pp. 328-29. "Vital Records, Duxbury, Massachusetts," pp. 180, 181, 324, 325, 430. Emma C. Brewster Jones: "Brewster Genealogy," Vol. I, p. 55.)

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III. John (2) Wadsworth, son of Deacon John (1) and Abigail (Andrews) Wadsworth, was born in Duxbury, Massachusetts, March 12, 1671-72, and died there May 3, 1750, aged seventy-eight. He also was a deacon in the church in Duxbury.

John (2) Wadsworth married (first), January 25, 1704-05, Mercy Wiswell, who was born in 1680 and died November 12, 1716, aged thirty-six years. He married (second), in Boston, April 4, 1718, Mary Verdie, who was born about 1684 and died July 22, 1742. (Although he apparently survived her for eight years, she is called "widow" in one record.) Children of first marriage, born in Duxbury: 1. Captain John, born May 24, 1706, died March 26, 1799; married, December 31, 1734, Mary Alden. 2. Uriah, born July 5, 1708, died April 29, 1784. 3. Dorothy, born June 25, 1710; married, December 25, 1729, Joseph Bartlett. 4. Ichabod, born May 3, 1712, died August 21, 1771; married, November 25, 1736, Anne Hunt. 5. Peleg (1), of whom further. Child of second marriage: 6. Mary, born July 19, 1721; married, July 1, 1756, Deacon Elisha Phillips.

(H. A. Wadsworth: "Two Hundred and Fifty Years of the Wadsworth Family in America," pp. 193, 204. Justin Winsor: "History of Duxbury, Massachusetts," p. 329. "Vital Records, Duxbury, Massachusetts," pp. 180-83, 431-32.)

IV. Deacon Peleg (1) Wadsworth, son of John (2) and Mercy (Wiswell) Wadsworth, was born in Duxbury, Massachusetts, August 29, 1715, and died there, July 28, 1799, "in his eighty-fourth year." He, like his father and grandfather before him, served as a deacon of the Duxbury Church.

Deacon Peleg (1) Wadsworth married, before 1742, Susanna Sampson. Children, born in Duxbury, Massachusetts: 1. Zilpah, born June 21, 1742, died March 23, 1743-44. 2. Cephas, born August 12, 1743, died in Kingston, Massachusetts, September 12, 1819; married Molly Cook. 3. Jephtha, born April 5, 1745, died May 22, 1745. 4. Zilpah, born April 8, 1746, died January 3, 1778; married, February 6 or March 9, 1772, Perez Drew. 5. Peleg (2), of whom further. 6. Uriah, born March 13, 1750-51; married, January 8, 1788-89, Eunice Bradford. 7. Lucia, born January 25, 1753; married, August 20, 1771, Joseph Smith. 8. A child, born and died Sep-

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tember 1, 1755. 9. Ira, born May 18, 1757, died December 28, 1826; married, September 14, 1783, Sarah Freeman. 10. Welthea, born September 21, 1759, died in Duxbury, Massachusetts; married, February 17, 1780, Major Judah Alden, an officer in the Revolutionary War. 11. A son, still-born, November 9, 1761. 12. Dura, baptized April 24, 1763, died March 18, 1846, aged eighty-two; married, January 17, 1788, Lydia Bradford. 13. A daughter, still-born, July 30, 1765.

(“Vital Records, Duxbury, Massachusetts,” pp. 179-84, 324-26, 347, 375, 431-32. H. A. Wadsworth: “Two Hundred and Fifty Years of the Wadsworth Family in America,” p. 224. Justin Winsor: “History of Duxbury, Massachusetts,” p. 300. “Vital Records, Kingston, Massachusetts,” p. 293.)

V. General Peleg (2) Wadsworth, son of Deacon Peleg (1) and Susanna (Sampson) Wadsworth, was born in Duxbury, Massachusetts, May 6, 1748, or April 28 of that year, or May 24, 1745, different records giving these varying dates, and died in Hiram, Maine, November 11 or 18, 1829. He was graduated from Harvard College, receiving his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1769, and his Master of Arts in 1772, teaching meanwhile with his classmate, Alexander Scammel, in Plymouth, Massachusetts. In 1772-73, he removed to Kingston, Massachusetts, and started in business, and on September 26, 1774, was chosen a member of the committee of correspondence.

General Wadsworth's career as a soldier began with the outbreak of the Revolution, when he recruited a company of minutemen and was named captain. Early in 1775 the town of Kingston voted to purchase thirty-three stand of arms and equipment for thirty-three soldiers, commanded by Captain Peleg Wadsworth. Immediately after the battle of Lexington, the Kingston company marched in Colonel Cotton's regiment to dislodge Colonel Balfour's regiment of British troops at Marshfield, and there a council of officers was held. Captain Wadsworth became impatient at the delay, however, and marched his company to the vicinity of the enemy, but Colonel Balfour and his troops retreated and, embarking on several sloops, sailed for Boston. Peleg (2) Wadsworth served as a colonel in the battle of Long Island, but whether in command of a regiment or as a staff officer, cannot be ascertained. He was in Colonel Cotton's regiment that formed a part of the detachment ordered to throw up entrench-

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ments on Dorchester Heights. August 28, 1775, while his wife was with him, their first-born died and was buried in the entrenchments. In March, 1776, he was appointed aide to General Ward, when the Heights were occupied. It was the formidable character of the troops and defences on Dorchester Heights that caused the hasty retreat of General Howe and the British troops from Boston. In 1776 Colonel Wadsworth was an engineer under General Thomas and assisted in laying out the defences of Roxbury. In 1778 he was appointed adjutant-general of Massachusetts.

In 1779 the British sent a fleet to occupy Bagaduce (now called Castine), at the mouth of the Penobscot River in Maine. The Massachusetts board of war in return sent a fleet under Commodore Saltonstall, of Connecticut, and a land force under General Solomon Lovell, with General Peleg Wadsworth as second in command. The attack upon the British by the land forces is noted in history as one of the most brilliant and heroic engagements during the war. In 1780 General Wadsworth, with a force of six hundred men, was placed in command of the whole coast of Maine, to protect it from the British and Tories. He was authorized to execute martial law, and his firmness and intrepid bearing overawed the Tories of that region. Maine was peculiarly exposed, because of its extensive frontier and its long line of seacoast, and General Wadsworth's responsibilities were great and his duties arduous, but his courage and patriotism never faltered. His duties were performed with that careful accuracy of method and system that permeated every act of his long and distinguished career, and the British could gain no permanent advantage during his occupancy. After the term of service of his troops expired, he was left with a guard of only six soldiers at his headquarters at Thomaston, Maine, his family being with him, and it being his intention to leave in a few days. The British commander at Castin heard of his exposed situation and sent a lieutenant and twenty-five men to capture him. At midnight, February 18, 1781, he was awakened by loud and rapid reports of musketry and the crashing of glass in his windows. On the approach of the enemy, the sentry had challenged them and retreated to the house. A volley of bullets were fired after him, while others were fired into the window. The British quickly took possession of the house, except one room, which General Wadsworth occupied alone. Here, with a brace of pistols, a fusee and a blunderbuss, he

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contended alone against his assailants, driving them away from the door and windows. The British then attacked another door, which they broke in. This time the general's blunderbuss missed fire, and then, with his bayonet, he fought single-handed and alone against a score of men. A bullet soon pierced his elbow, and, finding himself disabled, he surrendered. Lieutenant Stockton complimented General Wadsworth for his heroic defence, and the general replied that from the manner of their attack, he inferred they did not intend to capture him alive, and he intended to sell his life as dearly as possible. His wound prevented him from wearing a coat, and a blanket was thrown over him and he was hurried away to a vessel. After walking a mile in the snow and intense cold, he became exhausted from over-exertion and loss of blood, and was placed upon a horse. He was taken across the bay to Bagaduce and imprisoned in Fort George. For two weeks he knew nothing of the fate of his family, consisting of his wife, a son of five years, two daughters, younger, and a Miss Fenno, of Boston, a friend of Mrs. Wadsworth. He was regarded as a man of too much consequence to be exchanged and was refused the privilege of a parole. Major William Burton, a brave officer who served in 1780 under General Wadsworth, was confined in the room with him. He was allowed to write to the Governor of Massachusetts and also to Mrs. Wadsworth, and he soon learned that his family was safe.

The following extract is from the letter written by General Wadsworth to his wife after he was taken prisoner by the British at Thomaston:

BAGADUCE. FORT GEORGE 19th of Feb. 1781.

It is with supreme gratitude, my dear Betsey, that I acknowledge the preservation of my sweet family in the late hostile conflict. I recall to have seen my whole Family, excepting my Little Charles, for whom I am under much apprehension, knowing that his Zeal and activity is such that he would certainly have come to his Father's aid, had he been awake, altho but five years old. Heaven grant that the dear boy may be safe. I am extremely afflicted at the idea of your situation. The windows dashed, the Doors broken, the House torn to pieces and Blood and Slaughter around. You without help—without your Bosom Companion. . . .

After I left you I was conducted to the gigg, then taken on Board a Small Privateer commanded by Mr. Lang and landed at Bagaduce

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on the afternoon of the same day. On my passage and since my arrival I have received the greatest Civility and am treated according to my rank. My Wound is as fair as possible, it being with a Musket Ball passing through my left arm just above the Elbow, touching the Bone without fracturing it. . . .

The enemy's Party consisted of fifteen men, two of which were badly wounded, besides the one left at Mr. Fales, who if living I desire may have good care taken of him, as also old Hickey, who lay wounded in the kitchen. . . . The enclosed note sent to Mr. B. of Bristol, will furnish you with money. On your arrival at Falmouth apply to Mr. Joseph McLellan for quarters and Necessaries. Pray you would send me by the Bearer—four shirts, 2 pair Breeches, a Westcot, Coat, Stockings, Buckles, Stock, and Hanger and Waist Belt, with an account of your situation. . . .

My best wishes attend my sweet Family.

Adieu

P. WADSWORTH.

After two months' imprisonment, General Wadsworth was visited by his wife and Miss Fenno, and he received a hint that he was to be taken to England and probably tried and executed. He gave his barber a dollar for a gimlet, with which he bored holes around a large portion of the pine ceiling, filling them up with chewed bread. At midnight of June 18, just four months after his capture, amid the darkness of a tempestuous thunderstorm that drove the sentinels to shelter, he cut with his penknife the spaces between the gimlet holes, making an opening through which he and Major Burton escaped. General Wadsworth let himself down the wall of the fort, twenty feet high, by means of a blanket. In the darkness he became separated from Major Burton. General Wadsworth waded across the cove, a distance of a mile, the water reaching to his armpits. The next morning he found Major Burton, and after three days of toil and suffering they reached the St. George settlement. In 1797, President Dwight, of Yale College, who had been a chaplain in the American Army, was the guest of General Wadsworth in Portland, Maine, and wrote a minute and thrilling account of the general's capture, imprisonment and escape. General Wadsworth, at the time of its publication, vouched for the accuracy of the account, which covers twenty-five printed pages.

Some thirty years later, General Wadsworth himself wrote a record of his career, both during and after the Revolution, in the follow-

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ing letter, which is reprinted herewith from a copy made October 10, 1900:

HIRAM, 17th of July, 1827.

DEAR SIR,

Observing your advertisement in the "Columbian Sentinel" of the 11th inst. requesting surviving Officers of the Revolutionary Army of the States of Massachusetts and of Maine, to forward to you their rank in 1780, &c.

In compliance I have sketched the following—'tho I do not know whether I come within your request as I was not of the Line of the Continental Army, after the two first years, and was Aide de Camp to Genl. Ward as long as he continued in the service which I believe was till the year 1777 with the rank of Major.

Afterwards, I was in the Continental service (as is was called) under the appointment of the Legislature of Massachusetts,—was second in command with Gen. Lovell on the inglorious Penobscot Expedition in 1778, with the rank of Brigadier General; the next year viz 1779 had the command of the whole coast of the District of Maine, by the same authority—at the close of which or rather the beginning of 1780 I was taken Prisoner, as you may see by looking at 210th page of Rev. Chs. A. Goodrich's History of U. S.

After that I was not in Military service. I was 32 yrs. old when appointed a Brigadier General by the Gov. & Council and lived in Boston at that time, moved to Portland in 1784, and to Hiram in 1810, where I now reside and am in my 80th year.

I know of no widows of the Description you mention, nor do I know for what purpose you have requested the above, but as the motive is no doubt benevolent, I cheerfully subscribe myself your
Friend and serv't.

PELEG WADSWORTH

ALDEN BRADFORD ESQR.

After residing in Massachusetts a few years, following his escape from the British, General Wadsworth removed to Portland, Maine, and in 1785 he built the first brick house ever erected there, the bricks having been brought from Philadelphia. The house stood on Congress Street, and was occupied by his son-in-law, Stephen Longfellow, father of the beloved poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. This house was the birthplace of Commodore Alexander Scammel Wadsworth and the boyhood home of the poet Longfellow. It is now called the Wadsworth-Longfellow House, and is maintained as a public museum.

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General Wadsworth engaged in trade in Portland for several years. He was chosen president of a convention that met from time to time to consult on the separation of Maine from Massachusetts. In 1792 he was elected to the Senate of Massachusetts and in the same year he was elected a member of Congress from the District of Maine, and he discharged his duties with such ability and fidelity that he was elected seven consecutive terms, serving from 1793 to 1807.

An interesting document referring to this period is the following copy of a letter written by Deacon Peleg (1) Wadsworth to his son, General Peleg (2) Wadsworth, while General Wadsworth was a member of Congress in Philadelphia. It is dated at "Duxborough," April 10, 1794, and reads:

SON PELEG:

I received your letter a few days ago dated March 15th last, by which I suppose you are well. Have no news but what you are better acquainted with than we are. I suppose it is a critical time at present, and Congress has the management of them. I trust they will do what they think is best on ye whole. You say that ye N. E. members at Congress are disagreeable to us. I do not think it is so in general, and as you have or ought to have the good of these states at heart, I trust the measure you will take will be well received by the people in general, as you have ye whole conduct of affairs in your hands. I hope it will be conducted in the best manner for ye whole of the community, let it terminate in peace or war. So much for poli'cks. The whole tote of Wadsworths are well, though not so good as they ought to be. I have not heard from your family since you have been gone but what you wrote about them. It is supposed that Captain Philip Chandler was lost on his passage to N. Carolina last winter. No news of him since he sailed. Trade is stagnated in general though with me it is much the same, for I carry on ye old trade of eating and smoking, though my pipe is almost out. All the advice I shall give is to be true to the trust imposed in you and if you lack wisdom ask it of Him who giveth liberally and upbraideth not. If you ask in faith I trust it will be given you. So I wish you prosperity. From your affectionate father,

(Signed) PELEG WADSWORTH.

In 1798 the citizens of Portland gave him a public dinner in approbation of his official conduct. In 1790 he purchased of the State of Massachusetts 7,500 acres of land, now included in Hiram, Maine, between the Saco and Ossipee rivers, the price being twelve and one-half cents per acre. He commenced to clear a farm immediately, and

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his success is shown by a statement in the "Eastern Herald," printed in Portland, Maine, September 10, 1792, as follows: "General Wadsworth thinks he has raised more than one thousand bushels of corn on burnt land at a place called Great Ossipee, about thirty-six miles from Portland." In 1795 he built a house and settled his eldest son, Captain Charles Lee Wadsworth, on this tract. In 1800 General Wadsworth built an house for himself, the largest ever built in Hiram. On January 1, 1807, General Wadsworth removed to his rural home, and soon after (February 27) procured the incorporation of the township and, being a Free Mason, had it named Hiram, in honor of Hiram, King of Tyre. With his son, Captain Charles L. Wadsworth, he engaged in farming and lumbering. He was a skillful surveyor and was of great service and usefulness in the new township. He was selectman five years, treasurer twelve years, and magistrate for many years, often being an arbiter and always a peacemaker. General Wadsworth was regarded as the patriarch of the settlement, and his home was the central point in the region for law, literature and hospitality. He was a liberal patron of education. One of his last munificent acts was the establishment of a free school at the town house, when the settlement was too poor to maintain such an institution, and he rode through the town on horseback in his eightieth year, inviting the children to attend. He and his excellent wife were members of the Congregational Church. On an eminence, nearly in the shadow of "the forest primeval," sleeps the honored patriot among his kindred, well worthy of the eulogium upon his tablet: "He was a Patriot, a Philanthropist, and a Christian."

Of the personal appearance of General Peleg Wadsworth, gentleman and soldier, we have the following word picture, found in a letter from his daughter Zilpah, mother of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow:

Imagine to yourself a man of middle age, well proportioned, with a military air, and who carries himself so truly, that many thought him tall. His dress, a light scarlet coat, buff small clothes and vest, full ruffles over the hands, white stockings, shoes with silver buckles, white cravat bow in front, hair well powdered and tied behind in a club, so called.

General Peleg (2) Wadsworth married, June 18, 1772, Elizabeth Bartlett. Children: 1. Alexander Scammel, born in Kingston, Massachusetts, May 9, 1774, died within the Revolutionary fortifications

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on Dorchester Heights, August 28, 1775. 2. Captain Charles Lee, born in Plymouth, Massachusetts, January 26, 1776, died in Hiram, Maine, September 29, 1848. 3. Zilpah, born in Duxbury, Massachusetts, January 6, 1778, died in Portland, Maine, March 12, 1851; married, January 1, 1804, Stephen Longfellow, and became the mother of the poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. 4. Elizabeth, born in Boston, Massachusetts, September 21, 1779, died in Portland, Maine, August 1, 1802. 5. John, born in Plymouth, Massachusetts, September 1, 1781, died in Hiram, Maine, January 22, 1860; was graduated from Harvard College in 1800, and admitted to the bar of Cumberland County, Maine, in 1808; he was an accomplished linguist and scholar. 6. Lucia, born in Plymouth, Massachusetts, June 12, 1783, died in Portland, Maine, October 17, 1864. An elaborate obituary from the pen of the Hon. William Willis closed with the following lines: "Of no disorder, of no blast she died, but fell like autumn fruit that mellowed long." 7. Lieutenant Henry, born in Falmouth (now Portland), Maine, June 21, 1785, was a lieutenant in the United States Navy at the age of nineteen; killed before Tripoli, September 4, 1804, while aiding in running a torpedo ship into the enemy's fleet. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, the poet, was named for this uncle. 8. George, born in Portland, Maine, January 6, 1788, died in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 8, 1816. He is said to have been an excellent penman. 9. Alexander Scammel, of whom further. 10. Samuel Bartlett, born in Portland, Maine, September 1, 1791, died in Eastport, Maine, October 2, 1874; married Eliza C. Harrington. 11. General Peleg, born in Portland, Maine, October 10, 1793, died in Hiram, Maine, January 17, 1875. He was for many years the wealthiest man and the largest landholder in Hiram, where he held numerous public offices. He was a successful farmer, a fine surveyor, a teacher of school in his native town when he was twelve years of age, and he kept a diary and record of the weather for seventy years. He was a general in the Maine militia.

(H. A. Wadsworth: "Two Hundred and Fifty Years of the Wadsworth Family in America," pp. 42-48. "Vital Records, Duxbury, Massachusetts," pp. 180, 326. Levi Bartlett: "Genealogical and Biographical Sketches of the Bartlett Family," pp. 73-76. Marian Longfellow: "History of the Society of Descendants of Robert Bartlett, of Plymouth, Massachusetts," pp. 9, 40, 111. "Americana." Vol. XIV, pp. 373-82.)

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VI. Commodore Alexander Scammel Wadsworth, son of General Peleg (2) and Elizabeth (Bartlett) Wadsworth, was born in Portland, Maine, October 10, 1790, and died in Washington, District of Columbia, April 5, 1851. He was a commodore in the United States Navy for many years and had a reputation for being one of the finest looking officers in the service. He was named for his father's classmate, Alexander Scammel, who served in the Revolution. When he was only twenty-two years of age, Mr. Wadsworth received his commission as a lieutenant in the navy, and when the frigate "Constitution," popularly known as "Old Ironsides," fought her memorable battle in August, 1812, in which she captured the British frigate, "Guerrière," Alexander S. Wadsworth was second lieutenant on board the victorious ship. The first lieutenant, Morris, was wounded severely early in the action, and Lieutenant Wadsworth took his place. On his return to Portland his fellow-citizens presented him with an elegant sword, in commendation of his brave conduct as an officer. He was an officer on the ship that carried the Hon. Joel Barlow, United States Minister to France, in 1811, and for courtesies received that gentleman presented the young lieutenant with a sword. He rose to the rank of commodore. He was in command of the "Prometheus," Mediterranean squadron, 1816-17; of the "John Adams," in 1818-1819; and in 1821-22 was sent out against the pirates in the West Indies. He was stationed at the Washington Navy Yard, 1823-25; was inspector of ordnance, 1825-29, being promoted to captain, March 3, 1825; and was in command of the "Constellation," in 1829-32. As commodore, he commanded the Pacific squadron, 1834-36; was a member of the board of navy commissioners, 1837-40; and inspector of ordnance, 1841-50.

Of his earliest days in the navy we have the following interesting description, contained in a letter written by Commodore Wadsworth, then less than twenty years old, to his father, General Peleg (2) Wadsworth, at Portland, Maine:

U. S. FRIGATE CONSTITUTION, AT SEA.

July 21st, 1810.

DEAR SIR:

I received a letter from you on the day we left Hampton Roads for Boston, and intended answering it on our arrival there, but was as much disappointed in not having an opportunity as I was in not

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receiving a single letter from home. Our stay there was very short and I was continually on duty as we were very busily employed in watering and provisioning the ship. I wrote before we left Norfolk for our intended visit to Boston and of the change which had taken place between the officers and the crew of the President and of this ship which I presume you must have heard of. We find this ship as we expected a very dull sailor tho I believe it is principally owing to her being very foul. Oysters the size of a dollar, and mussels in large bunches have been taken off the bottom by divers, and I believe there is a coat 2 or 3 inches thick on the bottom, we find now anything can beat us. It is supposed that fresh water will rot them off and I imagine the experiment will be tried in the course of the summer by running her up the Delaware. For the next month or two we shall be employed with our whole squadron on a cruise for the purpose of practicing maneuvers of a fleet, and I think it will be a great advantage to us. Comd. Rodgers to command the squadron. I don't know whether you are acquainted with Captain Hull our present commander or not. He is however a very pleasant man and an excellent officer and as he is a New England man, I presume the ship will be to the North a great portion of the time. As I hear of no alterations in the family or on the farm, I suppose everything remains as it was a year or two ago when I left home. I feel great anxiety to visit you. I have hoped that I shall be able to in the fall. My health is now as good as it ever was and my time generally is spent pleasantly. As the prospects in the merchant service are not very flattering I think it best to remain as I am, in actual service for the present; though the advantage as to making money is nothing as I cannot make out to spend less than my pay. The advantage however in a professional point of view is considerable. I have been uncommonly fortunate in my advancement in the Navy. My commission is the first among seven which were given out the last session of Congress, so I rank every officer who entered the Navy at the time I did. (There were about 40 appointed the same day with myself, though many of them have since left the service.) And several who entered before. I hope your health and Ma's continue good. Give my love to Ma and Peleg and to Charles and his family. I suppose about this time there is plenty of work at haying and Peleg is pretty much employed. I should like to assist him for a few days, though I don't suppose I could stand it for long as he would. Your son

ALEX. S. WADSWORTH.

PELEG WADSWORTH, ESQ.

P. S. July 22nd. We have this moment come to our anchor in Hampton Roads after an eight days passage from Boston. We shall remain here but a few days.

A. S. W.

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Commodore Alexander Scammel Wadsworth married, in 1824, Louisa Denison. Children: 1. Alexander S., born in 1828, died in 1863; married, in 1855, Helen McMorine. 2. Louisa Denison, of whom further. 3. Annie Longfellow, born in 1841, died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1931; married the Rev. John Doane Wells, of Cambridge.

(John Denison Baldwin and William Clift: "A Record of the Descendants of Captain George Denison, of Stonington, Connecticut," p. 223. H. A. Wadsworth: "Two Hundred and Fifty Years of the Wadsworth Family in America," pp. 47, 49, 151-52. John Howard Brown, editor: "Lamb's Biographical Dictionary of the United States," Vol. VII, p. 457. "Americana," Vol. XIV, p. 381. Family records.)

VII. Louisa Denison Wadsworth, daughter of Commodore Alexander Scammel and Louisa (Denison) Wadsworth, was born in Washington, District of Columbia, in 1833, and died in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1910. She married Charles Gano Baylor. (Baylor VII.)

(H. A. Wadsworth: "Two Hundred and Fifty Years of the Wadsworth Family in America," p. 151. Family records.)



